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# Harleian Miſcellany:

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SCARCE, CURIOUS, and ENTERTAINING

# PAMPHLETS and TRACTS,

As well in Manuſcript as in Print,

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INTERSPERSED

With HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, and CRITICAL NOTES.

WITH

A Table of the CONTENTS, and an Alphabetical INDEX.

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## VOL. III.

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*LONDON:*

Printed for *T. OSBORNE*, in *Gray's-Inn.* MDCCXLV.

*(This Day is publiſhed, Price Five Shillings) there being but a ſmall Number printed.*

A New and correct Edition of the CHRONICON PRETIOSUM, by Biſhop FLEETWOOD. *To which is added*, An Hiſtorical Account of all the *Engliſh* Gold and Silver Coins, illuſtrated with Copper-Plates of the ſaid Coins, never before publiſhed.

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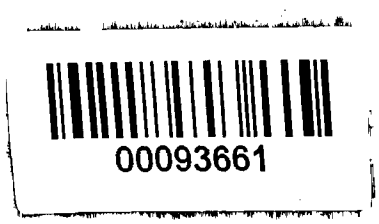
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TO

His GRACE,

# CHARLES,

## DUKE of MARLBOROUGH,

This THIRD VOLUME

OF THE

## HARLEIAN MISCELLANY

*Is moſt humbly inſcribed, by*

*Your* GRACE's

*Moſt faithful and*

*Moſt obedient Servant,*

Thomas Osborne.

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*Et genus humanum & mortalia temnitis arma,*
*At ſperate Deos.* Virg.

*London,* printed in 1672. *Quarto,* containing thirty-five Pages. Page 1

A Declaration of the Demeanour and Carriage of Sir *Walter Raleigh,* Knight, as well in his Voyage, as in, and ſithence his Return; and of the true Motives and Inducements which occaſioned his Majeſty to proceed in doing Juſtice upon him, as hath been done. *London,* printed by *Bonham Norton* and *John Bill,* Printers to the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, 1618. *4to,* containing ſixty-three Pages. 17

A Narrative of the Impriſonment and Uſage of Col. *John Hutchinſon,* of *Owthorp,* in the County of *Nottingham,* Eſq; now cloſe Priſoner in the *Tower* of *London.* Written by himſelf, on the Sixth of *April,* 1664, having then received Intimation that he was to be ſent away to another Priſon; and therefore he thought fit to print this, for the Satisfying his Relations and Friends of his Innocence.

*Let the Proud be aſhamed, for they deal perverſly with me, without a Cauſe; but I will meditate in thy Precepts.* Pſal. cxix. 78.

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A true Report of the Arraignment, Tryall, Conuiction, and Condemnation, of a *Popiſh* Prieſt, named *Robert Drewrie,* at the Seſſions-houſe in the *Old Baylie,* on *Friday* and *Wedneſday,* the Twentieth and Twenty-fourth of *February;* the extraordinary great Grace and Mercie offered him, and his ſtubborne, traytorous, and willfull Refuſall. Alſo the Tryall and Death of *Humphrey Lloyd,* for maliciouſlie Murdering one of the Guard. And, laſtly, the Execution of the ſaid *Robert Drewrie,* drawn in his Prieſtly Habit, and as he was a *Benedictine* Fryer, on *Thurſdaie* following, to *Tiborne,* where he was hanged and quartered. *London,* printed for *Iefferie Chorlton,* and are to be ſold at his Shop adioyning to the great North Door of *Paules,* MDCVII. *4to,* black Letter, containing four Sheets. 36

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A Chronological Catalogue, or ſhort Remembrance of the Princes Electors *Palatine* of the *Rhine,* that have been of the Houſe of *Bavaria* unto this Day, together with their Succeſſion and Lives. The Second Edition. *London,* printed by *William Jones,* dwelling in *Red-Croſs-Street,* 1631. *Duodecimo,* containing thirty-eight Pages. 67

*Gowries* Conſpiracie: A Diſcovrſe of the vnnatvrall and vyle Conſpiracie, attempted againſt the Kings Maieſties Perſon, at *Sanct-Iohnſtovn,* vpon *Twiſday* the Fifth of *Auguſt,* 1600. *Edinburgh,* printed by *Robert Charteris,* 1600. *8vo,* containing three Sheets and a Half. *Cum Privilegio Regio.* 76

A Letter to a Member of Parliament; with two Diſcourſes incloſed in it: 1. The One ſhewing the Reaſon why a Law ſhould paſs to puniſh Adultery with Death. 2. The Other ſhewing the Reaſons why the Writ, *de Hæretico comburendo,* ſhould be aboliſhed.

*Non partis ſtudiis agimur, ſed ſumſimus arma*
*Conſiliis inimica tuis, ignavia fallax.*

Printed *Anno* 1675. *4to,* containing eight Pages. 89

Declaration of great Troubles pretended againſt the Realme,

Realme, by a Number of *Seminarie* Prieſts and Ieſuits, ſent, and very ſecretly diſperſed in the ſame, to worke great Treaſons vnder a falſe Pretence of Religion. With a Prouiſion very neceſſarie for Remedie thereof. Publiſhed by this her Maieſties Proclamation. Imprinted at *London*, by the Deputies of *Chriſtopher Barker*, Printer to the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie, MDXCI. *4to.* containing fourteen Pages. 93

A Declaration of the Lyfe and Death of *Iohn Story*, late a Romiſh Canonicall Doctor, by Profeſſyon. 1571. Imprinted at *London*, by *Thomas Colwell*. *8vo*, containing thirty-two Pages. 98

True and Wonderfull. A Diſcourſe relating a ſtrange and monſtrous Serpent (or Dragon) lately diſcovered, and yet living, to the great Annoyance and divers Slaughters both of Men and Cattell, by his ſtrong and violent Poyſon:

In *Suſſex*, two Miles from *Horſam*, in a Woode called St. *Leonards* Forreſt, and thirtie Miles from *London*, this preſent Month of *Auguſt*, 1614. With the true Generation of Serpents. Printed at *London*, by *Iohn Trundle*, 1614. 106

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*Read it, to thy Conſolacion.*

Whereunto is added, the Communication that ſhe had with Maſter *Feckenham*, vpon her Faith, and Beleſe of the Sacraments. Alſo, another Epiſtle whiche ſhe wrote to her Siſter; with the Words ſhe ſpake vpon the Scaffold before ſhe ſuffered. Printed *Anno* M.D.LIV. *Duodecimo*, containing thirty-one Pages. 109

The Hiſtory of the *Gunpowder-Treaſon*: Collected from approved Authors, as well *Popiſh* as *Proteſtant*.

*Sæpe Divinitatis opera hæc ſunt, & furias in ipſo jam ſucceſſu ſecuras ſubita ultio excipiat; ne vel unquam improbis timor, vel ſpes abſit calamitoſæ virtuti.*

Jo. Barclaii Conſpiratio Anglicana.

Printed at *London*, in 1678. *4to*, containing thirty-two Pages. 116

The Arraignment and Execution of the late Traitors, with a Relation of the other Traitors, which were executed at *Worceſter*, the Twenty-ſeventh of *January* laſt paſt. *London*, printed for *Jeffrey Chorlton*, and are to be ſold at his Shop, at the great North Door of St. *Paul*'s. 1606. *8vo*, containing twenty-eight Pages. 127

The laſt Speech and dying Words of *Thomas* (Lord, *alias* Colonel) *Pride*; being touched in Conſcience for his inhuman Murder of the Bears in the *Bear-Garden*, when he was High-Sheriff of *Surrey*. Taken in Short-hand, by *T. S.* late Clerk to his Lordſhip's Brew-houſe. *London*, printed for *C. W.* 1680. *4to*, containing twelve Pages. 132

The *French* King conquered by the *Engliſh*; the King of *France* and his Son brought Priſoners into *England* (beſides divers Earls, Lords, and above Two thouſand Knights and Eſquires) by the victorious *Edward the Black Prince*, Son to *Edward the Third*.

Wherein is given an Account of ſeveral great Battles fought and wonderful Victories obtained over the *French*, when they had ſix to one againſt the *Engliſh*, to the Honour and Renown of *England*'s unparalleled Valour, Conduct, and Reſolution. Written by a Perſon of Quality. *London*, printed for *William Birch*, at the Sign of the *Peacock*, at the lower End of *Cheapſide*, 1678. *8vo*, containing thirty-one Pages. 137

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An Epiſtle of the moſte myghty and redouted Prince, *Henry* the viii, by the Grace of God, Kyng of *England*, and of *Fraunce*, Lorde of *Irelande*, Defender of the Faithe, and ſupreme Heed of the Church of *England*, nexte vnder Chriſte, writen to the Emperours Maieſtie, to all Chriſten Princes, and to all thoſe that trewly and ſyncerely profeſſe Chriſtes Religion.

In this Epiſtle bothe the Cauſes are playnely declared, why the Kynges Hyghnes owght neyther to ſend nor go to the Councill indicted at *Vincence*, and alſo how perylouſe a Thing it is for all ſuche, as profeſſe the trewe Doctrine of Chriſt, to come thether.

Herevnto is alſo annexed the Proteſtation made the laſt Yere, by the Kynges Hyghnes, his holle Counſayle and Clergy, as touchinge the Councille indicted at *Mantua*, &c.

Rede both o Chriſten Reader, Truthe is comynge Home, longe afore beyng in Captyuytye, ſteppe forth and meete her by the Waye: Yf thou ſee her preſente, embrace hir, and ſhewe thy ſelf gladde of her Retourne. *London*, printed by *John Berthelet* 1538. *8vo*, containing nineteen Pages. 162

The Commvnication betwene my Lord Chauncelor and Iudge *Hales*, being among other Iudges to take his Oth in *Weſtminſter-hall*, *Anno* 1553, the 6th of *October*. Printed in *8vo*, containing five Pages. 166

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of her owne Eſtate, and of the moſte Chriſtian Kyng, *Charles the Nynth*, her good Brother, and his Subiectes. *September* 1562. Imprinted at *London*, in *Powles Churchyarde*, by *Rycharde Iugge* and *Iohn Cawood*, Printers to the Quenes Maieſtie. *Cum Priuilegio Regiæ Maieſtatis.* In 4*to*, containing thirteen Pages, *black Letter.* 177

A Diſcouerie of the Treaſons practiſed and attempted againſt the Queenes Maieſtie and the Realme, by *Francis Throckmorton*, who was for the ſame arraigned and condemned in *Guyld-hall* in the Citie of *London*, the one and twentie Day of *May* laſt paſt. 1584. 4*to*, containing twenty-eight Pages. 182

A true Report of the lamentable Death of *William* of *Naſſawe*, Prince of *Orange*; who was trayterouſlie ſlayne with a Dagge, in his owne Courte, by *Balthazar Serack*, a *Burgunian*, the Firſt of *July*, 1584. Herein is expreſſed the Murtherers Confeſſion, and in what Manner he was executed, vpon the Tenth of the ſame Month: Whoſe Death was not of ſufficient Sharpnes for ſuch a Caytife, and yet too ſowre for any Chriſtian. Printed at *Middleborowgh*, by *Derick van Reſpeawe*, *Anno* 1584. In 8*vo*, containing eight Pages. 194

The Preſent State of *England*, expreſſed in this *Paradox*,

*Our Fathers were very rich with little,*
*And We poor with much.*

Written by *Walter Cary*. *London*, printed by *R. Young* for *William Sheffard* in *Popes-head Alley*. *Anno Dom.* 1627. 4*to*, containing twenty-one Pages. 197

An Hiſtorical Account of the Life and Tryal of *Nicholas Anthoine*, burnt for *Judaiſm* at *Geneva*, in the Year 1632. 4*to*, containing fifteen Pages. 204

A Second and moſt exact Relation of thoſe ſad and lamentable Accidents, which happened in and about the Pariſh Church of *Wydecombe*, near the *Dartmoors*, in *Devonſhire*, on *Sunday* the 21ſt of *October* laſt, 1638.

*Come, behold the Works of the Lord, what Deſolations he hath made in the Earth.*
Pſal. xlvi. 8.

Imprimatur *Thomas Wyke*, R. P. *Epiſc. Lond.* Cap. Domeſt. Printed at *London* by *G. M.* for *R. Harford*, and are to be ſold at his Shop in *Queen's-head-alley*, in *Pater-noſter-row*, at the *Gilt Bible*, 1638. 4*to*, containing thirty-ſeven Pages. 211

*Vox Borealis:* Or, the *Northerne* Diſcoverie: By Way of Dialogue, between *Iamie* and *Willie*, Amidſt the *Babylonians*. Printed by *Margery Mar-Preſſat*, in *Thwackcoat-Lane*, at the Signe of the *Crab-Tree Cudgell*, without any Priviledge of the *Cater-Caps*, the Yeare coming on, 1641. 4*to*, containing twenty-eight Pages. 219

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II. The Laws of *England* weighed in this three-fold Balance, and found too light.
   1. In their Original, Force, Power, Conqueſt, or Conſtraint. 2. In their Rule, corrupt Will, or Principles of Unrighteouſneſs and Wrong. 3. In their End, the Grievance, Trouble, and Bondage of the People.

III. The Neceſſity of the Reformation of the Laws of *England*; together with the Excellency (and yet Difficulty) of this Work.

IV. The corrupt Intereſt of Lawyers in this Commonwealth. By *John Warr.*

*Leges Angliæ plenæ ſunt tricarum, ambiguitatum, ſibique contrariæ; fuerunt ſiquidem excogitatæ, atque ſancitæ à Normannis, quibus nulla gens magis litigioſa, atque in controverſiis machinandis ac proferendis fallacior reperiri poteſt.*
Philip Honor.

*Engliſhed thus:* The Laws of *England* are full of Tricks, Doubts, and contrary to themſelves; for they were invented and eſtabliſhed by the *Normans*, which were of all Nations the moſt quarrelſome, and moſt fallacious in contriving of Controverſies and Suits. *London*, printed for *Giles Calvert*, at the *Black Spread-Eagle*, at the Weſt End of St. *Pauls*. 1649. 4*to*, containing eighteen Pages. 240

A Spark of Friendſhip and warm Good-will, that ſhews the Effect of true Affection, and unfolds the Fineneſs of this World. Whereunto is joined, the Commodity of ſundry Sciences, and the Benefit that Paper bringeth, with many rare Matters rehearſed in the ſame. With a Deſcription and Commendation of a Paper-Mill, now of late ſet up (near the Town of *Dartford*) by an High *German*, called, Mr. *Spilman*, Jeweller to the Queen's moſt excellent Majeſty, written by *Thomas Churchyard*, Gent.

*Nulla poteſt eſſe jucunditas, ſublata amicitiâ.*
Cic. *pro* Flacc.

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*Chorographia:* Or, a Survey of *Newcaſtle upon Tine*. The Eſtate of this Country, under the *Romans*. The Building of the famous Wall of the *Picts*, by the *Romans*. The ancient Town of *Pandon*. A brief Deſcription of the Town, Walls, Wards, Churches, Religious Houſes, Streets, Markets, Fairs, Rivers, and Commodities; with the Suburbs. The ancient and preſent Government of the

the Town. As alſo, a Relation of the County of *Northumberland*, which was the Bulwark of *England* againſt the Inroads of the *Scots*. Their many Caſtles and Towers. Their ancient Families and Names. Of the Tenure of *Cornage*. Of *Cheviot-Hills*. Of *Tinedale* and *Reedſdale*, with the Inhabitants.

*Poteſtas omnium ad* Cæſarem *pertinet, proprietas ad ſingulos.*

*Newcaſtle*, printed by *S. B.* 1649. *4to*, containing thirty-four Pages, beſides the Title and Preface to the Reader. 256

A Narration of the late Accident in the *New-Exchange*, on the Twenty-firſt and Twenty-ſecond of *November*, 1653. *Stylo Vet.* Written by the moſt noble and illuſtrious Lord, *Don Pantaleon Sa*, Brother to his Excellency of *Portugal*, Extraordinary Legate in *England*, to his much eſteemed Nobility of *England*, and to all the beloved and famous City of *London* from *Newgate*'s Priſon. *London*, printed in the Year 1653. *4to*, containing fourteen Pages. 273

The *London* Printer his Lamentation; or, the Preſs oppreſſed, or overpreſſed. *September*, 1660. *4to*, containing eight Pages. 277

Obſervations both Hiſtorical and Moral upon the Burning of *London*, *September* 1666. With an Account of the Loſſes. And a moſt remarkable Parallel between *London* and *Moſcow*, both as to the Plague and Fire. Alſo an Eſſay touching the Eaſterly Wind. Written by Way of Narrative, for Satisfaction of the preſent and future Ages. By *Rege Sincera*. *London*, printed by *Thomas Ratcliffe*, and are to be ſold by *Robert Pawlet*, at the *Bible* in *Chancery-Lane*. 1667. *4to*, containing thirty-eight Pages. 282

A Satyr on the Earl of *Oxford*, Lord *Bolingbr—k*, Mr. *Moor*, and Mr. *Prior*. *MS.* 294

The Memoirs of Monſieur *Du Vall*, containing the Hiſtory of his Life and Death. Whereunto are annexed his laſt Speech and Epitaph. Intended as a ſevere Reflexion on the too great Fondneſs of *Engliſh* Ladies towards *French* Footmen, which, at that Time of Day, was a too common Complaint.

——— ——— ——— *Si quis*
*Opprobriis dignos latraverit, integer ipſe,*
*Solventur riſu tabulæ.* ——— ——— Horat.

*London*, printed 1670. *4to*, containing nineteen Pages. 295

Reaſons and Propoſals for a Regiſtry or Remembrancer of all Deeds and Incumbrances of real Eſtates, to be had in every County, moſt neceſſary and advantageous, as well for Sellers and Borrowers, as Purchaſers and Lenders. To the Advance of Credit, and the general Good, without Prejudice to any honeſt-minded Perſon, moſt humbly offered to Conſideration. By *Nicholas Philpot*, of *New-Inn*. *Oxford*, printed by *W. Hall*, for *Richard Davis*, 1671. *4to*, containing ten Pages. 302

A Treatiſe concerning *Regiſters* to be made of Eſtates, Bonds, Bills, *&c.* With Reaſons againſt ſuch Regiſters by the Honourable Mr. *William Pierrepoint*. MS. 305

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A Narrative of the wicked Plots carried on by Seignior *Gondamore*, for Advancing the *Popiſh* Religion and *Spaniſh* Faction. Heartily recommended to all *Proteſtants*, by *Richard Dugdale*, Gent.

*Have no Fellowſhip with the unfruitful Works of Darkneſs, but rather reprove them; for it is a Shame even to ſpeak of thoſe Things, which are done of them in ſecret.* Epheſ. v. 11, 12.

*London*, printed 1679. *Folio*, containing ſixteen Pages. 313

A true and juſt Relation of Major General Sir *Thomas Morgan*'s Progreſs in *France* and *Flanders*, with ſix-thouſand *Engliſh*, in the Years 1657 and 1658, at the Taking of *Dunkirk*, and other important Places; as it was delivered by the General himſelf. *London*, 1699. *4to*, containing ſixteen Pages. 326

An Account of the Original of Writing and Paper, out of a Book, intitled, *La Libraria Vaticana*, written by *Mutio Panſa*, Keeper of the ſaid Library. Printed at *Rome*. *4to*, containing thirty Pages. 336

Advice to a young Clergyman, how to conduct himſelf in the common Offices of Life, in a Letter from a late Right Reverend Prelate. 8*vo*, containing twenty-five Pages. 350

*England*'s Joy: Or a Relation of the moſt remarkable Paſſages, from his Majeſty's Arrival at *Dover*, to his Entrance at *White-hall*. *London*, printed by *Tho. Creak*, 1660. *4to*, containing eight Pages. 357

The Orders, Laws, and ancient Cuſtoms of *Swans*. By *John Witherings*, Eſq; Maſter and Governor of the Royal Game of *Swans* and *Cygnets* throughout *England*. *London*, printed in 1664. *4to*, containing ſix Pages. 359

Gods Warning to his People of *England*, by the great Overflowing of the Waters or Floudes, lately hapned in *South-Wales*, and many other Places. Wherein is deſcribed the great Loſſes, and wonderfull Damages, that hapned thereby, by the Drowning of many Townes and Villages, to the vtter Vndooing of many Thouſandes of People. Printed at *London* for *W. Barley*, and *Io. Bayly*, and are to be ſolde in *Gratious* Street. 1607. *4to*, black Letter, containing twelve Pages. 363

A Packe of *Spaniſh* Lyes, ſent Abroad in the World; firſt printed in *Spaine*, in the *Spaniſh* Tongue, and tranſlated out of the Originall. Now ripped vp, vnfolded, and, by iuſt Examination, condemned, as conteyning falſe, corrupt, and deteſtable Wares, worthy to be damned and burned.

*Thou ſhalt deſtroy them that ſpeak Lyes, the Lord wil abhorre the bloody and deceitfull Man.* Pſal v. ver. 6.

Imprinted at *London*, by the Deputies of *Chriſtopher*

*by Barker*, Printer to the Queenes moſt excellent Majeſtie. 1588. 4*to*, in black Letter, containing thirteen Pages. 368

*England*'s Way to win Wealth, and to employ Ships and Mariners: Or, a plain Deſcription what great Profit it will bring unto the Commonwealth of *England*, by the erecting, building, and adventuring of Buſſes to Sea a Fiſhing: With a true Relation of the ineſtimable Wealth that is yearly taken out of his Majeſty's Seas by the *Hollanders*, by their great Number of Buſſes, Pinks, and Lineboats: And alſo a Diſcourſe of the Sea-coaſt Towns of *England*; and the moſt fit and commodious Places and Harbours that we have for Buſſes; and of the ſmall Number of our Fiſhermen; and alſo the true Valuation, and whole Charge of building and furniſhing to Sea Buſſes and Pinks, after the *Holland* Manner. By *Tobias Gentleman*, Fiſherman and Mariner. Printed at *London* for *Nathaniel Butter*, 1614. 4*to*, containing fifty Pages, excluſive of the Dedication. 378

The Royal Fiſhing Revived. Wherein is demonſtrated, from what Cauſes the *Dutch* have upon the Matter ingroſſed the Fiſhing Trade in his Majeſty's Seas, wherein the Principles of all the Trades they drive in the World are chiefly founded: As alſo, from what Cauſes the *Engliſh* have loſt the Fiſhing Trade, to the Endangering the ſmall Remainder of the Trades they yet enjoy. Together with Expedients by which, the Fiſhing Trade may be redeemed by the *Engliſh*; and Propoſals for Carrying on ſo great a Work. Humbly offered to the Conſideration of the King and Parliament. *London*, printed by *Thomas Ratcliffe* for the Author, 1670. 4*to*, containing twelve Pages. 392

Ane Admonitioun direct to the trew Lordis Mantenaris of the Kingis Graces Authoritie, M. G. B. Imprentit at *Striviling* be *Robert Lekprevik*, *Anno Dom.* 1571. 8*vo*, containing thirty Pages in the *Scotiſh* Tongue. 395

The Declaration of the moſt Chriſtian King of *France* and *Navarre*, againſt the moſt horrid Proceedings of a rebellious Party of Parliament-men and Soldiers, in *England*, againſt their King and Country. Tranſlated out of *French* by *P. B.* 404

A Relation of ſuch Things as were obſerved to happen in the Journey of the Right Honourable *Charles* Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord High Admiral of *England*, his Highneſs's Ambaſſador to the King of *Spain*: Being ſent thither to take the Oath of the ſaid King, for the Maintenance of Peace between the two famous Kings of *Great-Britain* and *Spain*, according to the ſeveral Articles formerly concluded on by the Conſtable of *Caſtile* in *England* in the Month of *Auguſt*, 1604. Set forth by Authority. By *Rob. Treſwell*, Eſq; *Somerſet-Herald*. *London*, printed by *Melchiſedech Bradwood* for *Gregory Seaton*, and are to be ſold at his Shop under *Alderſgate*, 1605. 4*to*, containing forty-ſix Pages, including the Preface. 405

A Narrative of the late Parliament (ſo called) their Election and Appearing; the Seclufion of a great Part of them; the Sitting of the Reſt: With an Account of the Places of Profit, Salaries, and Advantages which they hold and receive under the preſent Power; with ſome Queries thereupon, and upon the moſt material Acts and Proceedings paſſed by them: All humbly propoſed to Conſideration, and publiſhed for Information of the People, by a Friend to the Common-wealth, and to its dear-bought Rights and Freedom. *Anno* 1657. 4*to*, containing ſixty three Pages. 430

A ſecond Narrative of the late Parliament (ſo called). Wherein, after a brief Reciting ſome remarkable Paſſages in the former Narrative, is given an Account of their ſecond Meeting, and Things tranſacted by them: As, alſo, how the *Protector* (ſo called) came ſwearing, *By the living God*, and diſſolved them, after two or three Weeks Sitting. With ſome Queries ſadly propoſed thereupon. Together with an Account of Three and Forty of their Names, who were taken out of the Houſe, and others that ſat in the Other Houſe, intended for a Houſe of Lords; but, being ſo unexpectedly diſappointed, could not take Root, with a brief Character and Deſcription of them. All humbly preſented to publick View. By a Friend to the good Old Cauſe of Juſtice, Righteouſneſs, the Freedom and Liberties o' the People, which hath coſt ſo much Blood and Treaſure, to be carried on in the late Wars, and are not yet ſettled.

*Curſed be the Man before the Lord that riſeth up and buildeth the City Jericho, he ſhall lay the Foundation thereof in his Firſt-born, and in his youngeſt Son ſhall he ſet up the Gates of it.* Joſh. vi. 26.

*I have ſeen the Fooliſh taking Root; but ſuddenly I curſed his Habitation: His Children are far from Safety, and they are cruſhed in the Gate, neither is there any to deliver them.* Job v. 3, 4.

*He diſappointeth the Devices of the Crafty, ſo that their Hands cannot find their Enterpriſe.* Job v. 12.

*His Confidence ſhall be rooted out of his Tabernacle, and it ſhall bring him to the King of Terrors.* Job xviii. 14.

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A ſeaſonable Speech, made by a worthy Member of Parliament in the Houſe of Commons, concerning the other Houſe, *March* 1659. 468

News from *France*: Or, a Deſcription of the Library of Cardinal *Mazarin*, before it was utterly ruined. Sent in a Letter from Monſieur *G. Naudæus*, Keeper of the publick Library. *London*, printed for *Timothy Garthwait*, at the little North Door of St. *Paul*'s, 1652. 4*to*, containing ſix Pages. 473

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News from the Channel: Or, the Diſcovery and perfect Deſcription of the Iſle of *Serke*, appertaining to the *Engliſh* Crown, and never before publickly diſcourſed of: Truly ſetting forth the notable Stratagem whereby it was firſt taken, the Nature of the Place and People; their Government, Cuſtoms, Manufactures, and other Particulars, no leſs neceſſary than pleaſant to be known. In a Letter from a Gentleman, now inhabiting there, to his Friend and Kinſman in *London*. *London*, printed by *John Lock*, for *John Clarke*, at the *Bible and Harp* in *Weſt-Smithfield*, 1673. 4*to*, containing ſix Pages. 480
Articles of High Treaſon, and other High-Crimes and Miſdemeanors, againſt the Ducheſs of *Portſmouth*. 484
A brief and perfect Journal of the late Proceedings and Succeſs of the *Engliſh* Army in the *Weſt-Indies*, continued until *June* the 24th, 1655. Together with ſome Queries inſerted and anſwered. Publiſhed for Satisfaction of all ſuch who deſire truly to be informed in theſe Particulars. By *I. S.* an Eye-witneſs.
*Veritas nudata celari non poteſt.*
*London*, printed 1655. 4*to*, containing twenty-ſeven Pages. 487
*England*'s Mourning Garment; worn here by plain Shepherds, in Memory of their ſacred Miſtreſs, *Eliſabeth*, Queen of Virtue, while ſhe lived, and Theme of Sorrow, being dead. To which is added the true Manner of her Imperial Funeral: After which follows the Shepherds Spring-ſong, for Entertainment of King *James*, our moſt potent Sovereign. Dedicated to all that loved the deceaſed Queen, and honour the living King.
*Non Verbis ſed Virtute.*
*London*, by *V. S.* for *Thomas Millington*, and are to be ſold at his Shop under St. *Peter*'s Church in *Cornhill*. 4*to*, containing forty-eight Pages. 500
A true and perfect Account of the Examination, Confeſſion, Trial, Condemnation, and Execution of *Joan Perry*, and her two Sons, *John* and *Richard Perry*, for the ſuppoſed Murder of *William Harriſon*, Gent. being one of the moſt remarkable Occurrences which hath happened in the Memory of Man, ſent in a Letter (by Sir *T. O.* of *Burton*, in the County of *Gloucester*, Knight, and one of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace) to *T. S.* Doctor of Phyſick in *London*. Likewiſe Mr. *Harriſon*'s own Account, how he was conveyed into *Turkey*, and there made a Slave for above two Years; and then, his Maſter, which brought him there, dying, how he made his Eſcape, and what Hardſhip he endured; who, at laſt, through the Providence of God, returned to *England*, while he was ſuppoſed to be murdered; here having been his Man-ſervant arraigned, who falſly impeached his own Mother and Brother, as guilty of the Murder of his Maſter; they were all Three arraigned, convicted, and executed on *Broadway-hills* in *Glouceſterſhire*. *London*, printed for *Rowland Reynolds*, next *Arundel-gate*, over-againſt St. *Clement*'s Church in the *Strand*, 1676. 4*to*, containing twenty-three Pages. 519
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A Declaration of the Right Honourable *James*, Marquis and Earl of *Montroſe*, Lord *Greem* and *Mugdock*, Captain-General of all his Majeſty's Forces, raiſed and to be raiſed for his Service, in his Kingdoms of *Great Britain*, concerning his Excellency's Reſolution to ſettle his Majeſty, *Charles the Second*, in all his Dominions, *July* 9, 1649. *London*, printed in the Year 1649. 4*to*, containing five Pages. 530
The Copie of a Letter, written by one in *London* to his Frend, concernyng the Credit of the late publiſhed Detection of the Doynges of the Ladie *Marie* of *Scotland*. Without Date, *black Letter*, 12*mo*. containing fourteen Pages; and, by ſome, thought to have been written by the learned *Buchanan*. 533
A Declaration of the favourable Dealing of her Maieſties Commiſſioners appointed for the Examination of certain Traitours, and of Tortures vniuſtly reported to be done vpon them for Matters of Religion. 1583. In *black Letter*, 4*to*, containing ſix Pages. 537
A Deſcription of the Sect called *the Family of Love*: With their common Place of Reſidence. Being diſcovered by one Mrs. *Suſanna Snow*, of *Pirford* near *Chertſey*, in the County of *Surrey*, who was vainly led away for a Time, through their baſe Allurements, and at length fell mad, till by a great Miracle ſhewn from God, ſhe was delivered. *O Iſrael, truſt in the Lord, for in the Lord there is Mercy, and with him is plenteous Redemption*, Pſal. cxxx.
*London* printed, 1641. *Quarto*, containing ſix Pages. 540

The

The *Dutch* Uſurpation, or a brief View of the Behaviour of the States-General of the United Provinces, towards the Kings of *Great-Britain*: With ſome of their Cruelties and Injuſtices exerciſed upon the Subjects of the *Engliſh* Nation. As alſo, a Diſcovery of what Arts they have uſed to arrive at their late Grandeur, *&c.* By *William de Britaine.*

*Et genus humanum & mortalia temnitis arma,*
*At ſperate Deos.* Virg.

*London*, printed in 1672. *Quarto*, containing 35 Pages.

To his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York* *.

SIR,

*COuld I but uſe my Pen, as you your Sword,*
*I'd write in Blood, and kill at every Word:*
*The* Hogans † *then my Muſe's Power ſhould feel,*
*And find my Verſe as fatal as your Steel.*
*But ſure,* great Prince, *none can preſume to write*
*With ſuch Succeſs as you know how to fight:*
*Who carry in your Looks th' Events of War,*
*Deſign'd like* Cæſar *for a Conqueror.*
*The World of your Atchievements is afraid,*
*While* Neptune's *wat'ry Kingdoms you invade;*
*And that much-courted* Miſtreſs *th'* Ocean's *now*
*Not by the* Venetian Duke *eſpous'd, but you.*
*And now,* great Prince, *may you victorious be,*
*Your Fame and Arms o'er-ſpreading Land and Sea.*
*May you our haughty Neighbours overcome,*
*And bring rich Spoils, and peaceful Laurels, Home;*
*Whilſt they their Ruin or your Pardon meet,*
*Sink by your Side, or fall before your Feet.*

* Lord High Admiral of *England.* † The *Dutch.*

THE Dominion of the *Belgick* Provinces being devolved to *Philip the Second*, King of *Spain*, who deſigning to himſelf the Weſtern Monarchy, and (the beſt *Medium* to that End) was to reduce thoſe Provinces to a Kingdom. But they being fortified with great Privileges, and many of them inconſiſtent with Monarchy; it was adjudged by ſober Perſons it would prove a Work of great Difficulty, and that he would never effect that he aimed at. Beſides, the Reformation of Religion, which then began to grow to ſome Strength, moved the King to reduce them back to the Church of *Rome*, by the Power and Terror of the Inquiſition: Which when the People violently oppoſed, the King then reſolved to bring them by *Spaniſh Rhetorick* (that is by Sword and Cannon) to Obedience *. To that End, King *Philip* ſends the Duke of *Alva* (an old and expert Captain) with a puiſſant Army to be his Viceroy amongſt them. No ſooner was he ſettled in his new Government, but he eſtabliſhed the *Bloet-rod*, as they term it, a Council of Blood, made up moſt of *Spaniards*.

*Anno* 1567, he took off the Heads of the Counts of *Horn*, *Egmont*, and of divers other Perſons of Quality; Cittadels were erected, and Taxes impoſed upon the People to ſupport them: The Political Government of the Country in many Things altered, and the People ſpoiled not of their Privileges only, but of their Liberties. Amongſt the Reformed he brought in the Inquiſition, and therein behaved himſelf very tyrannically. This poured Oil on the Fire, formerly kindled, and put all into a Combuſtion; about five-thouſand Families quitted their Country, ſome flying into *Germany*, others into *France*, and moſt into *England*, where they were received with all Kindneſs and Civility; Churches were appointed them, they being of the Reformed Religion, and many noble and great Privileges were beſtowed upon them.

During thoſe Troubles, the Prince of *Orange* and Count *Lodowick*, his Brother, were very active, and gave the Duke of *Alva* Employment.

All *Holland*, except *Amſterdam*, followed the Fortune and Side of the Prince, together with all the Towns of *Zealand*, except *Middleburg*.

*Anno* 1573, the Duke of *Alva* was recalled; afterwards Don *Lewis* of *Requiſens* was appointed Governor: After him, the Prince of *Parma*, who brought the *Hollanders* into a worſe Caſe than ever.

Yet, *Anno* 1581, they declare, that *Philip* of *Spain* was fallen from his Government; they renounce and abjure him for their Sovereign; they break his Seals, change the Oath of Allegiance, and took a new Oath of the People, never to return to the *Spaniſh* Obedience.

This done, the States, for ſo they called themſelves ever after, choſe *Francis*, Duke of *Anjou*, to be their Prince, during whoſe unfortunate Government, the Duke of *Parma* prevailed in all Places, eſpecially after the Death of *William* Prince of *Orange*, who was traiterouſly ſlain, *Anno* 1584.

Now were the *Hollanders* truly miſerable, deſperate of Pardon from their inraged Prince, and having no Perſon of Courage to head them, none of Power to protect them, but ſuch as were likely to regard their own Profit, more than their Intereſt. *England* was the only Sanctuary they had now left, to which they ſue, offering the Queen † the Sovereignty of their Provinces. But that heroick Queen, not intending to herſelf any Thing, ſaving the Honour of relieving her diſtreſſed Neighbours, *Anno* 1585, took them into her Protection, and concluded, amongſt others, of theſe Articles, *viz.*

That the Queen ſhould ſend them five-thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe into the *Netherlands*, to fight for them.

That they ſhould pay her ten Pounds *per Cent.* for all Sums of Money, ſhe ſhould lend them, or diſburſe for them; and Intereſt upon Intereſt.

And likewiſe five Pounds for every *Engliſh* Gentleman, or Officer, which ſhould die in their Service.

All which Sums of Money were to be paid unto the Queen, at the End of the War.

And that, for the Reimburſing of the ſaid

* See the wicked Practices of the *Spaniards* againſt the *Netherlands*, on Page 393, Vol. II.

† *Eliſabeth* of *England*.

Monies,

Monies, the *Brill*, *Fluſhing*, and Caſtle of *Ramekins* were to be delivered unto the Queen, as Caution and Pledges.

The Queen, in Performance of her Agreement, ſent them five-thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe, Money and a Governor, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and had the Cautionary Towns delivered unto her. The renowned Sir *Philip Sidney* was the firſt Governor of *Fluſhing*, who died in their Service.

*Caſimir* alſo, the Elector *Palatine*'s Son, drew down to the Aſſiſtance of the States an Army of fifteen-thouſand Horſe and Foot, at the Inſtance and great Charges of the Queen.

When the Earl of *Leiceſter* came to wait upon the Queen, at his Going over to be their Governor; ſhe ſtrictly commanded the Earl, that he ſhould have a Regard of the *Engliſh* Soldiers, and that they ſerved God, and demeaned themſelves religiouſly. Which they did with ſuch exemplary Zeal, that a ſober Man might have thought, that the United Provinces then ſtood in *Chriſtendom*. And that pious Queen did therein well, for the *Chriſtian* Religion was firſt planted in *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Frieſland*, by *Willibroad*, an *Engliſhman*, the firſt Biſhop of *Utrecht*; whence by Degrees it gained on the reſt of the Countries. But ſince, by the ill Practices of ſome amongſt them, they are much fallen from the Purity of it.

The Queen now reſolveth to ſet all the Royal Signatures of her Favour upon the United Provinces, and give them the moſt eminent Demonſtrations of her Bounty and Kindneſs. The Staple of *Engliſh* Cloth, that was formerly at *Antwerp*, ſhe ſettled at *Delf*, in great Quantities; by Reaſon of the great Concourſe of People, which that Trade brought with it, the Town became rich, well built, and beautified with ſpacious Streets.

*Fluſhing*, before the *Engliſh* came thither, was a very poor Town, but by the Countenance of the Queen, the *Engliſh* Gariſon there, and the Trade which the *Engliſh* brought thither, it flouriſhed in a high Meaſure; and, by their Means, ſo did all their great Towns and Cities there.

She encouraged them in their Trades, protected them in their Navigation, gave them Licenſes to fiſh upon the *Britiſh* Seas, which before was not permitted unto them, and the *Engliſh* did couragiouſly fight for them, to vindicate their Rights, whilſt they were employed in Fiſhing, and in their Manufactures, by which they increaſed in Wealth. But one Infelicity happened unto them, that the King of *Denmark*, having taken ſome Diſpleaſure againſt them, laid an Embargo upon ſeven-hundred of their Ships, which were paſſing backward and forward upon the *Sound* for Corn, by Reaſon whereof the People there were now more diſtreſſed with Fear of a Famine, than with the Sword of the Enemy. But the potent Queen preſently gave them Relief, for ſhe ſupplied them with great Quantities of Corn; and by her Intereſt, with the Diſburſement of ſome Monies, the Ships were diſcharged, and came Home to their ſeveral Ports, in the United Provinces.

Now was the Queen looked upon as their only Patroneſs, and the *Engliſh*, the beſt Sinews of their Wars, and the Atchievers of the greateſt Exploits among them: Near *Newport* was fought that memorable Battle betwixt the Archduke *Albert*, and the State. The Victory, next under God, was gained for the States, by the Valour of the *Engliſh*, and the excellent Conduct of thoſe noble and gallant Perſons Sir *Francis* and Sir *Horatio Vere*.

*Oſtend* was not walled till the *Low-Country* Wars, and then with a Mud-wall only; and not finiſhed till the Archduke ſat down before it. Inſomuch as the Archducheſs *Iſabella* is ſaid to have ſworn, that ſhe ſhould not ſhift her Smock till the Town was taken, who, had ſhe kept her raſh Oath, had been very———: For the Town being gariſoned by the *Engliſh*, and under Sir *Horatio Vere*, who was Governor thereof, held out againſt the Archduke a Siege of three Years, and ſo many Months; the *Spaniards* at this Siege loſt One-hundred Thouſand Men.

*Breda*, a Town well fortified, and the Barony of the Prince of *Orange*, from whom being taken by the *Spaniards* in the Beginning of the Wars, it was again recovered by ſeventy valorous *Engliſh* Soldiers; who, hiding themſelves in a Boat covered with Turf, were conveighed into the Caſtle, which they eaſily maſtered, and made the Prince Lord again of all his Dominions and Territories there. The Speech of one of the Soldiers there, upon that Occaſion, deſerves never to be forgotten; who fearing leſt by his violent Noiſe in Coughing (though he did repreſs it) he ſhould, together with himſelf, betray his Companions: Kill me, ſaith he, Fellow-Soldiers, leſt we be killed.

The particular Actions, Gallantry, and noble Attempts of the *Engliſh*, here, would deſerve a juſt Volume of themſelves. By their Valour and Courage moſt of the *Spaniſh* Soldiers were ſo waſted and conſumed, that the King of *Spain* was forced, to give a Stop to their Conqueſts, to ſend Fifty-thouſand Veteran Soldiers out of *Spain* and *Italy* into *Flanders*. And the Queen did ſupply the States with anſwerable Numbers of Men and Money, inſomuch as ſhe maintained for them Forty-thouſand Horſe and Foot in their Service.

She made many Naval Expeditions into *America*, and there did much infeſt the King of *Spain*, ſinking his Ships, burning his Towns, battering down his Forts and Caſtles, and interrupting all his Trade and Commerce there; all this to bring that King to Reaſon and Juſtice, as to the United Provinces.

The King of *Spain*, hereat exceedingly incenſed, *Anno* 1588, ſends his invincible *Armado* * againſt *England*, raiſed a Rebellion in *Ireland* againſt the Queen, ſent many *Spaniſh* Soldiers to *Kingſale*, to the Aſſiſtance of the Rebels there, and committed many Depredations in *Cornwall* here; many ſanguinary and deſperate Perſons were encouraged to poiſon, murder, and deſtroy her, who made many Attempts upon her Royal Perſon. So this excellent Queen being incircled with ſo many Infelicities and Troubles, and beſet with ſo many Calamities, and being wearied with the Wars in the *Netherlands*, becauſe they did ſo exhauſt her Treaſure, and deſtroy her brave People, and finding the States to grow inſolent, and to perform no Agreements, and withal, obſerving their Subjects to grow rich by the War, of which they made a Trade and Merchandiſe, and her Kingdoms to be thereby impoveriſhed; ſhe reſolved to make Peace with the *Spaniard*, being aſſured the *Belgick* War was never to be ended by Conqueſt, and to that Purpoſe ſhe ſignified her Royal Pleaſure unto the States; but finding her Majeſty to be in Earneſt, as ſhe had great Reaſon for it, they were much perplexed. For, if ſhe had deſerted them, they had loſt their chief and only Support; they ſent over their Ambaſſadors into *England*, and, in the moſt humble Manner that could be, petitioned her Majeſty, that ſhe would not caſt off the Cauſe of God and Man, and leave ſixty Towns, with a poor diſtreſſed People, a Prey to the Malice and Avarice of the barbarous *Spaniard*. But ſhe earneſtly preſſed them for the Payment of her Money, adding withal Threats, that, if ſhe was not obeyed therein, ſhe would take ſuch Courſes as her Lenity was not uſed to be acquainted with, and ſo diſmiſſed them.

Hereat the States were much diſturbed; and thereupon, *Anno* 1588, the diſtreſſed States ſent the Lord *Warmond* and others their humble Suppliants unto her Majeſty, who, in the loweſt Poſture of Humility, did acknowledge themſelves obliged unto her for infinite Benefits.

But herein her Majeſty excelled the Glory of her Anceſtors, that, by how much ſhe exceeded others in Power, by ſo much her Majeſty excelled them in Acts of Mercy and Piety, by whoſe Means and Aid, the *French* † have gained many Victories, and they ‡ more.

As for the Money, which the States owed her, they beſeeched her Majeſty to conſider the Dangers daily growing upon them, their Poverty and Diſability to pay, and that, by original Agreement with her Majeſty, no Monies were to be paid, till the Wars were ended.

The Queen, underſtanding their unjuſt Practices and ill Dealings with her, told them that ſhe had been often deluded by their deceitful Supplications, ungrateful Actions, unhandſome Cavilings, and Pretences of Poverty, when their rich Cities confuted them; and ſhe hoped God would not ſuffer her to be a Pattern to other Princes, to help ſuch a People, who bear no Reverence to Superiors, nor take Care for the Advantage, Reputation, or Safety of any but themſelves: And required them to pay her the Money they owed her: And adviſed them for the Future, that they ſhould not ſeek a Remedy againſt growing Danger, from old Accounts by Compulſion, but rather merit new Favours by their Gratitude and Thanks for the former.

At theſe Expreſſions of her Majeſty, the poor diſtreſſed States thought themſelves confounded, both for their former and future Charges: Yet, conſidering the Name of Alliance with *England* was of exceeding Advan-

* See the Hiſtory of this *Armado* on Page 111, *&c.* Vol. I.
† When attacked by *Spain*. ‡ The *Dutch*.

tage

tage unto them, they reſolved to ſubmit, as they could not avoid it, to ſuch Conditions as her Majeſty ſhould lay upon them.

The Queen again preſſed them for the Payment of her Money, and for Peace; but ſhe could not incline them to Peace, being never diſpoſed to pay her Money, which muſt be at the End of the War. Yet, in Compliance with her Majeſty, the Account was ſtated. And the principal Debt, beſides Intereſt upon Intereſt, and the Loſs of her Subjects in their Wars, did amount to 8,000,000 Crowns; and they did agree to pay her Majeſty, during the War, 100,000 Pounds yearly, and the Remainder, when Peace was concluded, and the Cautionary Towns ſurrendered; and that in the mean Time 1500 *Engliſh* Soldiers ſhould remain in the Gariſons, and that the States ſhould pay them.

The Queen, having her Debts ſtated, began to be more friendly to them, and wiſhed them to follow their Trade of Fiſhing upon the *Britiſh* Seas; which ſhe gave them Leave to do, that they might be the better able to pay her, and ſupport the Charges of their War, which they did effectually.

But I could never find, that they ever paid unto her Majeſty any of the Money they owed her. For it is not to be conceived, that thoſe Perſons, whom her Majeſty, for ſo many Years, could not bring to Account, would, at the laſt, pay her any Thing.

But her Majeſty being grown into Years, and thoſe vigorous and great Parts, ſhe formerly had, ſomewhat declining; they, that the Queen might not exact of them the Payment of her Money, according to Agreement with her, continually by Emiſſaries, which they had about her Majeſty, and their Penſioners, did infuſe Jealouſies into her Head, and what Plots and ſecret Deſigns the King of *Spain* had againſt her Majeſty, and her Dominions; which did ſo amuſe her, that I do not obſerve her Majeſty ever preſſed them after for the Payment of any Money. But from Time to Time ſhe ſupplied them with Men as they deſired, and ever made good to them her own Motto, *Semper eadem.*

And as her Aſſiſtance to them was the firſt, ſo it continued to the laſt, that is until *March* 24, 1602, at which Time ſhe died, having loſt not fewer than 100,000 of her Subjects in that War; and having ſpent in Naval Expeditions, for their Sakes, againſt the King of *Spain*, in *America*, or elſewhere, above a Million of Money, beſides the Debt which the States owed her.

King *James* being proclaimed King, and the undoubted Heir and Succeſſor to the Queen, the States ſent their Ambaſſadors to the King; and, after ſome Compliments to him, they ſignify to his Majeſty, that they had loſt her, whoſe Goodneſs and Benefits to them were not to be expreſſed in Words; but they had found his Majeſty as the Heir of her Kingdom, ſo the Imitator of her Virtues, and perſuaded him to a War with *Spain*, and begged Supplies of him.

But King *James* being a wiſe Prince, and not to be taken with their Arts and Cunning, told them, that he had no Difference with the *Spaniard*, and alſo, that King *Philip* had voluntarily offered him his Aſſiſtance, if any Diſpute ſhould have ariſen concerning his Kingdoms. And, for the Archduke, he made War with the Queen, not with the Realm.

This highly diſcompoſed the States; but King *James* treated with the *Spaniards*, and concluded a League with them. And the States, ſuch Kindneſs had his Majeſty for them, were offered by King *James* to be comprehended in the Articles of the Treaty, but they refuſed; yet, by the Mediation of King *James*, a Peace was propounded to the States from the King of *Spain*; but they ſignified unto his Majeſty, that they would not treat with the King of *Spain*, till they were declared by him *Free States*, abſtracted from all Right and Title unto any of the Provinces or Places by them poſſeſſed, which he might pretend unto. All which, by the great Endeavours of King *James*, were granted unto them by the King of *Spain*. And ſo, *Anno* 1609, a Peace was concluded between the King of *Spain* and them.

The Provinces in the Poſſeſſion of the States, at the Time of the Concluſion of the Peace, were *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Weſt-Frieſland*, *Overyſſel*, *Groningland*, *Utrecht*, *Zutphen*, three Parts of *Gelderland*, and ſo ſome Frontier Towns and Places of Contribution in *Brabant* and *Flanders*.

All which Provinces, with their Frontier Towns in *Brabant* and *Flanders*, are not ſo big as *Yorkſhire*, one of our Counties in *England*. And there may be a greater Number of ſtout and gallant Men for War raiſed out of that one County, than they can raiſe out of all their Provinces.

Being

Being now declared Free States, and Peace concluded with the King of *Spain*; yet, for their own Security, they were forced to maintain an Army in their Country. The Charge whereof could not amount to leſs than Six-hundred thouſand Pounds yearly, beſides other vaſt Expences, as, the Preſervation of their Dikes, *&c.*

All, or the greateſt Part thereof, they raiſed out of the Fiſhing of the *Britiſh* Seas, or on the People by Exciſe, and Taxes upon every Acre of Ground. Which is ſuch, that the whole Country returns into their Hands every third Year, and by other Impoſitions, ſo inſupportable in themſelves, and amongſt Men which would be thought to live in a Free State, that ſhould any Prince in *Chriſtendom* lay but half ſo much upon their Subjects, it would occaſion a Revolt.

So that, whereas one of the firſt Cauſes of their falling off from their Prince was to free themſelves from Taxes and Impoſitions, illegall, yas they ſaid, forced upon them, they have drawn upon themſelves more arbitrary and illegal Payments, than any Nation in the World. So true it is, that, a Rebellion once ſuppreſſed, the King is more King, and the Subjects more ſubject: But if it thrives, and happen to be *proſperum fœdus*, and to advance itſelf to a *Free State*, as they call it, Tyranny and Oppreſſion are the two Pillars, which muſt ſupport it.

The States being now abſolute, and having obtained a Sovereign Dominion, only the Cautionary Towns ſtuck in their Stomachs, and might prove a Curb to them: But, being unwilling to move the King concerning them, by the great Sums of Money they then owed him, and being not able to pay him, they would by ſome Projection or other, endeavour to gain them: Thereupon they reſolved, as the beſt Expedient, not to pay the *Engliſh* Soldiers in the Cautionary Towns, who, being thereby put to Diſtreſs for Want, would be forced to borrow ſome Monies, for their preſent Support, of the States of *Zealand*, which they did; who therewith adviſed the States-General at the *Hague*. They, conſulting with Sir *Ralph Winwood*, Ambaſſador for his Majeſty there, who was a favourable Inſtrument to them in this Buſineſs, ſent Inſtructions to the Lord *Caroon*, then their Ambaſſador in *England*, to acquaint the Lord Treaſurer herewith. And, in caſe of no Satisfaction from him, to make his Addreſſes to the King, which he did. His Majeſty being much incenſed, that his Subjects and Soldiers ſhould ſtarve for Want of their Pay in Foreign Parts, ſent for the Lord Treaſurer, who drawing his Majeſty aſide, and telling him how empty his Exchequer was, his Majeſty told their Ambaſſador, that, if his Maſters would pay him the Money they owed him, he would deliver up thoſe Towns.

The next Day their Ambaſſador, waiting on the King, to know whether his Majeſty perſiſted in the ſame Reſolution, his Majeſty anſwered, that he took the States of *Holland* to be his good Friends and Confederates, both in Point of Religion and Policy; therefore he apprehended not the leaſt Fear of any Difference that ſhould fall out between them. In Contemplation whereof, if they would have their Towns again, he would willingly ſurrender them.

The States hereupon made up the Money preſently, and ſent to the King. And ſo, *Anno* 1616, the cautionary Towns were delivered unto them.

The King, ſuch was his Royal Bounty unto them, remitted the Intereſt, and five Pounds for every Gentleman, and Officer, which died in their Service.

But having gotten the Poſſeſſion of their Towns (which were the Lock and Key of their Provinces) and having compounded for thoſe exceeding great Sums of Money which they owed his Majeſty (which ſober Men did think they never had been able to pay, if rightly ſtated) they preſently, from *Poor diſtreſſed People*, are ſwelled up to thoſe ſpreading and magnificent Titles of *High and Mighty States.*

Now they make their Naval Expeditions into *America*, and other Parts of the World: And, by the Leave and Licenſe of King *James*, paying ſome ſmall Tribute, they fall to their Fiſhing Trade upon the *Britiſh* Seas. Wherein they did ſo exceedingly thrive, that, towards the latter End of King *James*'s Reign, they employed yearly Eight-thouſand Four-hundred Veſſels of all Sorts for their Trade of Fiſhing upon the *Britiſh* Seas, (which Number ſince is vaſtly increaſed) whereby they have a Seminary of Mariners ready for publick Service, or Navigation. And upon Computation it appeared, that they made in one Year of the Herrings only, caught upon the *Britiſh* Seas, the Sum of Five Millions of our Pounds; (the Cuſtom and Tenth of Fiſh

advancing

advancing to the publick Treaſury no leſs than Eight-hundred thouſand Pounds) beſides the Cod, Ling, Hakes, Pilchard, and other Fiſh, computed to amount unto near three Millions more.

By Reaſon of this Multitude of Ships and Ma-ers, they have extended their Trade to all Parts of the World, exporting for the moſt Part, in all their Voyages, our Herrings and Fiſh; in Exchange whereof, they return the ſeveral Commodities of other Countries, and ſell the ſame at their own Prices. Great Part of their Fiſh they ſell for ready Money, which commonly they export of the fineſt Gold and Silver, and, coming Home, recoin it of a baſer Alloy, under their own Stamp; which advances a great Profit to them. The Returns, which they make for their Fiſh in other Commodities, amount to a vaſt Sum: And all this Wealth, Riches, and Grandeur, is derived unto them from the Indulgency and Bounty of the Kings of *Great-Britain.*

The *Hollanders* now beginning to be conſiderable in the World, by reaſon of the many Royal Favours wherewith they are inriched by the Crown of *England*: The *Engliſh* and they having ſeveral Factories and Places in the Iſles of *Molucca's*, *Banda*, and *Amboyna*, and elſewhere *in* (the *Eaſt-Indies*, the *Engliſh* being ſome Years ſettled there before the *Hollanders* had made any Diſcovery of thoſe Iſlands) *Anno* 1619, there was a ſolemn League and Agreement by King *James*, and the States of the United Provinces, in a ſtrict Alliance, and ſocial Confederacy of the *Engliſh Eaſt-India* Company, and that of the United Provinces, for the better Advancing and Carrying on of the Trade and Commerce in thoſe Iſlands, and elſewhere *in* the *Eaſt-Indies*.

Here are ſo many Marks of Kindneſs, ſuch ample Demonſtrations of Favour, as no People could have greater Obligations (if any Principles of Honour or Juſtice could oblige them) to make Returns of Gratitude, and give the greateſt Inſtance of their Sincerity and Faithfulneſs to the Kings of *Great-Britain*, and the *Engliſh* Nation. But, with them, *Favours paſt are not accounted; they love no Bounty, but what is meerly future.*

At *Amboyna* (one of the *Scyndæ*, or *Setibe* Iſlands, lying near *Seran*, and hath many leſſer Iſlands depending upon it, it is of the Circuit of ſixty Leagues) an Iſland which bears Cloves plentifully, for Gathering and Buying whereof the *Engliſh* Cmpany had placed five ſeveral Factories: The Head of all at the Town of *Amboyna* (ſo called from the Iſland, the chief Town in it) two at *Hitto*, and *Larico*, in the ſame Iſland; and two others at *Latro*, and *Cambello*, in the Iſland of *Seran*. But the *Hollanders* obſerving the *Engliſh* to be better beloved by the Natives than themſelves, and that they began highly to improve and gain by their Trade and Traffick, hating that any ſhould thrive but themſelves, *Anno* 1622, upon Pretence of a Plot between the *Engliſh* and the *Japoneſe* to betray their Fortreſs in the Town of *Amboyna* (which was built at the Charge of the *Engliſh*, and for the Safety of Trade and Commerce) the *Hollanders* having about Two-hundred Soldiers there (to the End they might ingroſs the whole Trade and Traffick of the ſaid Iſlands to themſelves) moſt treacherouſly murdered, and with Fire and Water tortured the *Engliſh* there, far exceeding the Barbarity of all Nations, and ſeized upon their Factories and Goods, to the Value of Four-hundred thouſand Pounds: All the *Engliſh* and *Japoneſe*, which they could meet with, they ſent into their own Iſlands to be their Slaves.

An Act, ſo horrid! that the *Hollanders* are infamous to this very Day among the rude and ſavage *Indians*, for their barbarous Inhumanity executed upon the *Engliſh* (the greateſt Patrons, under God, they ever had in the World.) King *James*, being made acquainted with this barbarous Fact, told the States Ambaſſador, that he never read or heard of a more cruel and impious Act. *But I do forgive them*, ſaid the King, *and I hope God will: But my Son's Son will revenge this Blood, and puniſh this horrid Maſſacre.* The King was a wiſe Prince; and, believe it, Wiſdom is next Door to Prophecy.

Having thus murdered the *Engliſh* (their Inſolence and Ingratitude did not end there, but) they forcibly ſeized upon the Iſlands of *Seran*, *Nero*, *Waire*, *Roſingen*, *Latyo*, *Cambello*, *Nitto*, *Larica*, *Lantare*, the Iſlands of *Poloroone*, near neighbouring to the *Mollucca's*, *Polaway*, and *Machaſſer*, Iſlands of *Banda*; all which Iſlands were formerly ſurrendered, by the general Conſent and Act of the Natives unto the *Engliſh*, and under the Sovereignty of the Kings of *England*. They ſeize upon their Factories and Goods there, and poſſeſs themſelves of One-thouſand eight-hundred *Engliſh*

*liſh*, which they diſpoſed of into their own Iſlands.

By this Artifice they gained to themſelves *Amboyna*, *Banda*, the *Mollucca* Iſlands, *Ternate*, *Tidor*, *Maner*, *Rochian*, *Machiam*, and *Botono*, with ſome others: In all which the *Engliſh* had their Factories, and ſome Caſtles, Iſlands productive of Cloves, Nutmegs, Mace, Cinnamon, and other rich Commodities; from whence the *Perſians*, *Turks*, *Chineſe*, and *Africans* fetched them. But, by Reaſon the *Hollanders* were ſuperior to them in Strength, and that horrid Act of *Amboyna* had made a ſad Impreſſion upon their Spirits, expecting the ſame Meaſure of Cruelty from them, as they of *Amboyna*) they were forced to quit the ſaid Iſland and Factories.

So that theſe inſolent and ingrateful Perſons have gained to themſelves ſolely the Trade of the whole World for Spices.

By the Loſs of which Iſlands, there is drained yearly by them out of the King of *England*'s Dominions for Spices, Four-hundred thouſand Pounds; beſides, the Loſs of the Trade in thoſe Iſlands to the *Engliſh* (which would have much improved and enlarged itſelf in other Places) cannot amount unto leſs than four Millions of Pounds *Sterling* yearly, though formerly ſome inconſiderable Quantities of them did grow in *Cupe*, *Duco*, *Montio*, and *Mara*, but of late not any. The Advantage hereof cannot amount unto the *Hollanders* leſs than ſeven Millions of Pounds *Sterling* yearly: They ſetting what Rates and Prices they pleaſe upon theſe Commodities.

By theſe moſt unjuſt Practices of the *Hollanders*, the Stock of the *Engliſh* Company, which did amount unto about Sixteen-hundred thouſand Pounds was the greateſt Part of it loſt.

*Poloroone*, by the general and voluntary Act of the chief Men of the Country, was ſurrendered into the Power of King *James*, and the Poſſeſſion thereof was given, to his Majeſty's Uſe, to Captain *Courtrop*, *December* 23, *Anno* 1616. No other Nation, at that Time, having any Intereſt in it, or Pretenſion to it, being a very rich and plentiful Iſland: From whence the *Engliſh* might have expected great Treaſure and Advantages. The *Hollanders*, notwithſtanding their League and Treaty with King *James*, *Anno* 1619, the *Engliſh* being then in Poſſeſſion of it, with great Force entered the ſaid Iſland, demoliſhed all their Buildings, pulled up all their Nutmeg-trees, and ſent them into their own Iſlands to be planted; deſtroyed all their Factories there, and ſeized upon all their Goods, and forced all the *Engliſh* from thence, and to diſpeople it, that it might be of no Uſe to the *Engliſh* for the future, under Colour of a Plot that the *Oran-keys* and Nobles of *Poloroone* had conſpir[illegible] with the People of *Seran* to maſſacre the *Du[illegible]*; as well at *Poloroone* as *Poloway*: The *Dutch* Governor at *Poloway* ſent Command to the *Oran-keys*, that they ſhould come over to him; a Prieſt and Seventy *Oran-keys* immediately took a Prow, or ſmall Veſſel, of their own, and embarked themſelves for *Poloway*. As ſoon as they were arrived, they were carried Priſoners to the Caſtle. Then the Governor, with Two-hundred Soldiers, went to *Poloroone*, whence he fetched the reſt of the *Oran-keys*, and committed them Priſoners to the ſame Caſtle; and preſently were brought to the Torture with Fire and Water, as they ſerved the *Engliſh* at *Amboyna*. Two of them died in their Tortures; the reſt, being one-hundred and ſixty-two, were all, upon their forced Confeſſions, condemned and executed. The Prieſt, when he came to the Place of Execution, ſpake theſe Words, in the *Mallatian* Tongue; "All ye, great and ſmall, rich and "poor, black and white, look to it, we have "committed no Fault." And when he would have ſpoken more, he was taken by the Head and Feet, laid along, and cut in two by the Middle. Their Wives, Children, and Slaves, with all their Goods, were ſeized by the *Hollanders*, and ſent into their other Iſlands.

And this the *Hollanders* did, becauſe the *Oran-keys* had a great Love for the *Engliſh*.

So that we may perceive the ſole Deſign of the *Hollanders* is, to get the Riches, Trade, and Dominion of the whole *Indies* into their own Power. And therefore they think any *Medium* juſt, ſubſervient to that End.

The *Hollanders* having forcibly taken the Town and Caſtle of *Mallaca* from the *Portugueſe*, ſuffer no Ships of any King or Prince in *Europe* to paſs the *Streights* of *Mallaca*, into the South-Seas to *China*, &c. upon Pain of Seiſure, or Confiſcation of Men, Ships, and Goods.

And to that Purpoſe they grant their Commiſſions to the Captains of their Ships, to bring all the *Streights* of *Mallaca*, which *Streights* were free for all Ships to paſs, till the Reſtraint and Uſurpation of the *Hollanders* into *Mallaca*,

*ca*, or elſe to ſink, or burn them by their Sides.

This Reſtraint is Loſs to the *Engliſh* Three-hundred thouſand Pounds yearly, and Advantage to the *Hollanders* Five-hundred thouſand Pounds yearly.

*Anno* 1620 *Cabo de bon Eſperanza* * was in the Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, and by them taken for the Uſe of King *James*. But ſince the *Engliſh* have been forced out by the *Hollanders*, where they have a flouriſhing Plantation.

Thereupon *Anno* 1620, they ſeized upon two *Engliſh* Ships, the *Bear* and the *Star*, in the *Streights* of *Mallaca*, going to *China*, and confiſcated the Ships and Goods, valued at Fifteen-hundred thouſand Pounds.

The Ship *Bona Eſperanza*, an *Engliſh* Veſſel, *Anno* 1635, going into *China*, by the *Streights* of *Mallaca*, was violently aſſaulted by three *Dutch* Men of War; the Maſter and many of his Men killed, and brought into *Mallaca*; and there the Ship and Goods were confiſcated, valued at One-hundred thouſand Pounds.

The *Dragon* and *Catharine*, two *Engliſh* Ships of Sir *William Curteen*, valued at Three-hundred thouſand Pounds, beſides their Commanders, and others, who had very great Eſtates therein, *Anno* 1636, were ſet upon by ſeven *Dutch* Men of War, as they paſt the *Streights* of *Mallaca* from *China*, and by them taken. The Men were tied Back to Back, and flung Over-board; the Goods, being taken out of the ſaid Ships, were ſeized to the Uſe of the States there; and the Ships ſunk, that it might not be known who committed that cruel Fact.

In *Aru* and *Manucado* in *Sumatia*, an Oriental Iſland, the *Engliſh* had ſeveral Factories there, by the Conſent of the King and Natives; but, by the Practice of the *Hollanders*, *Anno* 1625, they were all forced to leave their Factories, and the Places.

In *Pachane*, the chief City of *Pachane*, one of the Kingdoms of *Siam* in *India*, the *Engliſh* had ſeveral Factories there; but, by the unjuſt Practices of the *Hollanders*, they were compelled to quit the Country, and their Factories, to an inexpreſſible Loſs to the *Engliſh*. *Pachane* being a great Country for Gold, Silver, Pearls, precious Stones, and many other rich Commodities.

The *Hollanders*, *Anno* 1636, made War againſt the King of *Bantam*, one of the Kings of *Java major*, for that he had a great Kindneſs for the *Engliſh*, and for that he permitted them to have ſeveral Factories in *Sunda* and *Jambe* for Pepper; and by this Art would have driven the *Engliſh* from thence, and their chief Pepper Trade: And ſo would have ſhut them out, both of the *Streights* of *Sunda* and *Mallaca*.

Which, from theſe Men, we may learn, That thoſe, which ſtudy to be great by any Means, muſt by all Means forget to be good; they muſt diſmiſs that puny Thing, Conſcience; for there is no ſuch *Remora* to Grandeur, as a coy and ſqueamiſh Conſcience: And it is obſerved by a learned Gentleman, had *Alexander* boggled at Invading other Men's Kingdoms, he had never wept for the Scarcity of Worlds.

The Oppreſſions and Injuries of theſe Men in *India*, not only to the *Engliſh*, but to the Subjects of many of the Kings and Princes in *Europe*, are not to be expreſſed, (and indeed they are fitter for our Wonder than our Words.) It were to be deſired, that they would ſet forth a Manifeſto to the World of the particular Loſſes they and their Subjects have ſuſtained by the Inſolencies and Uſurpations of theſe Men. And then they would be as much ſcorned, by every good Man in *Europe*, as they are now hated by the *Indians* in *America*: For the *Indians*, though they have no Kindneſs for the *Spaniard*, yet they look upon him as a Gentleman, but the *Hollanders* they abhor, for their ſordid Acts, and unjuſt Practices.

As they have made themſelves Maſters of the South Seas, ſo having, *Anno* 1662, taken *Cochen* from the *Portugueſe*, and other Ports upon the Coaſts of *Malabar*, they have the ſole Command upon the North Seas from *Malabar* to *India*, *Perſia*, *Arabia*, the *Red-Sea*, and *Moſambique*, all along to *Cabo de bon Eſperanza*; ſo they will in a ſhort Time reſtrain all Kings and Princes in *Europe*, and their Subjects, to have a Trade or Commerce in thoſe Parts.

And, whether it may not, by the Help of a little Logick, be concluded out of their Stile, conſider, The States-General of the United Provinces of *Batavia*, *Amboyna*, *Tewan*, &c.

* The *Cape of Good Hope*.

Commanders of all the Seas of the World; Protectors of all the Kings and Princes in *Europe*; and ſupreme Moderators of all the Affairs in *Chriſtendom*: For ſo they ſtile and write themſelves in the *Eaſt-Indies*.

Now they are High and Mighty States indeed: Ambition is never ſo high, but ſhe thinks ſtill to mount; that Station which lately ſeemed the Top, is but a Step to her now; and what before was great, in Deſiring, ſeems little, being once in Power.

## *The Method and Arts which the* States *have uſed in* India, *to enlarge their Dominions, and exclude others from Trade or Commerce there.*

1. THEY are in a perpetual State of Hoſtility, ever warring upon ſome Prince or other; and thereby gain either Tribute or Dominion.

2. When they have to do with any King or Prince, they order their Affairs ſo, that he muſt perform firſt; and, when he hath done, they are States, and ſo are free.

3. They encourage the Natives, upon every ſmall Occaſion of Diſcontent, to arm againſt their Prince, promiſing them their Aſſiſtance, which they exactly perform. When they have conquered the King, and taken his Caſtles and Ports, which they firſt ſecure, making themſelves Maſters of the Seas and great Rivers, then they ſubdue the Natives, and ſo veſt in themſelves ſovereign Dominion, and make both King and Natives their Vaſſals.

4. If the Natives take up Arms againſt their Prince, as many Times they do, then they encourage him againſt his rebellious Subjects, and give him their Aſſiſtance; when the Natives are ſubdued, then they conquer the King himſelf, or elſe demand ſo much for their Aſſiſtance, that he is not able to pay, and ſo he muſt ſubmit himſelf and his Dominions to their boundleſs Ambition.

5. If there be any Wars between Prince and Prince, they will be ſure to fall in with one of them, and give him their Aid, and ſo make War in the other Prince's Dominions: When that Prince is ſubdued, and themſelves ſettled in his Dominions, then they reduce the other Prince to their Obedience, having ſome Caſtles or Ports in his Dominions, which do command the Whole.

6. If they have any Places of Concern, and the Subjects of any Prince in *Europe* have any Factories there, which they cannot fairly diſmiſs, then they lay ſuch great Taxes and Impoſitions upon the Natives, that they are forced to Arms. When they are ſubdued, then they charge the Subjects of that Prince, as Conſpirators and Abettors of the Natives; and ſo ſeize upon all their Goods and Factories, and force them to quit the Country, or elſe ſend them into ſome of their Iſlands to be Slaves.

7. If any Prince in *Europe* make any Treaty or League with the States, concerning any Affairs in *India*, they ſend to the States of *Batavia* private Inſtructions, contrary to their publick Agreement; ſo that all Treaties and Leagues, as to the Affairs of *India*, are ineffectual.

8. Where they have Footing in any Iſland or Dominion, they claim by Conqueſt, and ſo lay what Taxes they pleaſe upon the Natives. And, being in by Conqueſt, they are Proprietaries, and ſo exclude the Subjects of any King or Prince from Trade there.

9. If the Subjects of any King or Prince in *Europe* have Factories in the Dominions of any Prince there, if they begin to be conſiderable, they take ſome Occaſion to war againſt that Prince; and, upon Treaty, charge thoſe Subjects to be the Cauſe of the War; ſo, if the Prince will have Peace, he muſt ſeize their Factories and Goods, and baniſh them his Country.

10. They pretend great Kindneſs to their Neighbour Princes, and enter into a League Offenſive and Defenſive with them; and by that Means get the Favour of thoſe Princes to have ſome Ports or ſtrong Caſtles for Defence of their Trade, as they pretend, in their Territories. When that is done, they either make War themſelves, and ſo thoſe Princes muſt aid them, or elſe perſuade the Princes their Allies to make War upon another Prince; which they do, and ſo fight one Prince againſt another; and, when they are ſufficiently weakened, they conquer them all.

11. If they have any Difference with any potent King or Prince, they get Time; if it be for their Advantage, they give good Words, but

but part with no Money. That done, they make their Addreſſes to ſome Favourite of that Prince, which do all in the Court of the *Indian* Kings, and ſo with ſmall Charges they effect great Matters.

By theſe Steps they have climbed up to thoſe immenſe Pyramids of Dominion and Power in the *Indies*, that they are become formidable to the greateſt Emperors and Princes there; ever making good in their Practice that Lemma of *Loyola*, the Apoſtle of their State,

*Cavete vobis Principes.*

They have excluded the Subjects of all Kings and Princes in *Europe* from Traffick and Commerce, where they have any Territories or Power. And, by reaſon of the Dominion they have in the South Seas, and the Conqueſts and Fortifications they make upon the North Seas, all their Subjects will finally be debarred from any Traffick or Trade there.

Of what dangerous Conſequence this will prove, it is very well beſeeming the Wiſdom of the greateſt Kings and Princes to conſider. For there are a Generation which are born to be the Plague, Diſquiet, and Scourge of *Europe*; and they gladly ſacrifice the publick Peace of *Chriſtendom* to their own private Intereſt.

If we conſider, how many brave and large Dominions in the *Eaſt-Indies* were under the Sovereignty of the Kings of *Great-Britain*, what flouriſhing Factories their Subjects had there, how great Kings they might have been in Treaſure and Dominion, how rich their Subjects, it cannot but diſcompoſe an *Engliſh* Spirit, that this King ſhould be outed of all thoſe Dominions, and his Subjects deveſted of their Riches and Hopes, by a People who had nothing but the Favour of the King of *Great-Britain* to ſupport them, nor no Fortreſs to defend them but that of *Amboyna*, and that built by the Money of the *Engliſh* Company.

Well, we may ſee what Treachery and Perfidiouſneſs can do, being accompanied with Ambition and Induſtry; but they will, before long, find, that ſlippery are thoſe Foundations of Might and Greatneſs, which are not laid upon the Principles of Juſtice, and regulated by the Maxims of Chriſtian Piety.

And as *America* was the Theatre where they acted theſe Tragedies, and unparalleled Inſolencies; ſo they have not ſpared to manifeſt their Ingratitude, Affronts, and higheſt Injuries againſt the Kings of *Great-Britain*, and the *Engliſh* Nation here in *Europe*.

*Anno* 1639, when his Catholick Majeſty ſent his *Armado* with ſome Soldiers into *Flanders*, to ſtrengthen his Gariſons there, but by croſs Winds were driven upon the *Engliſh* Coaſts; the States equipped out a great Fleet of Men of War, charged the *Spaniſh Armado*, raviſhed his Ships out of the Harbours of his late Majeſty * at *Dover*, and deſtroyed moſt of that Fleet, though in his Majeſty's Protection and Dominions, and againſt his Majeſty's expreſs Command; thereby uſurping Sovereignty to themſelves, and giving Laws to his Majeſty in his own Dominions. A bold Affront!

And, certainly, they could not think but his Majeſty did highly reſent it. But, to keep him buſied at Home, and that his Majeſty might have no Opportunity to bring them to Juſtice for their Inſolence, there being, *Anno* 1639, ſome Diſtempers † in *Scotland*, they did greatly promote them, and contributed their Aſſiſtance to them, in all Manner of Military Proviſions.

*Monarchy*, and with that the Glory of the *Engliſh* Nation, was now ‡ departed; the People model themſelves into a *Commonwealth*, they take a full Proſpect of the Uſurpations, Injuries and Oppreſſions of the States, which had ſuch a horrid Complexion of Injuſtice upon them, that the *new* Commonwealth ‖ denounce War againſt the *old* States §; they obtain many ſignal Victories, and had much diſabled their Naval Forces. Now, the States being not well able to conteſt with the *Engliſh* Valour, they project how they might deliver themſelves from the Fury of theſe Men. At laſt, they having by their Emiſſaries firſt diſſeminated Sedition amongſt the People, whereby the Commonwealth became a Burthen to the Nation, and wiſe Men began to be troubled at the ill Face of Affairs, they adjudged the beſt Expedient was to ſet up a ſingle Perſon, the States being now ſenſible of their former Error, in not ſupporting the *Engliſh* Monarchy, as their beſt Safety and greateſt Protection; *Oliver Cromwell*, as

* King *Charles* I.
‖ Of *England*.
† *al.* Diſturbances.
§ Of *Holland*.
‡ In the Time of the grand Rebellion of 1641.

the fitteſt Perſon for ſuch a bold-faced Treaſon, by their underhand Practice, and Paying to him ſome hundred-thouſand Pounds, is prevailed with to take upon him the Government of the Nation. The War is continued againſt them with great Succeſs, yet, by their Intereſt, they obtained a Treaty. And, thereupon paying a Million of Pounds to *Oliver*, a Peace is concluded, but the moſt diſhonourable and unjuſt that ever was to this Nation. But ſuch as it was, it continued till his Majeſty's * bleſſed Reſtoration.

*Anno* 1641, there happening ſome Difference betwixt his late Majeſty and his Parliament, they ſent over their Rabbies of Sedition here into *England*, and infuſed their Antimonarchical Principles and dangerous Doctrines into ſome giddy Heads of the *Engliſh* Nation, who thereby became ſo intoxicated, that they were never at Reſt, till, like Men infected with the Plague, they infected others; and, thereby, a great Part of the People became diſobſervant to the Laws of the Nation, and Rebels to their King. An Army of theſe Men were raiſed, they having their chief Officers and Commanders, and all Warlike Proviſions, out of the *United Provinces*, to bring Deſtruction to the King, and Deſolation to the Kingdom; thereby that great King being reduced to Streights, notwithſtanding the many Obligations of the States to his Majeſty, they could never be induced to contribute any Aid or Aſſiſtance to redeem that excellent Prince from ſo great an Abyſs of Miſery, or to preſerve the Kingdom from Ruin and Confuſion, which with their Aſſiſtance might have been eaſily prevented.

But the States were ſo far from any Act of Charity or Piety, that *Amſterdam* was made the great *Emporium*, or Market for the Rebels, to ſell thoſe rich and coſtly Goods, which they had plundered from his Majeſty's beſt Subjects in *England*, whereas no King or Prince in *Chriſtendom* would ſuffer them to make Uſe of any of their Ports for that Purpoſe, and the beſt Furniture that ſome of the States have in their Houſes, at this very Day, are many of thoſe ſtolen Goods.

And by this Means they brought Poverty and Miſery to this Nation, Riches and Plenty to themſelves.

This unfortunate Nation being thus in a Combuſtion, and all befried, the *Hogan Mogans* with Joy, as an ingenious Man obſerved, did warm their Hands at thoſe unhappy Flames, which they themſelves had kindled, tuning their merry Harps, when others were weeping over a Kingdom's Funeral. In *England*, there being nothing but Confuſion and Ruin, nothing to be ſeen but the Convulſions of a dying State, his now ſacred Majeſty, for his own Safety and Security, withdrew himſelf out of *England*, and reſolved to live for ſome Time, in his Solitudes, in the *Belgick* Provinces; but the States were ſo far from affording him any Comfort, as a diſtreſſed Prince, or yielding him any Kindneſs, as their beſt Friend and greateſt Patron, that, if his Majeſty had not had timely Notice of it, it is credibly ſaid, that he had been delivered up, in their Territories, as a Sacrifice to the Fury of his cruelleſt Enemy.

His Majeſty, *Anno* 1660, being reſtored to his Kingdoms, forgetting all their former Unkindneſſes and Ingratitudes, his Care was to conclude a ſtrict League with the ſaid States. But no ſooner was it concluded, but they return to their uſual Practice of breaking Articles, who expect an exact Obſervance of them from others, but perform none themſelves. Thereupon his Majeſty, 1664, was ſtirred up by the Complaints of his People, and the unanimous Votes of both Houſes of Parliament, to defend the Rights of his Crown, and the Liberties of his People, which the States had moſt notoriouſly invaded; yet his Majeſty to prevent the Effuſion of Blood *(as Tyrants ſhed Blood for Pleaſure, Kings for Neceſſity)* ſpent the whole Summer in Negotiations to bring them to Reaſon, but all his Endeavours proved ineffectual.

Thereupon, *Anno* 1665, enſued the War, and continued to the Year 1667, wherein his Majeſty obtained ſo many ſignal Victories, that, by their humble Supplications and Addreſſes to his Majeſty for Peace, he was induced to a Treaty; and, his Majeſty having the Guaranty of the moſt Chriſtian King, and of the ſaid States, that no Act of Hoſtility, during the ſaid Treaty, ſhould be attempted by them againſt his Majeſty, or any of his Dominions, thereupon his Majeſty did forbear to equip his Fleet. Yet the ſaid States, contrary to their Faith, during the ſaid Treaty, with their Fleet, tho' not half manned or victualled, for any Time, moſt treacherouſly invaded his Majeſty's Domi-

* King *Charles* II.

nions

nions, burnt and committed Deſtruction upon ſeveral of his Majeſty's Navy Royal * in his own Ports and Harbour. Whereas, if his Majeſty had ſet forth his Fleet, they had not been able to have put to Sea that Year, for Want of Mariners, and other Diſcouragements upon them, having received ſo many memorable Defeats by the Valour and Courage of his Subjects.

No ſooner was there a Peace concluded, but every Article was broken by them; and no Wonder, for it is a Maxim of their State, that *all Alliance as to them is inconſiderable; the Foundation of their Greatneſs and Safety conſiſts in their own Power and Strength*; therefore, to keep any Article is of no Conſideration to them.

Now they invade his Majeſty's Fiſhing upon the *Britiſh* Seas, without his Royal Licenſe; they refuſe to ſtrike Sail, and diſpute the Sovereignty of the *Britiſh* Seas. Affronts ſo high, and Indignities ſo tranſcendent, that no King or Potentate, except theſe Men, did ever ſo much as queſtion any of them.

It doth appear by the Records in the *Tower* †, and the Municipal Laws of this Nation, that the Kings of *England* have had ever from the Time of the *Romans* an abſolute and uninterrupted Right, and excluſive Property in the Sovereignty in the *Britiſh* Seas, in the Paſſages and Fiſhing thereof; and have Power to make Laws, and exerciſe ſupreme Juriſdiction over all Perſons, and in all Caſes, within or upon the ſaid Seas, as it was agreed, 26 *E.* I. by the Agents and Ambaſſadors of *Genoa*, *Catalonia*, *Spain*, *Almaine*, *Zealand*, *Holland*, *Frieſland*, *Denmark*, *Norway*, and divers other Places in the Empire. And by all the States and Princes of *Europe*, in a Caſe then in Queſtion between the King of *England* and his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, concerning *Rayner Grimbold*, his Admiral, exerciſing ſome Juriſdiction upon the *Britiſh* Seas.

The Laws of *Olleron* which, after the *Rhodian* Laws were antiquated, have now near five-hundred Years been received by all the Chriſtian World for Regulating Sea-affairs, and Deciding of Maritime Controverſies, were firſt declared by King *Richard the Firſt*, at his Return from the *Holy Land*, and by him cauſed to be publiſhed in the Iſle of *Olleron*, as belonging to the Dutchy of *Aquitain*.

If the Subjects of any King or Prince have a Right to fiſh in the *Britiſh* Seas, I do deſire to be ſatisfied, what ſhould be the Reaſon that all Neighbour Princes have by Treaty obtained Licenſe from the Kings of *England*, for their Subjects to fiſh in thoſe Seas, and have paid Tribute, as it doth appear by the Licenſes granted by *Henry the Fourth* unto the *French*; by *Henry the Sixth* unto the Ducheſs of *Burgundy*; to thoſe of *Brabant* and *Flanders* by *Edward the Fourth*; to *Francis*, Duke of *Bretagne*, for his Subjects; *Philip the Second*, King of *Spain*, in the firſt Year of Queen *Mary*, obtained a Licenſe for his Subjects, to fiſh upon the North-coaſt of *Ireland*, for the Term of twenty-one Years, paying yearly for the ſame a thouſand Pounds, which was accordingly paid into the Exchequer of *Ireland*.

And the Precedents, in *R.* I. King *John*, *Edw.* III. and other Kings, are almoſt infinite.

And, if any King, or Prince, could pretend to any Right, certainly his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty hath as good a Pretence as any. But that King, by the ſpecial Licenſe of the Kings of *England*, and not otherwiſe, hath fiſhed upon the *Britiſh* Coaſts, with a ſet and limited Number of Boats; and that for his own Family, and being likewiſe to obſerve the Laws and Orders of his own Fiſhermen; for Breach whereof, divers of his Subjects have been taken and impriſoned in *Dover*-caſtle, and elſewhere, as doth appear by many Precedents in the Times of *Edw.* III. *H.* IV. *H.* VII. *&c.* in the *Tower*.

Neither is this ſingular in the King of *England* only; for, in *Ruſſia*, many Leagues from the Main, Fiſhermen do pay for their Fiſhing great Taxes to the Emperor of *Ruſſia*; and, in moſt Places, other Nations are prohibited to fiſh.

The King of *Denmark* doth the like, and taketh great Tribute, both at *Wardhouſe* and the *Sound*.

And the like he doth now for *Norway*.

All the bordering Princes of *Italy* do the like within the *Mediterranean* Seas.

The States do take an Impoſition upon Fiſh which is taken upon the *Britiſh* Seas, and within the Streams and Dominions of other Princes.

The *Hollanders* do allow the tenth Fiſh, both in *Ruſſia*, *Lappia*, and other Places, or pay a Compoſition for the ſame; and do alſo

* At *Chatham* in the River *Medway*.

† 26 *Edw.* de Superioritate Maris Anglici.

pay

pay a Tribute in the *Sound*, for Paſſage to fetch the ſaid Fiſh.

But I ſhall not give myſelf any Trouble in a Point ſo clear. I would deſire to know of the *Hollanders*, By what Right or Title they fiſh upon the *Britiſh* Seas? If they have a Right, Why did the Earls of *Holland*, and themſelves after the ſaid Earls, take Licenſes from the Kings of *England*, for their Subjects to fiſh and pay Tribute? As they have done, as it appeareth by many ancient Precedents in the *Tower*.

But now, I remember, it is a Principle of their State, "That, if they get the Poſſeſſion "of any Thing, never to diſpute the Right, "ſo it be of Conveniency or Profit to them "to keep it."

The next is the Striking of the Sail, which is nothing, but an humble Acknowledgment of his Majeſty's Sovereignty of the *Britiſh* Seas, and a grateful Submiſſion for their Liberty to paſs upon them: For Strangers (by the Law and Cuſtom of the *Britiſh* Seas) being to paſs thoſe Seas, either in coming to *England*, or going to any other Place (without ſo much as touching upon any of his Majeſty's Dominions) have uſed to take ſafe Conducts and Licenſes of the Kings of *England*, to ſecure and protect them in their Paſſage *. The Precedents are exceeding many amongſt the Records in the *Tower*. The Striking of the Sail is one of the ancienteſt Prerogatives of the Crown of *England*; for, I obſerve, in the ſecond Year of King *John*, it was declared at *Haſtings* by the King, with the Advice of his Lords Temporal, for a Law and Cuſtom of the Sea, "That, if "a Lieutenant, in any Voyage, being or-"dained by the King, doth encounter upon "the Sea any Ship or Veſſel, laden or unla-"den, that will not ſtrike, or vail their Bon-"nets at the Commandment of the Lieute-"nant of the King, or of the Admiral of the "King, or his Lieutenant, but will fight a-"gainſt them of the Fleet; that, if they can be "taken, they be reputed as Enemies, and their "Ships, Veſſels, and Goods taken and for-"feited, as the Goods of Enemies. And "that the common People, being in the ſame, "be chaſtiſed, by Impriſonment of their Bo-"dies for their Rebellion. *Inter Leges Ma-rinas, Anno ſecundo Johannis Regis*, amongſt the Records of the *Tower*.

The *Hollanders*, therefore, refuſing to ſtrike Sail, do deny his Majeſty's Sovereignty in the Seas (one of the moſt precious Jewels of the Crown, and) the principal Means of the Trade, Wealth, and Safety of his Nation; and which all true *Engliſhmen*, with the Hazard of their Lives and Fortunes, are obliged to preſerve and maintain; for *Imperator Maris eſt Dominus Terræ* †.

And, as they have denied his Majeſty's Sovereignty, ſo they have, by their Artifice, ſupplanted the Trade and Traffick of his Subjects, which are the only Pillars of Riches and Safety to this Nation.

Conſult the *Muſcovia* ‡, *Turky*, &c. Companies, enquire at the *Exchange*, they will all tell you, It is gone, whither I know not, but into *Amſterdam* and the *United Provinces*.

The *Engliſh* are as active and induſtrious a People as any, but (of a more generous and noble Alloy) they abhor to have Trade by thoſe baſe Practices, or to gain it by thoſe forbid Means, as the *Hollanders* do. I doubt not but the *Engliſh* Nation, being ſenſible of the Injuries and Oppreſſions done them by theſe Men, will, in a ſhort Time, by their Sword and Valour, reduce them to Reaſon.

And, as they have ſupplanted the Trade of his Majeſty's Subjects, ſo they have endeavoured to make a Diminution of his own Glory, by abuſive Pictures and falſe Libels, not only in their own Territories, but in moſt of the Dominions of the Kings and Princes of *Europe*, where the Name of the King of *Great-Britain* is renowned. "Reputation "Abroad, and Reverence at Home, are the "Pillars of Safety and Sovereignty."

By theſe Arts they have endeavoured, not only to leſſen his Majeſty's Reputation Abroad, but to bring Contempt upon him, even amongſt his own Subjects at Home. Without Doubt, his Majeſty's good Subjects have a great Sentiment of theſe Indignities, and will not only carry an Antidote in their Ears againſt the Poiſon of theſe Libels, but, with their Swords, Lives, and Fortunes, will vindicate his Dignity, and bring theſe ungrateful Miſcreants to Juſtice.

* See Rot. *Franciæ* 11 *Heh.* IV. de ſalvo Conductu.

† *i. e.* Whoever is Emperor of the Sea, is alſo Lord of the Land adjoining thereto.

‡ al. *Ruſſia*.

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The States having put ſo many Scorns and Indignities upon his Majeſty, and Abuſes upon his Subjects in their Trade, for which his Majeſty was more troubled, than for the Indignities done to himſelf, he was reſolved to have Satisfaction of them. But they, to give his Majeſty Diſquiet in his own Dominions, and for a Diverſion to him, made their Addreſſes to ſome Perſons of the *Scotiſh* Nation with them for their brotherly Aſſiſtance, promiſing them they ſhould be furniſhed with Men, Arms, and Money, what they pleaſed: But the *Scots*, too well remembering their late Sufferings and Calamities, and having as great a Senſe of Loyalty and Duty for their King, as any People in the World, with the greateſt Scorn and Abhorrence rejected their moſt impious and rebellious Motion.

Not prevailing there, they ſet upon ſome Factories of Sedition in *England*, and, by their Emiſſaries here, endeavoured to work upon an honeſt Party * in this Nation, though differing, in ſome minute Ceremonies, from the Church; but they looked upon it, as the greateſt Injury and Indignity that could be done them, to tempt them from their Loyalty to ſo good and gracious a King.

And, certainly, his Majeſty had a very good Eſteem for them, or elſe he would never have granted them that Act of Indulgence; an Act ſo tranſcendent, and exceeding the Bounty and Grace of all former Kings, that it could not be obtained of them, though there had been many hundred Thouſand Pounds offered for the Purchaſe of it. But, as his Majeſty hath granted them Liberty of Conſcience, ſo, there is no Doubt, they will make Conſcience of their Liberty.

His Majeſty of *Great-Britain*, and the moſt *Chriſtian* King, of all Princes in *Europe*, have moſt ſtudied and endeavoured, for the Good of their Subjects, to advance Trade and Commerce; yet their Subjects cry out they have no Trade, and well they may, when the *Hollanders* are the great Supplanters of Trade, and Obſtructors of Commerce, to all others but themſelves, in the World: And no Wonder, for it is a prime Principle of their State, "That they muſt not be like the Jackall, "which provides Food for the Lion; but they "muſt imitate the prudent Cat, who mouſes "only for itſelf."

Nothing can be more becoming the Majeſty of two ſuch potent Kings, not only out of Charity to deliver the diſtreſſed *Dutch*, an induſtrious and well-meaning People of themſelves, from the Tyranny and Oppreſſion of thoſe inſolent States; but, out of Piety towards God, to ſettle Peace in *Chriſtendom*; which is only by the Power of thoſe two great Kings to be effected, and to which all Kings and Princes are obliged to contribute their Aſſiſtance.

For, let it be ſoberly conſidered, if theſe Men (if we may ſo call them) ſince the Revolt from their Prince, have not made greater Diſtempers and Confuſions, and cauſed more Effuſion of Blood, and Expence of Treaſure, in *Europe*, than the *Great Turk* hath done for theſe Five-hundred Years.

And, as they are more powerful by Sea, ſo they are much more dangerous in their Practice; for the *Turk* is a Prince who, with all Potentates, doth exactly obſerve his Leagues, and keeps his Faith; but it is an Apophthegm in their State, that "It is for Kings and Mer-"chants to keep their Word and Faith, but, "for States, no longer than it is ſubſervient "to their Intereſt."

And, how exactly they make this good in their Actions, I appeal to all the Kings and Princes of *Europe*, if ever they kept one Article, or their Faith in any Thing, where it was their Intereſt to break it. Certainly theſe Men live, as if great Sins would merit Heaven by an *Antiperiſtaſis*.

And it is very well becoming the graveſt Judgments to conſider, if theſe Men may not prove, in a ſhort Time, a greater Terror and Plague to *Chriſtendom*, than the *Turk* himſelf; inſomuch as his Arms are at a great Diſtance, and only Land-forces, but theſe Men are ſeated in the Center of *Europe*, and, being ſo potent at Sea, and rich in Treaſure, may caſt an Army, and, with that, Blood and Confuſion, into any Prince's Dominion, whom they pleaſe to diſquiet (eſpecially being firſt reduced to Poverty, which they labour to effect in all their Territories, by Obſtructing of Trade.) And they can more ſpeedily and powerfully offend any Kingdom by Sea, in one Month, than the moſt puiſſant Army is able to march through, in a Year.

* The *Presbyterians*.

Well,

Well, it is Time to reduce theſe Men to Juſtice and Reaſon; Prudence teacheth us to ſet Limits to that Power, which deſervedly may be ſuſpected. For, as they grow in Puiſſance and Strength; ſo the more formidable they will render themſelves to all Kings and Princes. From one great King * they have taken ſo much Blood, that he is fallen into a deep Conſumption; and it is adjudged, by ſome wiſe Phyſicians of State, that he will hardly recover.

Did they not lately break the Heart of one potent King †, and almoſt the Back of another ‡? Do they not privately engage Prince againſt Prince, and, by that Means, bring Miſery and Calamity to them both; and, out of their Ruin, create Riches and Plenty to themſelves? Do they not undermine the Trade of all *Europe*, and ſend nothing but Poverty, Miſery, and Complaints into all Princes Dominions?

How dangerous and fatal their Greatneſs will, in a few Years, prove to all the Kings and Princes of *Europe*, and to their Subjects, if not timely prevented, a weak Statiſt, without the Help of *Galileo*'s Proſpective-glaſs, may eaſily ſee. Yet there are a People in the World, which contribute their Aſſiſtance to them; but let them be aſſured, that, if theſe States, by their Arts, can extricate themſelves from the Deſtruction and Calamity which now threaten them, they muſt, for all their friendly Aſſiſtance, expect nothing but *Polyphemus*'s Courteſy, to be the laſt that ſhall be ſwallowed up. This is too evident by their Ingratitude and Inſolencies to the Kings of *Great-Britain*, and to the *Engliſh* Nation.

Nothing can give a Check to their growing Power, but the Naval Forces of the King of *Great-Britain*, whoſe Situation, Ports, Strength of Shipping, Courage of People, and Experience in Sea-fights have always made him very formidable: And that *Henry the Eighth* underſtood ſo well, that he aſſumed to himſelf that Motto, *Cui adhæreo, præeſt.*

This Naval Power of the King of *Great-Britain* is the Security and Safety of *Europe*; for, if that were broken, they would look upon all the other as inconſiderable, becauſe they are ſo far ſeparate, that they might be deſtroyed before they could unite; and, in Caſe they did, the Iſſue would be very doubtful.

Then they would ſacrifice one Prince after another, and bring nothing but Confuſion, Poverty, and Miſery to Prince and People. And, whether this be not more than conjectural, look into their Practices in the *Eaſt-Indies*; obſerve their Arts and Methods, by which they have reduced ſo many great Kings, with their Subjects, Vaſſals, and Slaves, to their vaſt Ambition.

I have done; yet I cannot but drop a few Tears for ſome honeſt People amongſt them, who muſt be inwrapped in the Puniſhment, though innocent as to the Guilt.

Now the moſt formidable and potent Kings in *Chriſtendom* are drawing their Forces againſt them, all their Trade is gone by Sea, nothing but Horror and Confuſion in their Land; none of their Allies durſt appear for them. A mournful Tragedy! Methinks, like wiſe Patriots, they ſhould ſeize upon their States, whom they may thank for all their Calamities and Miſeries, and yield them up to Juſtice; ſet up their Prince, whoſe Anceſtors have ſpent ſo much Blood and Treaſure to vindicate their Rights and Liberties, and not to ſerve their Ends of him (as all wiſe Men think the States do at this Juncture of Affairs;) for it is an Adage amongſt them, that *Leo vinciri liber pernegat.*

And the States do as certainly hate a Prince, as a Prince doth a Free State.

*Diſcite Juſtitiam moniti, &c.*

* King of *Spain*. † King of *Sweden*. ‡ King of *Denmark*.

A Decla-

A Declaration of the Demeanour and Carriage of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Knight, as well in his Voyage, as in, and ſithence his Return; and of the true Motives and Inducements which occaſioned his Majeſty to proceed in doing Juſtice upon him, as hath been done. *London*, printed by *Bonham Norton* and *John Bill*, Printers to the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, 1618. *Quarto*, containing ſixty-three Pages.

*The Execution of Sir* Walter Raleigh, *for a Crime of which he had been convicted fourteen Years before, and then convicted without legal Evidence againſt him, and which, in the Opinion of moſt, was pardoned by the Commiſſion, which made him ſupreme Commander, and inveſted him with judicial Authority, was an Act ſo cruel in itſelf, ſo unuſual in* England, *and ſo plainly intended for the Gratification of the* Spaniſh *Court, that it filled the whole Nation with Murmurs and Diſcontent, and obliged the King to give his Subjects an Account, to which he appears not to think them intitled, of the Reaſons of his Conduct.*

*This Account, whoever was the Author, is very artfully and elegantly drawn up, nor can it be denied, that the whole Behaviour of* Raleigh, *in his laſt Attempt, appears ſufficiently deceitful. Many Circumſtances are collected to prove that the Mine was a mere Fiction, and that his original and only Deſign was to plunder the* Spaniſh *Settlements, which was undoubtedly a Violation of his Commiſſion, and of Natural Juſtice, ſince the* Engliſh *and* Spaniards *were then at Peace.*

*There is likewiſe a Recital of the Stratagems which he uſed to facilitate his Eſcape, which, if theſe had ſucceeded, would have afforded a very agreeable Amuſement; but the Reflexion, that they were defeated by Treachery, puts an End to all pleaſing Thoughts, and it is not without a very melancholy Kind of Commiſeration, that any Man can behold the great* Raleigh *reduced to ſuch little Artifices, applauding theſe Stratagems which his Agent has diſcovered, and making Sport for his Enemies by thoſe Practices, by which he imagines himſelf deceiving them, more than once on the Verge of Liberty, and then hurried to Priſon and to Death.*

*It is obſerved by the Author of King* James's *Character that he naturally hated a Man of Valour, and it is probable that his own Cowardice rather than his Reſentment of* Raleigh's *Conduct, however unjuſtifiable, prompted the fatal Sentence, for which he gives one Reaſon very remarkable, that* Raleigh attempted to eſcape, *and* declined his Juſtice, *that he was not willing to lie in Priſon fourteen Years longer without a Crime.*

*What were the real Views of* Raleigh *in his pretended Queſt of the golden Mine, it is not eaſy to determine; the Anſwer which is moſt obvious, that he hoped to find an Opportunity of eſcaping, is by no Means ſatisfactory, becauſe he made no Uſe of the Opportunities*

 *that*

*that were offered him, but returned to* England, *when he might undoubtedly have landed in another Country, where his Reputation would have ſecured him from being given up to a Prince, who had ſo little Influence among his Neighbours. That he did not rather go to any Country than his own, has been much wondered at, and ſometimes cenſured; but it appears from* Howel's *Letters, that ſeveral of his Friends were bound for his Return. The Queſtion then recurs, if he thought himſelf obliged to return, Why did he ſet out? Perhaps he might propoſe the Enterpriſe before that Condition was required, and could not then recede from his own Scheme, without betraying his Deſign. The exact Dates of all the Occurrences would contribute very much to ſolve the Difficulties that ariſe on every Suppoſition.*

*Many more Queſtions might be ſtarted, as, Why, when he was at Large, he could not eſcape, without ſuch an Undertaking? Why he projected a Deſign that muſt neceſſarily end in his Diſgrace? And by what Neceſſity he was reduced to truſt* Manoury, *whom he knew but little? But theſe, and many others, it is perhaps now impoſſible to anſwer, and therefore ſurperfluous to mention.* ——— J. *

ALthough Kings be not bound to give Account of their Actions to any but God alone; yet ſuch are his Majeſty's Proceedings, as he hath always been willing to bring them before Sun and Moon, and carefully to ſatisfy all his good People with his Intentions and Courſes, giving as well to future Times, as to the preſent, true and undiſguiſed Declarations of them; as judging, that, for Actions not well founded, it is Advantage to let them paſs in uncertain Reports; but for Actions, that are built upon ſure and ſolid Grounds, ſuch as his Majeſty's are, it belongeth to them, to be publiſhed by open Manifeſts: Eſpecially his Majeſty is willing, to declare and manifeſt to the World his Proceedings, in a Caſe of ſuch a Nature, as this which followeth is; ſince it not only concerns his own People, but alſo a foreign Prince and State Abroad.

Accordingly therefore, for that which concerneth Sir *Walter* late executed for Treaſon, leaving the Thoughts of his Heart, and the Proteſtations that he made at his Death to God that is the Searcher of all Hearts, and Judge of all Truth, his Majeſty hath thought fit to manifeſt unto the World, how Things appeared unto himſelf, and upon what Proofs and evident Matter, and the Examination of the Commanders that were employed with him, in the Voyage (and namely of thoſe which Sir *Walter Raleigh* himſelf, by his own Letter to Secretary *Winwood*, had commended for Perſons of Worth and Credit, and as moſt fit for greater Employments) his Majeſty's Proceedings have been grounded; whereby it will evidently appear how agreeable they have been in all Points to Honour and Juſtice.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* having been condemned of High-treaſon, at his Majeſty's Entrance into this Kingdom, and for the Space of fourteen Years, by his Majeſty's Princely Clemency and Mercy, not only ſpared from his Execution, but permitted to live, as in *Libera cuſtodia* in the *Tower*, and to enjoy his Lands and Living, till all was by Law evicted from him upon another Ground, and not by Forfeiture; (which notwithſtanding, his Majeſty out of his abundant Grace gave him a competent Satisfaction for the ſame) at length he fell upon an Enterpriſe of a golden Mine in *Guiana*.

This Propoſition of his was preſented and recommended to his Majeſty by Sir *Ralph Winwood*, then Secretary of State, as a Matter not in the Air, or ſpeculative, but real and of Certainty; for that Sir *Walter Raleigh* had ſeen of the Ore of the Mine with his Eyes, and tried the Richneſs of it. It is true that his Majeſty, in his own Princely Judgment, gave no Belief unto it; as well, for that his Majeſty was verily perſuaded, that in Nature there are no ſuch Mines of Gold intire, as they deſcribed this to be; and, if any ſuch had been, it was not probable that the *Spaniards*, who were ſo induſtrious in the Chace of Treaſure, would have neglected it ſo long; as alſo, for that it proceeded from the Perſon of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, inveſted with ſuch Circumſtances both of his Diſpoſition and Fortune. But, nevertheleſs,

theleſs, Sir *Walter Raleigh* had ſo inchanted the World, with his confident Aſſeveration of that which every Man was willing to believe, as his Majeſty's Honour was, in a Manner, engaged, not to deny unto his People the Adventure and Hope of ſo great Riches, to be ſought and atchieved, at the Charge of Volunteers; eſpecially for that it ſtood with his Majeſty's politick and magnanimous Courſes, in theſe his flouriſhing Times of Peace, to nouriſh and encourage noble and generous Enterpriſes, for Plantations, Diſcoveries, and Opening of new Trades.

Hereupon the late *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, the Count *de Gondamore*, took great Alarm, and repreſented unto his Majeſty by loud and vehement Aſſertions, upon iterated Audiences, that he *knew* and had diſcovered the Intention and Enterpriſe of Sir *Walter Raleigh* to be but Hoſtile and Piratical, and tending to the Breach of the Peace between the two Crowns, and Danger and Deſtruction of the King his Maſter's Subjects in thoſe Parts; proteſting, in a Sort, againſt the ſame. To which his Majeſty's Anſwer always was, that he would ſend Sir *Walter Raleigh* with a limited Commiſſion, and that he durſt not, upon Peril of his Head, attempt any ſuch Matter; and, if he did, he would *ſurely do Juſtice upon him*, or ſend him bound Hand and Foot *into Spain*, and all the Gold and Goods he ſhould obtain by Robbery, and bring Home, were they never ſo great. And, for further Caution, his Majeſty enjoined Secretary *Winwood*, to urge Sir *Walter Raleigh* upon his Conſcience and Allegiance to his Majeſty, to deal plainly, and expreſs himſelf, whether he had any other Intention, but only to go to thoſe golden Mines in *Guiana*; which he not only ſolemnly proteſted unto the ſaid Sir *Ralph Winwood*, but by him writ a cloſe Letter to his Majeſty, containing a ſolemn Profeſſion thereof, confirmed with many vehement Aſſeverations, and that he never meant or would commit any Outrages or Spoils upon the King of *Spain*'s Subjects. But, notwithſtanding his Majeſty acquainted the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador with this his Proteſtation, yet the ſaid Ambaſſador would never recede from his former Jealouſy, and Importuning his Majeſty to ſtay his Voyage, alledging that the great Number of Ships that Sir *Walter Raleigh* had prepared for that Voyage, ſhewed manifeſtly, that he had no ſuch peaceable Intent; and offering, upon Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Anſwer thereunto, that thoſe Ships were only provided for his ſafe Convoy, that, if Sir *Walter Raleigh* would go with one or two Ships only to ſeek the ſaid Mine, that he would move the King of *Spain* to ſend two or three Ships with him back again, for his ſafe Convoy hither with all his Gold; and the ſaid Ambaſſador's Perſon to remain here in Pledge for the King his Maſter's Performance thereof. But ſuch were the conſtant fair Offers of the ſaid Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and ſpecious Promiſes, as his Majeſty in the End rejected the importunate Suit of the ſaid *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador for his Stay, and reſolved to let him go; but therewithal took Order, both that he, and all thoſe that went in his Company, ſhould find good Security, to behave themſelves peaceably towards all his Majeſty's Friends and Allies, and to obſerve ſtrictly all the Articles of the Commiſſion, which his Majeſty, for that Cauſe, had the greater Care to have it well and clearly penned and ſet down. And, that his Majeſty's honeſt Intention may herein the better appear, the Words of the Commiſſion are here inſerted, as followeth:

'*JAMES*, by the Grace of God, *&c.* To all to whom theſe Preſents ſhall come, to be read, heard, or ſeen, and to every of them Greeting.

'Whereas Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Knight, intendeth to undertake a Voyage by Sea and Shipping, unto the South Parts of *America*, or elſewhere within *America*, poſſeſſed and inhabited by Heathen and Savage People, to the End to diſcover and find out ſome Commodities and Merchandiſes in thoſe Countries, that be neceſſary and profitable for the Subjects of theſe our Kingdoms and Dominions, whereof the Inhabitants there make little or no Uſe or Eſtimation; whereupon alſo may enſue, by Trade and Commerce, ſome Propagation of the Chriſtian Faith and Reformed Religion amongſt thoſe Savage and Idolatrous People. And whereas we are credibly informed, that there are divers Merchants and Owners of Ships, and others, well diſpoſed to aſſiſt the ſaid Sir *Walter Raleigh* in this his Enterpriſe, had they ſufficient Aſſurance to enjoy their due Parts of the Profits returned, in Reſpect of the Peril of Law wherein the ſaid Sir *Walter Raleigh* now

'ſtandeth. And, whereas, alſo, we are in-
'formed, that divers other Gentlemen, the
'Kinſmen and Friends of the ſaid Sir *Walter*
'*Raleigh*, and divers Captains and other Com-
'manders are alſo deſirous to follow him, and
'to adventure their Lives with him, in this
'his Journey, ſo as they might be commanded
'by no other than himſelf.

'Know ye, that we, upon deliberate Con-
'ſideration had of the Premiſſes, being deſir-
'ous by all Ways and Means to work and
'procure the Benefit and Good of our loving
'Subjects, and to give our Princely Further-
'ance to the ſaid *Walter Raleigh*, his Friends
'and Aſſociates herein, to the Encourage-
'ment of others in the like laudable Journies
'and Enterpriſes, to be hereafter proſecuted
'and purſued; and eſpecially in Advance-
'ment and Furtherance, as well of the Con-
'verſion of ſavage People, as of the Increaſe
'of the Trade, Traffick, and Merchandiſes
'uſed by our Subjects of this our Kingdom,
'being moſt famous throughout all Nations:
'Of our ſpecial Grace, certain Knowledge,
'and mere Motion, have given and granted,
'and by theſe Preſents, for us, our Heirs,
'and Succeſſors, do give and grant unto the
'ſaid Sir *Walter Raleigh* full Power and
'Authority, and free Licenſe and Liberty,
'out of this our Realm of *England*, or any
'other our Dominions, to have, carry, take,
'and lead, for and towards his ſaid intended
'Voyage into the ſaid South Parts, or other Parts
'of *America*, poſſeſſed and inhabited as afore-
'ſaid, and to travel thither, all ſuch, and ſo
'many of our loving Subjects, or any others,
'Strangers, that will become our loving Sub-
'jects, and live under our Obeyſance and Al-
'legiance, as ſhall willingly accompany him,
'with ſufficient Shipping, Armour, Weapons,
'Ordnance, Ammunition, Powder, Shot, Ha-
'biliments, Victuals, and ſuch Wares and
'Merchandiſes, as are eſteemed by the wild
'People in thoſe Parts, Clothing, Imple-
'ments, Furniture, Cattle, Horſes, and
'Mares, and all other ſuch Things as he ſhall
'think moſt neceſſary for his Voyage, and for
'the Uſe and Defence of him and his Compa-
'ny, and Trade with the People there; and
'in Paſſing and Returning to and fro, and
'in thoſe Parts, to give away, ſell, barter,
'exchange, or otherwiſe diſpoſe of the ſame
'Goods, Merchandiſes, and Premiſſes to the
'moſt Benefit, and at the Will and Pleaſure
'of the ſaid Sir *Walter Raleigh* and his Com-
'pany, and ſuch other Perſon, or Perſons, as
'ſhall be Adventurers or Aſſiſtants with, or un-
'to him in this his intended Voyage, and from
'thence to return, import, conveigh, and bring
'into this our Kingdom, or any other our
'Dominions, ſuch Gold, Silver, Bullion, or
'any other Wares, or Merchandiſes, or
'Commodities whatſoever, as they ſhall think
'moſt fit and convenient; and the ſame be-
'ing ſo returned, imported, conveighed, and
'brought into this our Kingdom, or any
'other our Dominions, to have, take, keep,
'retain, and convert to the only proper Uſe,
'Benefit, and Behoof of the ſaid Sir *W. Ra-*
'*leigh*, and his ſaid Company, and other Per-
'ſons, Adventurers and Aſſiſtants with or to him
'in this Voyage, without the Lett, Interrup-
'tion, Moleſtation, and Diſturbance of us,
'our Heirs or Succeſſors, or any the Officers
'or Miniſters of us, our Heirs or Succeſſors
'whatſoever, paying and anſwering unto us,
'our Heirs and Succeſſors, the full fifth Part
'in five Parts to be divided, of all ſuch Gold,
'and Silver, and Bullion, and Ore of Gold or
'Silver, and Pearl, and precious Stone, as
'ſhall be ſo imported, over and beſides, and
'together with ſuch Cuſtoms, Subſidies, and
'other Duties, as ſhall be due for, or in Re-
'ſpect of any other Goods, Wares, or Mer-
'chandiſes whatſoever, to be imported by
'the true Meaning of theſe Preſents. And
'to the End the ſaid Sir *Walter Raleigh* may
'be the more encouraged to go forward in this
'his Enterpriſe, and all our loving Subjects de-
'ſirous to be Adventurers with him, or aſſiſ-
'tant unto him, may be the more incited to
'further his Proceedings: We do hereby, *in*
'*verbo Regio*, for us, our Heirs and Succeſ-
'ſors, covenant, promiſe, and grant, to and
'with the ſaid Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and all
'other Perſons that ſhall accompany him, or
'to be attendant upon him, or to be Adven-
'turers, or Aſſiſtants, with or to him in this
'his Voyage, that no Gold, Silver, Goods,
'Wares, or Merchandiſes whatſoever, of
'what Kind or Sort ſoever, by him, or them,
'or any of them, to be imported into this our
'Kingdom of *England*, or any other our Do-
'minions, from any the ſaid South or other
'Parts of *America*, poſſeſſed or inhabited as a-
'foreſaid, ſhall be attached, ſeized, or taken
'by us, our Heirs or Succeſſors, or to the
'Uſe of us, our Heirs or Succeſſors, or by any

'the

'the Officers or Miniſters of us, our Heirs or 'Succeſſors whatſoever; but that the ſame, 'and every of them (the fifth Part of the ſaid 'Gold, Silver, or Bullion, and Ore of Gold, 'and Silver, and Pearl, and precious Stone, 'and other the Cuſtoms and Duties aforeſaid, 'being duly anſwered and paid) ſhall be, and 'remain to the ſole proper Uſe and Behoof of 'the ſaid Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and his ſaid 'Company, and ſuch Perſons as ſhall be Ad-'venturers with him, or aſſiſtant to him in 'this his Voyage, any Law, Statute, or Act 'of Parliament, Proclamation, Proviſion, or 'Reſtraint, or any Right, Title, or Claim of 'us, our Heirs or Succeſſors, or any other 'Matter or Thing whatſoever to the Contra-'ry, in any wiſe notwithſtanding. And fur-'ther, of our more eſpecial Grace, certain 'Knowledge, and mere Motion, we do here-'by for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, ordain, 'conſtitute, and appoint the ſaid Sir *Walter* '*Raleigh*, to be the ſole Governor and Com-'mander of all Perſons that ſhall travel, or be 'with him in the ſaid Voyage, to the ſaid 'South, or other Parts of *America*, ſo poſ-'ſeſſed and inhabited as aforeſaid, or in Return-'ing from thence. And we do hereby give 'unto him full Power and Authority to cor-'rect, *puniſh*, pardon, govern, *and rule them*, 'or any of them, according to ſuch Orders, 'Ordinances, Conſtitutions, Directions, and 'Inſtructions, as by the ſaid Sir *Walter Ra-'leigh* ſhall be from Time to Time eſtabliſh-'ed, as well in Caſes Capital and Criminal, 'as Civil, both Marine and other; ſo always 'as the ſaid Statutes, Ordinances, and Pro-'ceedings, as near as conveniently may be, 'be agreeable to the Laws, Statutes, Govern-'ment and Policy of this our Realm of *Eng-'land*, and not againſt the true Chriſtian 'Faith now profeſſed in the Church of *Eng-'land*. And becauſe that, in ſuch and the like 'Enterpriſes and Voyages, great Inconveni-'ences have grown by the mutinous and diſ-'orderly Carriage of the Mariners and Sailors 'employed in the ſame, for Want of ſufficient 'Authority to puniſh them according to their 'Offences: We do therefore by theſe Pre-'ſents, for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, give 'full Power and Authority to the ſaid Sir *Wal-'ter Raleigh*, in Caſe of Rebellion, or Muti-'ny by Sea or Land, to uſe and exerciſe Mar-'tial Law (upon juſt Ground and apparent Ne-'ceſſity) in as large and ample Manner as our 'Lieutenant-General by Sea or Land, or Lieu-'tenants in our Counties, within our Realm 'of *England*, have, had, or ought to have by 'Force of their Commiſſion of Lieutenancy. 'And we do further, by theſe Preſents, give 'full Power and Authority to the ſaid Sir '*Walter Raleigh*, to collect, nominate, and 'appoint ſuch Captains, and other inferior 'Commanders and Miniſters under him, as 'ſhall be requiſite for the better Ordering and 'Governing of his Company, and the Good 'of the Voyage. And further, we do by 'theſe Preſents, for us, our Heirs and Suc-'ceſſors, ſtreightly charge and command the 'Warden of our *Cinque-Ports*, and all the 'Cuſtomers, Comptrollers, Surveyors, Search-'ers, Waiters, and other Officers and Mini-'ſters of us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, for 'the Time being, that they, and every of 'them, do quietly permit and ſuffer the ſaid 'Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and all Perſon and Per-'ſons that ſhall be willing to travel and ad-'venture with him in this Voyage with their 'Ships, Ammunition, Goods, Wares, and 'Merchandiſes whatſoever out of this our 'Realm, or any other our Dominions, to paſs 'into the ſaid South, or other Parts of *Ame-'rica*, poſſeſſed and inhabited as aforeſaid, and 'from thence to return and import into this 'our Realm, or any other our Dominions, 'any Goods, Wares, or Merchandiſes what-'ſoever, and there to ſell, or otherwiſe to 'diſpoſe of the ſame, to the beſt Benefit and 'Advantage, and to the only Uſe and Behoof 'of the ſaid Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and his 'Company, and ſuch other Perſons as ſhall 'be Adventurers with him in this Voyage, 'paying the fifth Part of all Gold and Silver, 'Bullion, and Ore of Gold and Silver, and of 'Pearl and precious Stone imported, and other 'the Cuſtoms and Duties aforeſaid. And 'theſe Preſents, or the Inrollment thereof, 'ſhall be unto the ſaid Warden of the *Cinque-'Ports*, Cuſtomers, Comptrollers, and other 'the Officers and Miniſters aforeſaid, for the 'Time being, a ſufficient Warrant and Diſ-'charge in that Behalf. And our Will and 'Pleaſure is, and by theſe Preſents, for us, 'our Heirs and Succeſſors, we do grant unto 'the ſaid Sir *Walter Raleigh*, that theſe our 'Letters-patents, or the Inrollment thereof, 'and all and ſingular Grants, Clauſes, and 'Things therein contained, ſhall be firm, 'ſtrong, ſufficient, and effectual in Law, ac-

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'cording to our gracious Pleaſure, and Meaning herein expreſſed; any Law, Statute, Act, Proviſion, Ordinance, or Reſtraint, or any other Matter or Thing to the Contrary thereof, in any wiſe notwithſtanding. Although expreſs Mention, *&c.* In Witneſs whereof, *&c.* Witneſs ourſelf, at *Weſtminſter*, the Six and twentieth Day of *Auguſt*, in the fourteenth Year of our Reign of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, and of *Scotland*, the fiftieth.

*Per breve de privato Sigillo.*

THIS Commiſſion ſo drawn and framed, as you ſee, his Majeſty himſelf did oft peruſe and reviſe, as foreſeeing the future Events; the Tenor whereof appeareth to be ſo far from giving Sir *Walter Raleigh* Warrant, or Colour, to invade any of the Territories, occupied and poſſeſſed by the *Spaniards*, as it tended to a Direction, rather of Commerce than Spoil, even towards the Savages themſelves. And the better to contain Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and to hold him upon his good Behaviour, his Majeſty denied, though much ſued unto for the ſame, to grant him Pardon for his former Treaſons, both to diſauthoriſe him with thoſe that were under his Command, in Caſe he ſhould attempt to exceed his Commiſſion, and to reſerve him to the Juſtice of the Law, if, by new Offences, he ſhould make himſelf indign of former Mercies. And as for the good Security which his Majeſty ordered to be taken, for their good and peaceable Behaviour in the Voyage; his Majeſty never heard any Thing to the Contrary but that it was performed till they were upon their Parting; and then was it told him, that every one of the Principals, that were in the Voyage, had put in Security one for another, which, if his Majeſty had known in Time, he would never have accepted of.

But, howſoever, the Commiſſion was penned; and whatſoever the Cautions were which his Majeſty intended or uſed, and whatſoever the Proteſtations and Promiſes were, that Sir *Walter Raleigh* made or exhibited, it appeareth plainly, by the whole Sequel of his Actions, that he went his own Way, and had his own Ends: *Firſt*, To procure his Liberty, and then to make new Fortunes for himſelf, caſting abroad only this Tale of the Mine as a Lure to get Adventurers and Followers, having in his Eye the *Mexico* Fleet, the Sacking and Spoil of Towns planted with *Spaniards*, the Depredation of Ships, and ſuch other Purchaſe; and making Account, that, if he returned rich, he would ranſom his Offences, little looking into the Nature and Character of his Majeſty's Juſtice and Government; and, if otherwiſe, he would ſeek his Fortune by Flight, and new Enterpriſes in ſome foreign Country.

In Execution therefore of theſe his Deſigns, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, carrying the Reputation of an active, witty, and valiant Gentleman, and eſpecially of a great Commander at Sea, by the Inticement of this golden Bait of the Mine, and the Eſtimation of his own Name, drew unto him many brave Captains, and other Knights and Gentlemen of great Blood and Worth, to hazard and adventure their Lives, and the Whole, or a great Part of their Eſtates and Fortunes in this his Voyage; whoſe Ruins and Decays, following, remain as ſad and grievous Relicks and Monuments of his unfortunate Journey and unfaithful Proceedings.

But, before he went from *London*, he was not ſo reſerved nor ſo conſtant unto his Pretence of the Mine, but that ſome Sparks broke forth of that Light, which afterwards appeared. For he caſt forth ſome Words to ſome particular Friends of his Company, that he knew a Town in thoſe Parts, upon which he could make a ſaving Voyage in Tobacco, tho' there were no other Spoil. Nevertheleſs, to make the better Faith of that he had given out touching the Mine, he promiſed his Company at *London*, that, when he came to *Plymouth*, he would take a great Company of Pioneers out of the Weſt, where the beſt Workmen are of that Kind, and he maintained this his Pretence ſo far, as he billeted the ſaid Pioneers for ſeveral Ships; but, when he came into the Weſt, this vaniſhed. For it is teſtified of all Parts, and by himſelf confeſſed, that he carried none at all, excuſing it, that there were many other tall Men of the Mariners and common Soldiers, that he would have made fall to work; which is a ſlender Excuſe of omitting ſo principal a Point. As for Pickaxes, Mattocks, and Shovels for the Working of the Mine, it is true, he carried ſome ſmall Quantity for a Show, but, by the Judgment of all that were in his Company, nothing near ſufficient for that which had been requiſite for the Working of the Mine; which he excuſed only by ſaying, that his Men never ſaw them unpacked,

packed, and that the Mine was not paſt a Foot and a half under Ground.

After, when he was once at Sea, he did not much labour to nouriſh and maintain the Belief, that he meant to make his Voyage upon the Profit of the Mine, but fell a Degree, as if it were ſufficient to bring Home Certainty and viſible Proofs, that ſuch a Mine there was, tho' he brought not the Riches of it. For, ſoon after his Setting forth from *Ireland*, he profeſſed, that if he brought Home but a Handful or Baſketful of Ore, to ſhew the King, he cared for no more, for it was enough to ſave his Credit; and, being charged therewith, he confeſſed the Speech, with this Argument and Inference, that, if there had been a Handful of the Mine, it followed there was a Mine to be confeſſed; as if ſo many Ships, ſo many Lives of Men, ſuch Charge of Proviſions, and ſuch an honourable Commiſſion, had been but for an Experiment.

About the ſame Time, likewiſe, he began to forget his Commiſſion, as well as his Pretences of the Mine; for he did declare himſelf to divers of his Company, that he meant to take St. *Thome*, and that he would make his Voyage good upon that Town, for that it was very rich; ſo as, whereas it was blown abroad, that the *Aſſault of St. Thome* was inforced by a Kind of Neceſſity, for that our Troops were firſt aſſailed, it appeareth manifeſtly, both by his Speech at *London*, of a Town indefinitely, and by this his Speech early in his Voyage at Sea, of St. *Thome* by Name, that it was an original Deſign of his from the Beginning; and yet, it is confeſſed by all, that the Parts of *Guiana*, where St. *Thome* was ſituate, were planted by *Spaniards*, who had divers Towns in the ſame Tract, with ſome *Indians* intermixed, that are their Vaſſals, ſo as it is plain, both Place and Perſons were out of his Commiſſion.

And that this was well known to him it appears notably in a Letter of his own Hand, written ſince his Return from his Voyage, wherein he complains, that the *Spaniards* of the ſame Place did murder divers of his Men, which came in Peace to trade with them, ſome ſeven Years paſt; neither doth he in that Letter any Way decline his Knowledge, that thoſe Parts were inhabited by the *Spaniards*, but ſtands upon a former Title, which he would needs now have ſtrengthened by a new Poſſeſſion; notwithſtanding that this his Pretence is no Way compatible with his Commiſſion, and that himſelf, before his Going, made no Overture, or Allegation, of any ſuch Pretext, nor ſo much as intimated, or inſinuated, any ſuch Deſign or Purpoſe.

Again, before he came to the Iſlands, he made no Difficulty to tell many in expreſs Terms, that he meant to ſurpriſe and ſet upon the *Mexico* Fleet, though ſometimes he would qualify it, by ſaying: *If all failed*, or, *If the Action of the Mine were defeated.*

And Sir *Walter Raleigh* himſelf, being charged with theſe Speeches, confeſſed the Words, but ſaith, that, in Time, they were ſpoken after the Action of the Mine was defeated; and that it was propounded by him, to the End to keep his Men together; and, if he ſpoke it before, it was but Diſcourſe at large.

After, when he began to be upon the Approaches of his pretended Deſign of the Mine, and was come to *Trinidad*, he fell ſick in ſome Extremity, and in Doubt of Life, as was thought, at what Time he was moved, by ſome principal Perſons about him, upon two Points, in Caſe he ſhould deceaſe; the one, that he would nominate a General to ſucceed him; the other, that he would give ſome Direction for Proſecution of the Action of the Mine. To the Firſt he made Anſwer, that his Commiſſion could not be ſet over, and therefore left them to agree of that among themſelves; but, for the Mine, he profeſſed he could give them no Direction, and ſtaid not there, but told them, there was another Courſe which he did particulariſe unto them to be a *French* Commiſſion, whereby they might do themſelves moſt Good upon the *Spaniards*.

When he was upon Recovery, he diſpatched the Land-forces pretended for the Mine, and had deſigned Captain *Sentleger* to command in that Expedition; but, by Reaſon of *Sentleger*'s Infirmity at that Time, he reſorted to his Kinſman, Captain *George Raleigh*, who was his Serjeant-Major; in whoſe written Commiſſion which he gave him, he was wary enough not to expreſs the Taking of St. *Thome*, but only inſerted a Clauſe of Commandment: *That they ſhould in all Things obey him, as they would do to himſelf in Perſon*; yet, in private Directions and Inſtructions, he did open himſelf to divers of his Company, that, in Caſe they ſhould not receive ſome Advertiſement, that the Town was re-inforced by new Supplies of Men, whereby the Enterpriſe might be of too great Hazard for their Number, they

ſhould

ſhould take the Town firſt, telling them, that the Mine was but three Miles diſtant ſhort of the Town, and inferring, as *Kemiſh* expounded it afterwards, that it was in vain to meddle with the Mine, except the Town were firſt taken, and the *Spaniards* chaced; for that otherwiſe they ſhould but diſcover it, and work it for the *Spaniards*; and, when he had opened himſelf thus far, ſome of his Company, of the more intelligent and dutiful Sort, did in plain Terms turn it upon him, ſetting before him, that the Taking of the Town would break the Peace, and that they ſhould go againſt the Commiſſion; whereupon, moſt falſly and ſcandalouſly, he doubted not with Confidence to affirm, that he had Order by Word of Mouth, from the King and his Council, to take the Town, if it were any Hinderance to the Digging of the Mine.

But the Event did ſufficiently expound and manifeſt the Direction; and yet that Kind of Interpretation little needed, for that young Mr. *Raleigh*, who was likeſt to know his Father's Secret, when he led his Soldiers upon the Town, uſed theſe or the like Words: *Come on, my Hearts, here is the Mine that you muſt expect; they, that look for any other Mine, are Fools*; and, with this did well concur that which followed, in the Proſecution of the Mine after the Town was taken; for this Mine was not only imaginary, but moveable, for that, which was directed to be three Miles ſhort of St. *Thome*, was after ſought thirty Miles beyond St. *Thome*.

All this While Sir *Walter Raleigh* ſtaid at *Pont de Gallo*, for the Space of ſome nine Weeks, during which Time it was much noted by thoſe that remained with him, that the Speech of the Mine was dead, whereas Men in Expectation do commonly feed themſelves with the Talk of that they long to hear of; nay, more, after he had received News of the Taking of the Town, which had been the fitteſt Time to purſue the Enterpriſe of the Mine, in regard the Town, that might have been the Impediment, was maſtered, he never entertained any ſuch Deſign, but contrariwiſe, having Knowledge at the ſame Time, that his Son was ſlain, who, as it ſeems, was his only Care amongſt the Land-Soldiers, he did move very inhumanly, to remove not a little from *Pont de Gallo* to *Pont-Hercule*, in Reſpect of the Danger of the Current, as he pretended, but to go for the *Caribbees* many Leagues off; accounting, as it ſeemeth, the Land-Soldiers but as *fruges conſumere natos*, and having his Thoughts only upon Sea-forces, which how they ſhould have been employed, every Man may judge. And whereas ſome Pretence is made by him, as if he ſhould leave ſome Word at *Pont de Gallo* of Direction, to what Place the Land-Soldiers ſhould follow him; it is plain, he knew them at that Time ſo diſtreſſed for Victuals, as Famine muſt have overtaken them, before they could overtake him; at which Time one of his Captains told him, that he had delivered out fifty-two Men to that Service, which were then at the Enterpriſe on Land, whoſe Lives he held at a dear Rate, and that he would not weigh Anchor, as long as he had a Cable to ride by, or a Cake of Bread to eat; ſo, Sir *Walter Raleigh* finding no Conſent in that which he propounded, that cruel Purpoſe was diverted.

It was alſo much obſerved, that, after that unfortunate Return of *Kemiſh*, notwithſtanding Sir *Walter Raleigh* did publickly give out, that he would queſtion him for Failing to proſecute the Mine, he had him at Dinner, and Supper, and uſed him as familiarly and as kindly as before. And to *George Raleigh* the Serjeant-Major (to whom he did uſe the like Diſcountenances in publick, who took it more tenderly, and complained, and brake with him about it) he did open himſelf more plainly, telling him that he muſt ſeem to do as much as he did, to give Satisfaction.

After all this, when the Proſecution of this imaginary Mine vaniſhed, and was defeated, and that his Company caſt a ſad Eye Homewards, finding they were but abuſed, Sir *Walter Raleigh* called a Council of his Captains, and held the ſame in his Cabbin, where he propounded to them, that his Intention and Deſign was: *Firſt*, to make to the *Newfoundlands*, and there to revictual and refreſh his Ships; and thence to go to the Weſtern Iſlands, and there to lie in Wait to meet with the *Mexico* Fleet, or to ſurpriſe ſome Carracks; and ſo having gotten Treaſure, which might make him welcome into any foreign Country, to take ſome new Courſe for his future Fortunes, valuing himſelf as a Man of great Enterpriſe and Fame abroad; but then, and at divers Times, he did directly, and openly declare, that it was no Coming for *England*, for that he knew not how Things would be conſtrued, and that he, for his Part, would never put his Head under the King's Girdle, except he firſt ſaw the great Seal for his Pardon.

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At which Time, his Cogitations embracing Eaſt and Weſt, rather than any Return into his Country, he did in particular make Promiſe to a principal Commander in his Company, to give him a Ship to go into the *Eaſt-Indies*, if he would accompany him thither. But, according to his firſt Project, he went to *Newfoundland*, which he needed not to have done, if his Purpoſe had been for *England*, for that he had Victuals enough, and to ſpare, for that Journey; and there at *Newfoundland*, his other Company having formerly diſperſed and forſaken him, his own Company which was in his own Ship began likewiſe to mutiny. And, although ſome old Pirates, either by his Inciting, or out of Fear of their own Caſe, were fierce and violent for the Sea, and againſt the Return, yet the far greater Number were for the Return; at which Time himſelf got a-land, and ſtood upon the Sea-bank, and put it to a Queſtion, Whether they ſhould return for *England*, or land at *Newfoundland*? Whereupon there was a Diviſion of Voices, the one Part to the Star-board, and the other to the Lar-board; of which that Part, which was for the Return for *England*, was two Parts of three, and would by no Means be drawn to ſet Foot on Land, but kept themſelves in the Ship, where they were ſure they were Maſters; which he perceiving, for Fear of further Mutiny, profeſſed, in Diſſimulation, that he himſelf was for the Return into *England*, and came and ſtood amongſt them that had moſt Voices; but, nevertheleſs, after that he deſpaired to draw his Company to follow him further, he made Offer of his own Ship, which was of great Value, to his Company, if they would ſet him a-board a *French* Barque: The like Offer he made, when he came upon the Coaſt of *Ireland*, to ſome of his chief Officers there.

But, about the Time of his Arrival upon the Coaſt of *Ireland*, the Forcing and Sacking of St. *Thome*, and the Firing of the Town, and the Putting the *Spaniards* to the Sword, was noiſed abroad in all Parts, and was by ſpecial Advertiſement come unto the Knowledge of the Count *de Gondamore*, then Ambaſſador for the King of *Spain* with his Majeſty, who, thereupon prayed Audience of his Majeſty, and with great Inſtance demanded Juſtice againſt the Perſons, and their Goods, who had committed thoſe Outrages, and made thoſe Spoils upon his Majeſty's Subjects, according to his Majeſty's Promiſe, and the Treaty of Peace. Whereupon his Majeſty publiſhed his Royal Proclamation for the Diſcovery of the Truth of *Raleigh*'s Proceedings, and the Advancement of Juſtice. Notwithſtanding all which, his Majeſty uſed a gracious and mild Courſe towards Sir *Walter Raleigh*, ſending down Sir *Lewis Stukeley*, Vice-Admiral of the County of *Devon*, to bring Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in fair Manner, and, as his Health would give Leave, by eaſy Journies to *London*. For, about this Time, Sir *Walter Raleigh* was come from *Ireland* into *England*, into the Port of *Plymouth*, where it was eaſy to diſcern with what good Will he came thither, by his immediate Attempt to eſcape from thence; for, ſoon after his Coming to *Plymouth*, before he was under Guard, he dealt with the Owner of a *French* Barque, pretending it was for a Gentleman a Friend of his, to make ready his Barque for a Paſſage, and offered him twelve Crowns for his Pains. And one Night he went in a little Boat, to have ſeen the Barque that ſhould have tranſported him, but, the Night being very dark, he miſſed of the Barque, and came back again, nothing done; wherein, by the Way, appears, that it was not any Train laid for him by Sir *Lewis Stukeley*, or any other, as was voiced, to move or tempt him to an Eſcape, but that he had a Purpoſe to fly, and eſcape from his firſt Arrival into *England*.

But, in this his Purpoſe, he grew to be more reſolute and fixed, after that the Lords of his Majeſty's Council, obſerving the Delays in his Coming up, had ſent unto *Stukeley* ſome quick Letters, for the Haſtening thereof; but, thereupon, as his Deſire of Eſcape increaſed, ſo did the Difficulty thereof increaſe alſo; for, that *Stukeley*, from that Time forth, kept a better Guard upon him; whereof he took that Apprehenſion, in ſo much, as, knowing *Stukeley* to be witty and watchful, he grew to an Opinion that it would be impoſſible for him to eſcape, except he could win one of theſe two Points, either to corrupt *Stukeley*, or at leaſt to get to have ſome Liberty when he came to *London*, of remaining in his own Houſe; for Guiltineſs did tell him, that, upon his Coming to *London*, it was like he ſhould be laid Priſoner in the *Tower*. Wherefore he ſaw no other Way, but, in his Journey to *London*, to counterfeit Sickneſs in ſuch a Manner, as might, in Commiſeration of his Extremity, move his Majeſty, to permit him to remain in his own Houſe;

Houſe, where he aſſured himſelf, before long, to plot an Opportunity of an Eſcape. And having in his Company, one *Manoury*, a *Frenchman*, a Profeſſor of Phyſick, and one that had many chymical Receipts, he practiſed by Crowns, and promiſed to draw him into his Conſort, the better to make Faith of his Counterfeiting to be ſick, the Story whereof *Manoury* himſelf reported to have paſſed in this Manner.

Upon *Saturday* the twenty-fifth of *July*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *Lewis Stukeley*, and *Manoury* went to lie at Maſter *Drake*'s, where the Letters of Commiſſion from the Privy-Council were brought unto Sir *Lewis Stukeley*, by one of his Majeſty's Meſſengers, which cauſed a ſudden Departure, with much more Haſte than was expected before; and the Countenance of Sir *Walter Raleigh* was much changed, after Sir *Lewis Stukeley* had ſhewed the Commiſſion; for *Manoury* ſaw him from the Stair-head, he being alone in his Chamber, the Door ſtanding half open, how he ſtamped with his Feet, and pulled himſelf by the Hair, ſwearing in theſe Words, 'God's Wounds, is 'it poſſible my Fortune ſhould return upon 'me thus again?'

From Maſter *Drake*'s they went on their Journey to the Houſe of Maſter *Horſey*, diſtant from thence four Miles, or thereabouts. It was in that Hour that Sir *Walter Raleigh* began firſt to cauſe *Manoury* to be ſounded, what was in his Heart, by an old Domeſtick of his called, Captain *King*, who there began to diſcourſe unto *Manoury* of the Infortunity of his Maſter, and, amongſt other Things, ſaid thus: 'I would we were all at *Paris*; to 'whom *Manoury* anſwered, I would we were 'all at *London*; alas! what ſhould we do at *Pa-'ris?* Becauſe, quoth *King*, that as ſoon as we 'come to *London*, they will commit Sir *Wal-'ter Raleigh* to the *Tower*, and cut off his 'Head:' Whereupon *Manoury* anſwered, that he hoped better than ſo, and that he was ſorry for his ill Fortune; and that, according to his ſmall Ability, he was ready to do him all honeſt Service he could, ſo it might be done without Offence.

After Dinner, it being *Sunday*, Sir *Walter Raleigh* departed from Maſter *Horſey*'s Houſe, and went to *Sherbourn*; and in the Way, when he came within View thereof, turning to *Manoury*, and ſhewing him the Place, and the Territory about it, he ſaid unto him ſighing, that all that was his, and that the King had unjuſtly taken it from him. He and *Stukeley* lay not at *Sherbourn*, but were invited to the Houſe of old Maſter *Parham*; *Manoury* and their Train went to lie at *Sherbourn*, at the Sign of the *George*. The next Day, being *Monday*, the twenty-ſeventh of *July*, *Manoury* went to them, and from thence they took their Way towards *Saliſbury*, thirty-five Miles from *Sherbourn*; and arriving there, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, going a Foot down the Hill, addreſſed himſelf unto *Manoury*, and aſked him if he had any of his Vomits, or other Medicines; which he telling him that he had, he prayed him to make one ready againſt the next Morning, and to tell No-body thereof. 'I know, quoth he, that it is good for me 'to evacuate many bad Humours, and, by this 'Means, I ſhall gain Time to work my 'Friends, give Order for my Affairs, and, it 'may be, pacify his Majeſty before my Com-'ing to *London*; for I know well, that, aſ-'ſoon as I come there, I ſhall go to the *Tower*, 'and that they will cut off my Head, if I 'uſe no Means to eſcape it; which I cannot 'do, without Counterfeiting to be ſick, 'which your Vomits will effect, without 'Suſpicion.' For which Cauſe the ſame Evening, as ſoon as he arrived, he laid him down upon a Bed, complaining much of his Head, and blaming his great Day's Journey from *Sherbourn* to *Salisbury*, notwithſtanding he ſupped very well; but after Supper he ſeemed to be ſurpriſed with a Dimneſs of Sight, by a Swimming or Giddineſs in his Head, and, holding his Hand before his Face, he roſe from his Bed; and, being led by the Arm by Sir *Lewis Stukeley*, he ſtaggered ſo, that he ſtruck his Head with ſome Violence againſt a Poſt of the Gallery before his Chamber; which made Sir *Lewis Stukeley* think, that he was ſick indeed; in which Belief *Manoury* left him for that Time.

The next Day in the Morning, he ſent the Lady his Wife, and moſt of his Servants, to *London*, and alſo Captain *King*; and, *Cuthbert*, and *Manoury*, and Sir *Lewis Stukeley*, being in *Stukeley*'s Chamber, a Servant of Sir *Walter*, named *Robin*, came and told them, that his Maſter was out of his Wits, and that he was naked in his Shirt upon all Fours, ſcratching, and biting the Ruſhes upon the Planks; which greatly pitied Sir *Lewis Stukeley*, who, riſing in Haſte, ſent *Manoury*

to

to, him, who, when he came, found him gotten again to his Bed; and aſking him what he ailed, he anſwered, he ailed nothing, but that he did it for the Purpoſe. And, Sir *Walter Raleigh* aſking him for his Vomit, he gave it him, who made no Bones, but ſwallowed it down incontinently: At which Time, Sir *Lewis Stukeley* coming in, Sir *Walter* began again to cry and rave; then *Manoury* went out of the Chamber, and the Vomit, which he had given him, was an Hour and a Half before it wrought; but in the mean Time Sir *Walter Raleigh* began to draw up his Legs and Arms all on a Heap, as it had been in a Fit of Convulſions, and Contractions of his Sinews; and that with ſuch Vehemency, that Sir *Lewis Stukeley* had much ado with the Help of others, to pull out ſtreight, ſometimes an Arm, ſometimes a Leg; which, againſt all the Strength they had, he would draw up again as it was before; whereat the ſaid Sir *Lewis Stukeley* took great Compaſſion, cauſing him to be well rubbed and chafed; which Sir *Walter Raleigh* himſelf afterwards told unto *Manoury*, laughing that he had well exerciſed Sir *Lewis Stukeley*, and taught him to be a Phyſician.

This feigned Fit being thus paſt, Sir *Walter Raleigh* called *Manoury*, and, when he came, he prayed him to ſtay by him, and ſaid he would take ſome Reſt. *Manoury* ſhut the Door, and, being alone with him, Sir *Walter Raleigh* told him, that his Vomit had done nothing as yet, and ſaid, that he would take another more violent; but, *Manoury* aſſuring him, that without Doubt it would work, he contented himſelf, and aſked *Manoury* if he could invent any Thing, that might make him look horrible and loathſome outwardly, without offending his principal Parts, or making him ſick inwardly: *Manoury* ſtudied a little, and then told him, that he would make a Compoſition preſently, of certain Things which would make him like a Leper from Head to Foot, without doing him any Harm, which at his Intreaty he effected ſpeedily; at which Time Sir *Walter Raleigh* gave him the Reaſon why he did it, telling him that his being in that Caſe would make the Lords of the Council afraid to come near him, and move them with more Pity to favour him. Soon after that *Manoury* had put this Compoſition upon his Brow, his Arms, and his Breaſt, Sir *Lewis Stukeley* came into the Chamber, and *Manoury* went away; and, Sir *Lewis Stukeley* perceiving the Places where *Manoury* had put this Compoſition to be all pimpled, his Face full of great Bliſters of divers Colours, having in the Midſt a little Touch of Yellow, and round about like a purple Colour, and all the reſt of his Skin as it were inflamed with Heat, he began to apprehend the Danger of the Diſeaſe, that it was contagious; and, being very much aſtoniſhed at the ſudden Accident, he aſked *Manoury* what he thought thereof; but *Manoury* judged it fit to conceal it from him at that Time, ſeeing Sir *Walter Raleigh* had not yet told him, that he meant to fly out of *England*, but that it was only to gain Time to ſatisfy his Majeſty.

Upon *Manoury's* uncertain Anſwer to Sir *Lewis Stukeley* touching Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Malady, *Stukeley* reſolved to go to my Lord Biſhop of *Ely*, now of *Wincheſter*, to relate unto him in what Caſe Sir *Walter Raleigh* was, and brought unto *Raleigh* two Phyſicians, to ſee and viſit him; who, being come, could tell nothing of what Humour the ſaid Sickneſs was compoſed. There came alſo a Third, a Batchelor in Phyſick, who all could not, by all that they could do, diſcover this Diſeaſe; only they gave their Opinion and Advice, that the Patient could not be expoſed to the Air, without manifeſt Peril of his Life, and thereof they made their Report in Writing, unto which *Manoury* alſo ſet his Hand.

Sir *Walter Raleigh*, ſeeing that all theſe Things fell out according to his Intention, was exceedingly contented thereat, eſpecially that, in the Preſence of the ſaid Phyſicians, the Vomit began to work both upwards and downwards. And, becauſe he doubted that the Phyſicians would aſk to ſee his Water, he prayed *Manoury* to do ſomething to make it ſeem troubled and bad; which to content him, giving him the Urinal into his Bed, *Manoury* rubbed the Inſide of the Glaſs with a certain Drug, which as ſoon as he had made Water therein, the Urine, even in the Hands of the Phyſicians, turned all into an earthy Humour, of a blackiſh Colour, and made the Water alſo to have an ill Savour; which made the Phyſicians judge the Diſeaſe to be mortal, and without Remedy, but from Heaven.

He made *Manoury* alſo to tie his Arms about with black Silk Ribband, which he took from his Poniard, to try if it would diſtemper the Pulſe; but that ſucceeded not, as he

thought it would. The Day following, he called *Manoury*, and prayed him to make ſome more ſuch Bliſters upon him, as, upon his Noſe, his Head, his Thighs, and his Legs, which *Manoury* having done, it ſucceeded according to his Deſire; for which he was very jocund and merry with *Manoury*, and ſaid unto him that the Evacuation, which his Phyſick had cauſed, had ſo opened his Stomach, that he was exceeding hungry, and prayed *Manoury*, that he would go and buy him ſome Meat ſecretly; for, quoth he, if I eat publickly, it will be ſeen that I am not ſick; ſo, according to his Requeſt, *Manoury* went to the *White-hart* in *Saliſbury*, and bought him a Leg of Mutton and three Loaves, which he eat in Secret; and by this Subtlety it was thought that he lived three Days without Eating, but not without Drink: Thus he continued until *Friday*, the laſt of *July*, ſeeming always to be ſick in the Preſence of Company, and nevertheleſs, being alone, he writ his Declaration or Apology, and prayed *Manoury* to tranſcribe it, which was ſince preſented to his Majeſty.

The ſame Evening, Sir *Lewis Stukeley* diſcourſing upon his Sickneſs, and whence it ſhould proceed, Sir *Walter Raleigh* ſaid in theſe Words, 'As God ſave me, I think I 'have taken Poiſon where I lay the Night 'before I came to this Town; I know that 'Mr. *Parham* is a great Lover of the King 'of *Spain*, and a Papiſt, and that he keeps 'always a Prieſt in his Houſe; but I will not 'have any of you to ſpeak of it, nor you 'Monſieur (quoth he) ſpeaking to *Manoury*.' Alſo Sir *Walter Raleigh*, his Chamber-doors being ſhut, walked up and down, and only *Manoury* with him, there naked in his Shirt, and took a Looking-glaſs, and looking upon the Spots in his Face, whereat he took great Pleaſure, and laughing, ſaid, unto *Manoury* theſe Words, 'We ſhall laugh well one Day, 'for having thus cozened and beguiled the 'King, his Council, and the Phyſicians, and 'the *Spaniards* and all.

Upon the *Saturday* that his Majeſty arrived at *Salisbury*, which was the Firſt of *Auguſt*, Sir *Walter Raleigh* deſired to ſpeak with *Manoury* in Secret, and ſeemed to have a very great Apprehenſion of ſomething, and, having made him ſhut the Doors, prayed him to give him a red leathern Coffer, which was within another Coffer; which when he had, he was a good While looking in it, and then called *Manoury*, and, putting nine Pieces of *Spaniſh* Money of Gold into his Hand, he ſaid thus: 'There is twenty Crowns in Piſtolets, which 'I give you for your Phyſical Receipts, and 'the Victuals you bought me; and I will give 'you fifty Pounds a Year, if you will do that 'which I ſhall tell you; and, if it happen 'that Sir *Lewis Stukeley* do ask you, what Con'ference you had with me, tell him, that 'you comfort me in my Adverſity, and that 'I make you no other Anſwer than thus, as 'is here written.' Which he had already written with his own Hand, in a little Piece of Paper, for *Manoury*'s Inſtruction, as followeth:

'Vela M. Manoury l'acceptance de tout 'mes travaus, pertie de mon eſtat, & de mon 'fils, mes maladies & doleurs. Vela l'effect 'de mon Confidence au Roy.' Which Paper of *Raleigh*'s Hand-writing *Manoury* produced.

And now Sir *Walter Raleigh* began to practiſe with *Manoury*, and to tell him, that he would fly and get himſelf out of *England*, and that, if *Manoury* would aid him in his Eſcape, it was all in his Power; and that Sir *Lewis Stukeley* truſted in no-body but *Manoury*: Whereupon *Manoury* made him an Overture, that, at his Coming to *London*, he ſhould keep himſelf cloſe in a Friend's Houſe of *Manoury*'s, in *Sheere-Lane* in *London*; whereunto he ſeemed to incline, and found *Manoury*'s Advice good for a While; but, in the End, he told him, that he was reſolved otherwiſe, and that he had already ſent Capt. *King* to hire him a Barque below *Graveſend*, which would go with all Winds, and another little Boat to carry him to it. 'For, quoth 'he, to hide myſelf in *London*, I ſhould be 'always in Fear to be diſcovered by the gene'ral Searchers that are there; but, to eſcape, 'I muſt get Leave to go to my Houſe, and, 'being there, I will handle the Matter ſo, 'that I will eſcape out of the Hands of Sir '*Lewis Stukeley* by a Back-door, and get me 'into the Boat; for no-body will doubt 'that I can go on Foot, ſeeing me ſo feeble, 'as I ſeem to be.' And then, *Raleigh* having muſed a While, without Speaking, *Manoury* aſked him, 'Sir, wherefore will you fly? 'Your Apology, and your laſt Declaration, 'do not they juſtify you ſufficiently?' Then, all in Choler, *Raleigh* anſwered him in *Engliſh*, '

*liſh*, thus: 'Never tell me more; a Man 'that fears is never ſecure.' Which Faſhion of his put *Manoury* to Silence, for that Time.

Now there reſted nothing but his Majeſty's Licenſe to permit him to go to his own Houſe; without which, he ſaid, he could not poſſibly eſcape. This Licenſe was after granted him, by the Means of Maſter Vice-chamberlain, and Maſter Secretary *Naunton*; which being obtained, *Manoury* took Occaſion to ſay to him: 'That hereby one might ſee, that 'his Majeſty had no Meaning to take his Life, 'ſeeing that he ſuffered him to go to his own 'Houſe to recover his Health. No (quoth '*Raleigh*) they uſed all theſe Kinds of Flatte-'ries to the Duke of *Byron*, to draw him 'fairly to the Priſon, and then they cut off his 'Head: I know that they have concluded 'amongſt them, that it is expedient that a 'Man ſhould die, to re-aſſure the Traffick, 'which I have broken in *Spain*.' And thereupon broke forth into moſt hateful and traiterous Words againſt the King's own Perſon, ending in a Menace and Bravery, 'That, if 'he could ſave himſelf for that Time, he 'would plot ſuch Plots, as ſhould make the 'King think himſelf happy to ſend for him 'again, and render him his Eſtate with Ad-'vantage; yea, and force the King of *Spain* 'to write into *England* in his Favour.'

*Manoury*, at that Time, did aſk him further, If he eſcaped, what ſhould become of Sir *Lewis Stukeley*? And whether he ſhould be put to Death for him, or not? And whether he ſhould loſe his Office and Eſtate? 'Not to 'Death (quoth *Raleigh*) but he will be im-'priſoned for a While; but his Lands the 'King cannot have, for that they are already 'aſſured to his eldeſt Son; and, for the reſt, 'it was no Part of his Care.' *Manoury* further aſked him, If it were not Treaſon in himſelf to be aiding to his Eſcape? 'No '(quoth he) for that you are a Stranger; ne-'vertheleſs, you muſt not be known of any 'Thing, for then you will be ſure to be put 'in Priſon.' In Concluſion, *Manoury* demanded of him yet further, 'But what if it 'be diſcovered, that I had any Hand in your 'Eſcape? Why (quoth he) follow me into '*France* (that is your Country) and quit all, 'and I will make you Amends for all.'

After, *Raleigh* went on his Journey to *Andover*, and ſo to *Hertford-bridge*, and from thence to *Staines*; during which Time, Sir *Lewis Stukeley*, being made acquainted by *Manoury* with *Raleigh*'s Purpoſe to eſcape, uſed extraordinary Diligence in Guards and Watches upon him: Which *Raleigh* perceiving, ſaid to *Manoury*, at *Staines*: 'I perceive well, it 'is not poſſible for me to eſcape by our two 'Means alone; *Stukeley* is ſo watchful, and 'ſets ſuch ſtrait Guard upon me, and will be 'too hard for us, for all our Cunning; there-'fore there is no Way, but to make him of 'our Council, and, if we can perſuade him to 'let me ſave myſelf, I will give him in Hand 'Two-hundred Pounds Sterling Worth:' And thereupon drew forth a Jewel, and ſhewed it to *Manoury*, and gave it into his Hand, made in the Faſhion of Hail, powdered with Diamonds, with a Ruby in the Midſt, which he valued at an Hundred and fifty Pounds Sterling; and ſaid: 'Beſides this Jewel, he ſhall 'have Fifty Pounds in Money; I pray you, 'go tell him ſo from me, and perſuade him to 'it; I know he will truſt you.'

*Manoury* went preſently to *Stukeley*, and told him as before, and concluded with him, that *Manoury* ſhould report back to *Raleigh*, that he would accept of his Offer; and bade him tell *Raleigh* alſo, that he was content to do as he deſired, but he would chuſe rather to go away with him, than to tarry behind with Shame and Reproach: And he bade *Manoury* aſk him further, How he thought he could do this, without loſing his Office of Vice-admiral, which coſt him Six-hundred Pounds? And how they ſhould live afterwards? And to what Place they ſhould go? And what Means he would carry with him, to furniſh this intended Journey? Which *Manoury* did, and was anſwered by the ſaid *Raleigh*; and prayed to tell *Stukeley*, that, if he would ſwear unto him not to diſcover him, he would tell him his whole Intent; and that, for the firſt Point, though *Stukeley* ſhould loſe his Office, yet he ſhould be no Loſer upon the Matter; and, for afterwards, as ſoon as he was gotten into *France*, or *Holland*, his Wife was to ſend him a Thouſand Pounds Sterling, and that he carried with him only a Thouſand Crowns, in Money and Jewels, to ſerve him for the Preſent in Eſcape. But, after Supper, *Raleigh* ſaid unto *Manoury*, 'Oh, if I could eſcape 'without *Stukeley*, I ſhould do bravely: But it 'is no Matter (ſaid he) I'll carry him along, 'and afterwards I'll diſpatch myſelf of him

'well

'well enough,' And after, *Manoury*, relating all that had paſſed to *Stukeley*, brought them together; at which Time, *Raleigh* ſhewed the Jewel to *Stukeley*, and he, making Shew to be content, prayed him a little Reſpite to diſpoſe of his Office: Whereupon, *Manoury*, ſeeing them ſo accorded upon the Matter, in Appearance, took his Leave of them, to go to *London*; and, in the Morning, *Manoury*, upon the Taking of his Leave, ſaid to *Raleigh*, 'That he did not think to ſee him 'again, while he was in *England*.' Whereupon, *Raleigh* gave him a Letter, directed to Miſtreſs *Herrys* of *Radford*, that ſhe ſhould deliver him an iron Furnace, with a Diſtillatory of Copper belonging unto it; and charged him to tell every Man, he met, that he was ſick, and that he left him in an extreme Looſeneſs, that very Night.

But *Raleigh*, having formerly diſpatched a Meſſenger to *London*, to prepare him a Barque for his Eſcape, came at laſt to *London*; and, having won his Purpoſe, by theſe former Devices of feigned Sickneſs, to be ſpared from Impriſonment in the *Tower*, and to be permitted to remain at his own Houſe, till his better Recovery; there fell out an Accident, which gave him great Hopes and Encouragement ſpeedily to facilitate his intended Deſign for Eſcape. For, as he came on his Way to *London*, in his Inn at *Brentford*, there came unto him a *Frenchman*, named *La Cheſnay*, a Follower of *Le Clere*, laſt Agent here for his Majeſty's deareſt Brother, the *French* King; who told him, that the *French* Agent was very deſirous to ſpeak with him, as ſoon as might be after his Arrival at *London*, for Matters greatly concerning the ſaid *Walter*'s Weal and Safety; as in Effect it fell out, that, the very next Night after his Arrival at *London*, the ſaid *Le Clere* and *La Cheſnay* came unto him to his Houſe; and there did the ſaid *Le Clere* offer unto him a *French* Barque, which he had prepared for him to eſcape in, and, withal, his Letters Recommendatory for his Safe Conduct and Reception to the Governor of *Calais*, and to ſend a Gentleman expreſly, that ſhould attend and meet him there. To which Offer of his *Raleigh*, after ſome Queſtions paſſed, finding the *French* Barque not to be ſo ready, nor ſo fit, as that himſelf had formerly provided, gave him Thanks, and told him, that he would make Uſe of his own Barque; but for his Letters, and the reſt of his Offer, he ſhould be beholden to him, becauſe his Acquaintance in *France* was worn out. So paſſionately bent was he upon his Eſcape, that he did not forbear to truſt his Life, and to communicate a Secret importing him ſo near, upon his firſt Acquaintance, and unto a Stranger, whom he hath ſince confeſſed that he never ſaw before. And thus, after two Nights Stay, the third Night he made an actual Attempt to eſcape, and was in a Boat towards his Ship, but was by *Stukeley* arreſted, brought back, and delivered into the Cuſtody of the Lieutenant of the *Tower*.

For theſe his great and heinous Offences, in Acts of Hoſtilities upon his Majeſty's Confederates, Depredations, and Abuſes, as well of his Commiſſion, as of his Majeſty's Subjects under his Charge, Impoſtures, Attempts of Eſcape, Declining his Majeſty's Juſtice, and the reſt, evidently proved, or confeſſed by himſelf, he had made himſelf utterly unworthy of his Majeſty's further Mercy: And, becauſe he could not, by Law, be judicially called in Queſtion, for that his former Attainder of Treaſon is the higheſt and laſt Work of the Law, whereby he was *Civiliter mortuus*, his Majeſty was forced, except Attainders ſhould become Privileges for all ſubſequent Offences, to reſolve to have him executed upon his former Attainder.

His Majeſty's juſt and honourable Proceedings being thus made manifeſt to all his good Subjects, by this preceding Declaration, not founded upon Conjectures or Likelihoods, but either upon Confeſſion of the Party himſelf, or upon the Examination of divers unſuſpected Witneſſes, he leaves it to the World to judge, how he could either have ſatisfied his own Juſtice (his honourable Intentions having been ſo perverted and abuſed by the ſaid Sir *Walter Raleigh*) or yet make the Uprightneſs of the ſame his Intentions appear to his deareſt Brother, the King of *Spain*, if he had not, by a Legal Puniſhment of the Offender, given an Example, as well of Terror to all his other Subjects, not to abuſe his gracious Meanings, in taking contrary Courſes for the Attaining to their own unlawful Ends, as alſo of Demonſtration to all other Foreign Princes and States, whereby they might reſt aſſured of his Majeſty's honourable Proceeding with them, when any the like Caſe ſhall occur. By which Means, his Majeſty may the more aſſuredly expect

pect and claim an honourable Concurrence, and a reciprocal Correſpondence from them, upon any the like Occaſion. But, as to Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Confeſſion at his Death, what he confeſſed, or denied, touching any the Points of this Declaration, his Majeſty leaves him and his Conſcience therein to God, as was ſaid in the Beginning of this Diſcourſe. For ſovereign Princes cannot make a true Judgment, upon the bare Speeches, or Aſſeverations, of a Delinquent, at the Time of his Death, but their Judgment muſt be founded upon Examinations, Re-examinations, and Confrontments, and ſuch-like real Proofs, as all this former Diſcourſe is made up of and built upon; all the material and moſt important of the ſaid Examinations being taken under the Hands of the Examinates that could write, and that in the Preſence of no fewer, than Six of his Majeſty's Privy-Council, and atteſted by their alike ſeveral Subſcriptions under their Hands; which were my Lords, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Verulam* Lord Chancellor of *England*, the Earl of *Worceſter* Lord Privy-Seal, Maſter Secretary *Naunton*, the Maſter of the Rolls, and Sir *Edward Coke*.

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A Narrative of the Impriſonment and Uſage of Col. *John Hutchinſon*, of *Owthorp* in the County of *Nottingham*, Eſq; now cloſe Priſoner in the *Tower* of *London*. Written by himſelf, on the Sixth of *April*, 1664, having then received Intimation that he was to be ſent away to another Priſon; and therefore he thought fit to print this, for the Satisfying his Relations and Friends of his Innocence.

*Let the Proud be aſhamed, for they deal perverſly with me, without a Cauſe; but I will meditate in thy Precepts.* Pſal. cxix. 78.

Printed in the Year 1664. *Quarto*, containing twelve Pages.

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## ADVERTISEMENT.

*The following Narrative, being written with an Air of the ſtricteſt Veracity, ought to be preſerved among the other Materials for Hiſtory, which we accumulate in theſe Collections, as it affords a very juſt Idea of the Methods of Juſtice, which were at that Time in Uſe, and may aſſiſt our Readers in forming a Judgment of the Reign of* Charles the Second.

*One Advantage at leaſt will be afforded by the Peruſal of this Piece; the Reader, amidſt this Indignation at the Cruelties, and his Pity of the Hardſhips which are here recounted, cannot fail to congratulate himſelf upon the Happineſs of living at a Time, when no ſuch Miſeries are to be felt, or ſuch Practices to be feared.* —— J.*

Upon

UPON the eleventh Day of *October*, 1663, being the *Lord's-Day*, about Seven of the Clock at Night, there being at that Time no one Perſon but my own Family in the Houſe with me, a Party of Horſe came to my Houſe at *Owthorp* in *Nottinghamſhire*, commanded by one Coronet *Atkinſon*, who told me, I muſt immediately go with him to *Newark*. I demanded to ſee his Warrant; and, after ſome Diſpute, he ſhewed me a Scrip of Paper, ſigned by Mr. *Francis Leke*, one of the Deputy Lieutenants, to this Effect, as near as I can remember, for he would not give me a Copy of it.

To Coronet *Atkinſon*.

*YOU are hereby required, to repair to the Houſe of* John Hutchinſon, *Eſq*; *at* Owthorp, *with a Party of Horſe, and him to ſeize and bring forthwith to* Newark, *and to ſearch the ſaid Houſe for what Arms you can find, and bring them away alſo.*

Having ſhewed me this Order, they ſearched the Houſe, and found no Arms, but four Birding-Guns of my Sons, which hung openly in the Kitchen, and them at that Time they left; but although the Night was very foul and rainy, and I myſelf was not at that Time well, and had not any Accommodation for Riding, neither of Horſes, Saddles, or other Neceſſaries, not having been on Horſeback for many Months before; and though I and my Family urged theſe Reaſons to them, offering all civil Entertainment, if they would but have ſtaid till the next Morning, when I might have gone with the leſs Hazard of my Life and Health; yet could I not prevail with them, but he forced me to borrow Horſes and go out of my Houſe at Midnight; and, about Four of the Clock the next Morning, they brought me to the *Talbot* at *Newark*, which is twelve Miles diſtant from my Houſe, and ſet two Sentinels upon me in my Chamber.

While I was thus kept Priſoner at *Newark*, a greater Party of Horſe than that which fetched me, was ſent again to my Houſe at *Owthorp*, under the Command of *Tomſon* the Innkeeper where I lay, who, on *Tueſday* the 13th of *October* at Night, came thither, and made a ſtricter Search all over the Houſe, in every Box and Trunk, in all the Barns, Mows, and every Hole they could imagine, yet found no more Arms than the four Guns, which the former Party left behind them, but theſe took away; the reſt of the Arms, which I had of old, having been all taken away immediately after the Act of Oblivion paſt, which, as I conceive, left me as rightful Poſſeſſor of my own Goods, as any other *Engliſhman*; yet, when I was at *London*, Mr. *Cecil Cooper* ſent a Party of Soldiers, and took them all out of my Houſe, leaving me not ſo much as a Sword, though at that Time there was no Prohibition of my wearing one.

Having been removed out of the Chamber where I was firſt lodged at *Tomſon*'s, into a very bad Room, upon Pretence that the other looked into the Market-place, I received many more Inſolences and Affronts from the *drunken Hoſt*, till at length I was reſolved to bear them no longer; ſeeing, although I had now been four Days at *Newark*, neither the Gentleman by whoſe Warrant I was fetched, tho' he came every Day to the Houſe where I was, nor any of the King's Officers came at me, to let me know why I was kept there. Whereupon, being provoked by the Inſolence of the Hoſt to throw ſomething at his Head, upon the Buſtle between us, Mr. *Leke* came in, and I had then Opportunity to tell him that I ſtood upon my Juſtification, and deſired to know my Crime, and my Accuſer; and in the mean Time that I might be kept as ſafe as they pleaſed, ſo I might be delivered out of the Hands of this inſolent Fellow, and have Accommodation fit for a Gentleman; which when they ſaw I would no longer want, with much Difficulty, after two Days, I obtained to be removed to the next Inn, where I was civilly treated, with Guards ſtill remaining upon me.

On *Monday*, *October* the Nineteenth, Mr. *Leke* carried me with a Guard of Horſe to *Welbeck*, the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle*'s Houſe, where I was honourably entertained by the Marqueſs, who, upon Diſcourſe with me, told me, he heard I deſired to know my Accuſer, which, he ſaid, he knew no more than I; and my Lord, upon the Arguments I alledged to him, to evince my Innocence, being perſuaded of it, ſent me back without a Guard, only engaging me to ſtay one Week at Home at my own Houſe, in which Space, if I heard no more from him, I might be free to go whither I would.

I would. I was not willing to have accepted this Favour, but rather deſired to ſtay in Cuſtody till my Accuſer was produced, and I could clear myſelf, but, my Lord preſſing it upon me, I could not refuſe it; ſo that Night I returned to *Newark*, and the next Day to my own Houſe, where I ſtayed only till *Thurſday* the Twenty-ſecond, on which Day, about Eleven of the Clock in the Forenoon, I was fetched again Priſoner by a Party of Horſe, commanded by Corporal *Wilſon*, with a Warrant ſigned by Mr. *Leke*, and brought again to *Newark* to Mr. *Twentimans*, where I was laſt quartered, and two Sentinels again ſet upon me.

The Twenty-third, Mr. *Leke* came to me, and ſhewed me a Letter he had received from the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle*, acquainting him, he was ſorry he could not purſue the Civility he intended me, having received Orders from the Duke of *Buckingham*, that I ſhould be kept Priſoner, without Pen, Ink, or Paper; and, to ſhew the Reality of this, there was a Copy of the Letter that brought the Order to the Marqueſs, wherein there was an Expreſſion to this Effect: 'That, though the Duke 'could not make it out as yet, he was confident he *ſhould find me to be in the Plot.* After Mr. *Leke* had communicated this to me, he told me, that he himſelf was to go to *London*, and the Mayor of *Newark* was to take me into his Charge.

After he was gone from me, the Mayor ſent one *Robert Beck* to tell me, I muſt go along with him to his Houſe. I aſked him who he was; he told me, he was the Jailor. I aſked if his Houſe were the Jail; he told me had Priſoners in it. I aſked him what Warrant, *Mittimus*, or Order he had to take me into his Cuſtody, as his Priſoner; he told me, he had none in Writing, but the Mayor's verbal Order. I told him, I would not go to Jail upon a verbal Order, for no Magiſtrate could ſend me to Jail without a *Mittimus*, expreſſing ſome Crime, as the Cauſe of his ſo doing; and therefore I deſired him to return to the Mayor, and wiſh him to conſider what he did, and to take Counſel of any of the Lawyers in his own Town, whether he could legally carry me to the Jail, without calling me before him, or having any Complaint againſt me. But he was reſolved, right or wrong, I ſhould go thither; and, after many vain Meſſages to intreat me to go, when I would not be perſuaded to it voluntarily, he ſent five Conſtables, without any Warrant, but his own Word, to ſeize and carry me by Force. I admoniſhed them alſo of their illegal Violence upon me; but they were bold to affront the Laws, and forced me out of my Quarters, along the Streets, and into the Jail, where I again told the Jailor what Danger of the Law he incurred, by receiving and detaining me Priſoner; and asked him if he had any *Mittimus* under any Magiſtrate's Hand, to take me into his Cuſtody as Priſoner? He told me, he had none but the Mayor's verbal Order, and he muſt do it, for the Mayor had promiſed to bear him out; which I deſired the Conſtables, Soldiers, and the reſt of the Company to bear Witneſs of, how that, without any legal Commitment, I was forced into the Jail, where afterwards the Fellow uſed me, for the Time I ſtayed, as civilly as his Houſe would afford; but, by Reaſon of the Plaiſter-floors, which I was not uſed to, I fell ſick there, where I remained, from *Friday* at Night, *October* the Twenty-third, till *Wedneſday* the Twenty-eighth, about Ten of the Clock in the Morning.

Upon the Twenty-ſeventh, Mr. *Leke* came to me at the Jail, and with him the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle's* Secretary, and told me the Marqueſs had received expreſs Orders from the King, to ſend me up in ſafe Cuſtody to *London*: But Mr. *Leke*, finding me very ill, was ſo civil as to allow me to go up to *London* by my own Houſe (which was near a Road) that I might take Accommodations for my Journey, and be carried up in my own Coach, without which, I had not been able to have gone at that Time. Mr. *Leke* himſelf, being neceſſitated to make more Haſte, went away before the Party of Horſe, that was to guard me up, came into *Newark*; and left his Orders for ſending me away with Mr. *Atkinſon*, who firſt ſeized me Priſoner.

The ſame Twenty-ſeventh of *October*, another Party of Horſe came again late in the Night to my Houſe, and ſearched my Papers, my Wife and I being both at *Newark*, what Cabinets they found not the Keys of, they broke open.

On the Twenty-eighth, in Order to my going to *London*, I was brought by *Berk* the Jailor back to *Twentimans*, to be delivered to the Party of Horſe that was to guard me to *London*: But, they coming very ſlowly and unwillingly

willingly upon that Account, I remained all that Day in the Cuſtody of the Jailor at the Inn. At Night when I was in Bed, the Mayor, being in his Cups, ſent to command me, to be carried back to the Jail; but the Jailor being then more civil and wiſe, knowing that I had been ſome Time in Bed, refuſed to diſturb me, and offered that he, and his Man, would ſit up as a Guard upon me; which would not ſatisfy, but they ſent two Soldiers to be ſet at my Door. The next Day, the Party, commanded to guard me up, not being come into *Newark*, a mean Fellow, which was to command them, came and told me, I muſt go another Way, and not by my own Houſe, nor have the Privilege of being carried by my own Coach, which Mr. *Leke* had allowed me. Whereupon I ſent to Mr. *Atkinſon*, who had the Order from Mr. *Leke* to ſend me away, and he having been formerly a great Proſecuter of me, though unſucceſsfully, to have broken the Act of Oblivion upon me: Whether Malice, or Ignorance how to behave himſelf, or Vexation to find the Country ſo unready in this Service, moved him to it, I know not, but he was ſo obſtinate, in a peeviſh croſs Humour, to have cut me off from all the Humanity that Mr. *Leke* had ſhewed me; that, although Mr. *Cecil Cooper*, and Mr. *Peniſtone Whalley*, one a Deputy Lieutenant, and both Juſtices of the Peace of the County, perſuaded him all they could, yet no reaſonable Thing could be obtained from him, till I, growing as reſolute as he, was diſpatching a Poſt to the Marquis of *Newcaſtle*, to intreat a Countermand of his Barbariſm, who would have forced me on Horſe-back when I was ſo ill that I could not have ridden one Stage, without manifeſt Hazard of never being able to ride another. At length, by the renewed civil Interpoſition of Mr. *Cooper*, he was overruled to condeſcend, that, ſome of the Horſe appointed for my Guard being come in, I ſhould go with them to my own Houſe that Night, and there expect the reſt the next Morning. This Conteſt ending about Sunſet, the twenty-ninth Day I was brought to *Newark*, and the Coach overthrown and broken in the Night, ſo that I was forced to ſtay the next Day at *Owthorp* to mend it, and, on *Saturday* the Thirty-fifth, was brought to *Stamford* where I would have reſted the *Sabbath-day*, but, they not ſuffering me, on *Tueſday* the Third of *November*, I was brought to the *Crown* in *Holbourn*, and the next Morning received by Mr. *Leke*, and immediately carried, with Part of the Guard that brought me up, to the *Tower* of *London*; and, by the ſame Mr. *Leke*, now Sir *Francis Leke*, delivered there a Priſoner, by a Warrant ſigned by Secretary *Bennet*, bearing Date the Twenty-fifth of *October*, wherein I ſtood committed cloſe Priſoner for treaſonable Practices, although the Secretary had never ſeen nor examined me, nor any other Magiſtrate, to know whether or no I could clear myſelf from the Charge of treaſonable Practices, if there were any ſuch given againſt me.

On *Friday*, *November* the Sixth, I was ſent for by Secretary *Bennet* to his Lodgings at *White-Hall*, which was the firſt Time I was examined, and the Queſtions he aſked me were,

1. Where I had lived theſe four or five Months?

I anſwered, Conſtantly at my own Houſe in *Nottinghamſhire*.

2. What Company uſed to reſort to my Houſe?

I told him, None, not ſo much as my neareſt Relations ſcarce ever ſaw me.

3. What Company I frequented?

I told him, None, for I never ſtirred out of my own Houſe to viſit any.

He ſaid, That was very much.

4. Whether I knew Mr. *Henry Nevil*?

I anſwered, Very well.

He aſked, When I ſaw him?

I ſaid, To my beſt Remembrance, never ſince the King came in.

Then he aſked, When I writ to him?

I ſaid, Never in my Life.

When he writ to me?

I ſaid, Never.

Whether any Meſſages had paſſed from him to me, or me to him?

I anſwered, None at all.

5. Whether none had ever moved any Thing concerning a Republick to me?

I told him, I knew none ſo indiſcreet.

6. What Children I had?

I told him, Four Sons and four Daughters.

What Age my Sons were?

I told him, Two were at Man's Eſtate, two little Children.

7. Where I went to Church to hear Divine Service, Common-Prayer?

I told

I told him, No where; for I never ſtirred out of my own Houſe.

Whether I had it not read there?

I anſwered ingenuouſly, No.

How I then did for my Soul's Comfort?

To which I anſwered, Sir, I hope you will leave that for me to account between God and my own Soul.

He then told me, I had cut him off of many Queſtions he ſhould have aſked me, by my Anſwer to theſe, and I might return.

So I was ſent back again to the *Tower*, with two of the Warders which brought me thither to guard me.

Not long after, at the ſame Time, when Mr. *Waters*, who was brought Priſoner to the *Tower* out of *Yorkſhire*, was ſent for to *Whitehall*, I was alſo in very great Haſte carried thither; but with a ſtronger Guard, and greater Formality and Strictneſs, than before; for now I had not only the Deputy-Lieutenant, and my own Keeper, but a Guard of Muſquetiers by Water with me; and, when I came to land at *Whitehall*-Stairs, there was ready an Officer, one Mr. *Andrews*, to receive me, who, with a File or two of Muſketiers, carried me to Sir *Henry Bennet*'s Lodgings, and there I obſerved a great Deal of Care to place the Guard at the outward Door in the Court, that none might peep in, except ſome few Gentlemen, who were admitted to ſtare me in the Face, none being in the Room, except Mr. *Andrews* and myſelf, for a long Time, till at laſt my Keeper thruſt in. In which Room I thus ſtayed two Hours, concluding that I ſhould now be confronted by ſome Accuſer, or at leaſt have an Examination more tending to treaſonable Practices than my firſt ſeemed to do, eſpecially underſtanding that Mr. *Waters* had been ſome Hours before in the Houſe, and was yet there; but, at laſt, out comes Mr. Secretary *Bennet*, who calling a little aſide to the Window, from Mr. *Andrews* and my Keeper, ſays, 'Mr. *Hutchinſon*, you have 'now been ſome Days Priſoner, have you 'recollected yourſelf any Thing more that 'you have to ſay, than when I laſt ſpoke to 'you?'

To whom I anſwered, That I had nothing to recollect, nor more to ſay.

Are you ſure of it? ſaid he.

I replied, Very ſure.

Then, ſaid he, you muſt return to Priſon.

And accordingly I was carried by the ſame Guard back again to the *Tower*, where I have ever ſince been kept cloſe Priſoner, with all imaginable Strictneſs, to the Ruin of my Health and all my Affairs.

After *Michaelmas* Term had thus paſt, in the Beginning of *Candlemas* Term, I ſent my Wife to Sir *Henry Bennet*, to acquaint him what infinite Prejudice this cloſe Impriſonment was to me, by Reaſon of a Mortgage upon my Eſtate, and the Advantage that my Tenants and all other People made of my cloſe Reſtraint, which hindered me from ſpeaking to my Lawyers and others, that it nearly concerned me, to treat with, about my Affairs; but the Secretary told her, that I was a very unhappy Perſon, in regard of my former Crimes. To which ſhe anſwered, ſhe eſteemed me very happy, in that I was compriſed in the Act of Oblivion; but, he with a doubled Reflexion on my former Crimes, notwithſtanding ſhe had put him in Mind of the Act Oblivion, ſaid, He ſhould not move the King to allow me any more Liberty, unleſs he could be ſecured, it might be more ſafe for his Majeſty, than he could apprehend it. After ſuch a real Neceſſity, as ſhe made it appear to him, there was of ſuffering Perſons to come to me, to treat of the Concernments of my Eſtate, it booted her not, to urge the Danger of my Health, and all other Inconveniences which I ſuffered by being forced to make Proviſion for my diſperſed Family in three Places, the intolerable Charge of it, and the Impoſſibility of procuring Supplies, while I was kept thus. All this was neglected, and wrought no other Effect, but to turn the undeſerved Oppreſſions, I groan under, into as unjuſt a Reproach upon me.

I had not written this Narrative, but that I underſtand, now, after twenty-two Weeks cloſe Impriſonment in the *Tower*, inſtead of being brought to a legal Trial, or ſet at Liberty, I am to be removed from hence to another Priſon; and though the Form and Date of the Warrant of my Commitment cloſe Priſoner to the *Tower of London*, compared with the Day of my firſt being brought to Town, together with the Times and Manner of my Examinations by Mr. Secretary *Bennet*, did clearly let me ſee, how it was reſolved I ſhould be diſpoſed of, before it could poſſibly be known whether I ſhould appear guilty or innocent, if any Accuſation was given in againſt

me, not having at that Time, nor till ſome Days after I had been cloſe Priſoner in the *Tower*, ever been examined by any Man; yet it being ſtill more manifeſt, by aſſigning me to a Priſon, in a Place ſo remote from my Family and Affairs, and ſo dangerous to my infirm Conſtitution, to ſay nothing of the intolerable Charge, as that is, to which I hear I muſt go; and indeed, neither this where yet I am, whilſt I am cloſe kept up, nor ſcarce any other Iſle or Caſtle, that I know of, will be much leſs miſchievous to me in thoſe Reſpects. I hold it a Duty I owe to my own Innocence, to publiſh this Narrative, whether I be ſent away, or ſtay in this Priſon, it being equally deſtructive to my Life and Family; leaving my Blood, if thus ſpilt, and the Ruin of my Family, thus occaſioned, to cry to Heaven for that Juſtice, which I am not thought worthy of here. And whilſt I am yet ſuffered to breathe, having no other Refuge on Earth, putting up my Petitions to the great Judge of Heaven and Earth, as one not without Hope in God, in the Words of the Prophet *David*, Pſal. xliii. *Judge me, O God, and plead my Cauſe*, &c.

From the *Tower* of *London*, *April* 6, at Night, 1664.

*John Hutchinſon*.

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A true Report of the Arraignment, Tryall, Conuiction, and Condemnation, of a *Popiſh* Prieſt, named *Robert Drewrie*, at the Seſſions-houſe in the *Old Baylie*, on *Friday* and *Wedneſday*, the Twentieth and Twenty-fourth of *February*; the extraordinary great Grace and Mercie offered him, and and his ſtubborne, traytorous, and willfull Refuſall. Alſo the Tryall and Death of *Humphrey Lloyd*, for maliciouſlie Murdering one of the Guard. And, laſtly, the Execution of the ſaid *Robert Drewrie*, drawn in his Prieſtly Habit, and as he was a *Benedictine* Fryer, on *Thurſdaie* following to *Tiborne*, where he was hanged and quartered. *London*, printed for *Iefferie Chorlton*, and are to be ſold at his Shop adioyning to the great North Door of *Paules*, MDCVII. *Quarto*, black Letter, containing four Sheets.

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*The following Account of a Prieſt, who choſe rather to die than to take the Oath of Allegiance to King* James the Firſt, *an Oath, which many of the Secular Prieſts publickly defended, and which very few of the Laity refuſed, is in itſelf very remarkable; nor can it be doubted that his Firmneſs will be applauded by ſome, and his Bigotry ſeverely cenſured by others.*

*But it will be thought by the Reader ſtill more extraordinary, when he has been told, what the Author of this Narrative does not ſeem to have known, that this Prieſt was, in ſome Degree, the Author of that Oath, which he died for Refuſing.*

*In*

*In the Year* 1602, *a considerable Number of the Secular Priests, who had for some Time publickly opposed the Principles, and condemned the Practices of the* Jesuits, *resolved yet farther to distinguish themselves from them, by a solemn and authentick Protestation of their Fidelity and Allegiance, and therefore drew up an Instrument, by which they confessed:* "That they were all liable by the Laws of the Land to Death, by their "Coming into the Kingdom, after their Taking the Order of Priesthood since the "first Year of her Majesty's Reign, but that, whereas it hath pleased their dread "sovereign Lady to take some Notice of the Faith and Loyalty of them, her natural "born Subjects, Secular Priests, and her Princely Clemency hath given a sufficient "Earnest of some merciful Favour towards them, and only demanded of them a true "Profession of their Allegiance, thereby to be assured of their Fidelity to her Majesty's "Person, Crown, Estate, and Dignity, they whose Names are thereunder written, in "most humble Wise prostrate at her Majesty's Feet, do acknowledge themselves infinite-"ly bound unto her Majesty therefore, and are most willing to give such Assurance and "Satisfaction in this Point, as any Catholick Priests can or ought to give unto their "Sovereign."

*They then proceed thus:*

I. *Therefore we acknowledge and confess the Queen's Majesty to have as full Authority, Power, and Sovereignty over us, and over all the Subjects of this Realm, as any her Highness's Predecessors ever had.*

II. *Whereas, for these many Years past, divers Conspirators against her Majesty's Person and Estate, and other forcible Attempts for Invading and Conquering her Dominions, have been made, we know not under what Pretence, or Intendments of restoring the* Catholick *Religion by the Sword (a Course most strange in the World, and undertaken solely and peculiarly against her Majesty and her Kingdoms, amongst other Princes departed from the Religion and Obedience of the See Apostolick no less than she) by Reason of which violent Enterprises, her Majesty, otherwise of singular Clemency towards her Subjects, hath been greatly moved to ordain and execute severer Laws against* Catholicks *(which, by Reason of their Union with the Apostolick See, in Faith and Religion, were easily supposed to favour these Conspiracies and Invasions) than, perhaps, had ever been enacted or thought upon, if such Hostility and Wars had never been undertaken, we, to assure her Majesty of our most faithful Loyalty, also in this particular Cause, do sincerely protest, and by this our publick Fact make known to all the Christian World, that in these Cases of Conspiracies, of practising her Majesty's Death, of Invasion,* &c.

*They then declared their Abhorrence of all such Practices and all Treasons, and made very solemn Protestations of their Fidelity and Allegiance.*

*From this Declaration, which was signed by* Robert Drewry *and twelve others, was the Oath of Allegiance formed, by which the Government intended not so much to distinguish* Protestants *from* Papists, *as one Kind of* Papists *from another. But* Robert Drewry, *who had signed the Declaration in* 1602, *chose, in* 1607, *rather to suffer Death, than to take the Oath.*——J*

*A true*

*A true Report of the Apprehenſion, Examination, Arraignment, Tryall, Inuiction, and Condemnation of* Robert Drewrie, *a Seminary Prieſt and a Fryer, of the Order of Saint* Benedict, *at the Seſſions-houſe in the* Old Baily, *on* Friday *and* Wedneſday *the Twentieth and Twenty-fifth of* February. *And, laſtly, his Execution at* Tyborne, *on* Thurſday *following, &c.*

IN a Caſe deſeruing ſo well to be ſpoken off, concerning Iniury to God's Glory, and apparant Wrong of our Countrey (ouer-run with too many Men of ſuch daungerous Quality) I thought it the Duty of an honeſt Subiect, to ſay ſomewhat, ſo farre as Truth would warrant me, becauſe Slaunder and Detraction are no meane Enemies to ſuch Maner of Proceedings.

*Robert Drewrie* being apprehended by his Maieſties Meſſengers at the *White-Fryers*, and afterward brought before the Right Reverend Father in God, the Lord Biſhop of *London*; declared himſelfe there, as *Garnet*, his Maiſter, had done before, *Multorum nominum*, to be a Man of many Names, but yet no one of them being good. For, as no leſſe than ſixe ſeverall Names would ſerve *Garnets* Turne, ſo this Man had three to ſhadow him by, *viz. Drewrie*, *Browne*, and *Hamden*, but *Drewrie* was the laſt in his owne Deliuering, and appearing to be his true Name indeede.

His Aunſwers were equiuocall and very confuſed, denying his Prieſthoode, and ſeeming ſo cunning, as if no Hold were to be taken of him. But he being better known to the State then himſelf imagined, and his many daungerous Practiſes ſufficiently diſcouered and ſcanned; after ſuch priuate Examinations as were thought conuenient, Time was appointed for his publique Tryall, which followed as heereafter ſhall be declared.

On *Friday*, being the 20th Day of *February*, in the Forenoone, my Lord Mayor, Maiſter Recorder, and other of his Maieſties Juſtices of the Peace, ſitting at the Seſſions-houſe in the *Old-Baily*, by Vertue of his Highneſſe Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, for Gaole Deliuerie, for *London*, and the County of *Middleſex*: *Robert Drewrie*, Prieſt, and a Fryer of the *Benedictine* Order, was brought before the Bench. His Enditement, according to Forme of Lawe in that Caſe made and prouided, was openly read vnto him; whereunto he pleaded, *Not Guilty*, but (for his Tryall) did put himſelfe vpon God and his Country. Then was a verie ſufficient Iurie impannelled for him; to whom (in Effect) theſe Speeches were deliuered.

*Robert Drewrie*, the Priſoner, ſtanding at the Barre, had traytorouſly, wilfully, and in Contempt of the Statute made to the Contrarie, departed out of this Land, wherein he was borne, and at *Valedolid* in *Spayne* (where, by *Parſons* Means, a Seminary for *Engliſh* Students was erected, as the like were at *Rome* and *Rhemes*) hadde bin made a Prieſte by the Biſhop of *Leon*, by Authority deriued from the Pope. Sithence which Time, he had returned back into this Land, to reconcile, ſeduce, and withdraw his Maieſties Subiectes from their naturall Dutie, Loue, and Allegeance, to a forraigne Seruice and Obedience.

Hauing Libertie graunted to ſpeake, and aunſwere for himſelfe what he could, *Robert Drewrie* very ſhallowly ſought to inſinuate, that, if it were Treaſon in him to be a Prieſt, then it was the like in Saint *Auguſtine*, Saint *Bernard*, and other Reuerend Fathers of the Church, who receiued their Prieſthoode by Authority from God; and ſo did he preſume to haue doone the like, for the Saluation of his owne Soule, and many others beſide; which purpoſely he came hether to do, according to his Office and Function. His ſillie Suggeſtion was preſently reprooued, that, notwithſtanding the great Difference beetweene his Prieſthoode, and that of the Fathers before named, yet Prieſthoode ſolie was not imputed to him for Treaſon; for that Profeſſion (though neither liked, nor allowed by vs) he might vſe and exerciſe in the Parts beyond the Seas, keeping himſelfe there; but not heere within his Maieſties Kingdome, where, both he, and all other of his Ranke, did very well know, and therefore could not plead any Ignorance therein, that ſundry good and ſufficient Lawes, heeretofore made, had enacted it to be Treaſon, for any Subiect borne to forſake his natiue Dutie, and, being made Prieſt by Authority

rity deriued from the Pope, to com Home again into this Land, and (in meere Contempt of the King and his Lawes) to reconcile, ſeduce, and alienate loyall Subiects Harts from Loue, iuſt Regard, and Dutie to their Soueraigne, and ſubiecting them in Obedience to a forraigne Gouernment. *Drewrie* made Aunſwere, he could not, neither would he deny, but that he came hether to exerciſe the Office of a Prieſt, according as he had alreadie doone, in winning of Soules; but he would not admit, that he had ſeduced any, or in any Sort diſwaded them, but only for the Good of their Soules. Being afterward vrged with his Maieſties great Mercy, who had, to him and all other of his Coate, granted his generall Pardon; and why he did not (according to the Proclamation) depart the Land, when it was ſo expreſly commaunded? He made Aunſwere, That he wanted Means: When it was prooued to him, that not only did the King allow ſuch conuenient Tranſporting, but alſo enabled them with Mony; and therefore his Stay could not be otherwiſe, but meerely in traytorous Contempt of the Kings Lawes: Whereto he could make no Reply.

Then diuers traitorous and dangerous Papers were ſhewen, which had bin taken in his Cuſtody, and whereof he would gladly haue acquitted himſelfe, but that they were manifeſtly prooued to be his. One of them ſeemed to be *Parſons* Opinion concerning the Oath in the late made Statute, which he vtterly diſallowed any *Catholique* to take, appearing to haue vſed the Popes Cenſure therein; whereupon the Bull, or Breefe, to that Purpoſe, ſeemeth to take Effect.

The others were alſo of a traytorous Nature, tending to the Abuſe and Corrupting of poore ſimple Soules, and ſtealing all Duty and Allegeance from them. There were likewiſe two Letters openly read, the one from certaine Prieſtes, Priſoners ſometimes in the *Clinke*, to the Arch-prieſt, Maiſter *Blackwell*, requiring his Iudgement in Matters, when they laboured and hoped for Tolleration in Religion: The other was Maiſter *Blackwells* Aunſwere therto; both which though he would haue cunningly auoyded, yet it appeared what Reckoning he made of them.

When he had aunſwered for himſelfe ſo much as he could, relying ſtill vpon his Prieſthoode, and vrging that to be the cheefeſt Matter of his Offence, though many Times the Contrary was deliuered to him, the Iurie paſſed vppon him, and founde him guilty of High-Treaſon, wherevpon he was ſent away til the Time of Iudgement; which becauſe it was not til *Wedneſday* following, it ſhall not be much differing from our Purpoſe to handle, and ſay ſomewhat, in the mean While, concerning the Tryall and Conuiction of *Humphrey Lloyd*, endicted there vpon wilfull Murder, hauing ſlaine Maſter *Thomas Morris*, one of the ordinary Yeomen of his Maieſties Guarde, not long before, in *Chauncery-lane*.

Upon *Sunday* in the Afternoone, being the Eighteenth of *January*, the forenamed *Humphrey Lloyd* and *Thomas Morris* meeting together in *Alderſgate-ſtreete*, in the Companie of certaine other of theyr Friendes, went into the *Halfe Moone* Tauerne to drink, where they had no ſuch Plenty of Wine, as to cauſe Diſtemper, or otherwiſe (that Way) to procure Impatience.

But it was deliuered in Euidence, that ſome Speeches concerning Religion paſſed betweene them; wherein *Morris* touched *Lloyd* to be a Diſſembler, as neither hot nor cold, but, if any thing at all, it was (indeede) beſt affected to *Popery*, as afterwarde it plainely appeared. It hapned, that the Lie was retorted betweene them, which vrged *Morris* to caſt a Cuppe of Wine in *Lloyds* Face, and *Lloyd* therevpon threwe a Rowle of Bread at the Head of *Morris*. A further and more dangerous Strife had preſently enſued, but that honeſt Friendes on both Sides, being preſent, did ſo diſcreetely deale with them, that they grew Friendes againe, drank to one another, and no Hart-burning outwardly perceiued; till at length, *Lloyde* renewing Remembrance of the former Speeches, a more heauier Falling out had thereon hapned, but that the Friendes, as before, pacified them again; but yet menacing Words paſſed from eyther, *Morris* threatning to bee euen with *Lloydes* bald Pate, and *Lloyde* woulde try Acquittance with the others Cods-heade; ſo that they parted with Teames of Enmity.

On the *Wedneſday* next enſuing, *Lloyd* and a Gentleman, in a white coloured Cloake, ſtanding talking together at *Lincolns Inn Gate*, it hapned *Morris* and a Friende of hys with him to paſſe by; the Friende ſaluted *Lloyd*, as *Lloyd* did the like by him; and uery ſoone after, the Gentleman in the white Cloake, that had ſtoode talking with *Lloyd* being

ſent

ſent by him, as it appeared, followed *Morris*, as *Lloyd* likewiſe, and, rounding him in the Eare, which the Friende then with *Morris* could not heare, hee perceiued an Alteration in the Countenance of *Morris*, and the like in *Lloyd*, who by this Time was come to them; which he being deſirous to remooue, as ſtanding an equall Friende to them both, deſired them, if any Thinge were amiſſe betweene them, to let him perſwade a friendly Agreement, and not to grow into any vnciuill Behauiour in the open Street, to the Wounding of their Credite and Reputation, as alſo, what Danger might otherwiſe enſue, was doubtful to be gathered. *Lloyd* made Aunſwere, that he was good Friendes with his Cozen *Morris*, and loued him as deerly as any in *England*. Whereto *Morris* inſtantly replied, Wilt thou neuer leaue thy Diſſembling? Doſt thou pretend to loue me ſo deerely, and haſt euen now ſent me a Challenge by this Man? *Lloyd* immediately returned him this Aunſwere: That, if he hadde ſent him a Challenge, he was come in Perſon to aunſwere it, and would performe it there, or any where els. Thus his malicious Intent very plainely appeared. What other Words paſſed betweene them, I know not, neither could they bee heard by any Standers by; but forthwith they drewe out both theyr Weapons, notwithſtanding all Intreaty to the Contrary: And indeede *Lloyd* did drawe to ſoone, to expreſſe his bloody and vnquencheable Malice, for he ſoon gaue to *Morris* his Deaths Wound, whereupon he fell downe preſently, not ſpeaking one Word.

And, to witneſſe the more his cruell and bloodie Hatred, he ſtrake twice or thrice at him, when he was downe, cutting him ouer the Head, and otherwiſe wounding him; yet he pleaded, that he did all this but in hys owne Defence.

All this, which hath bin breefelie reported, being much more circumſtantially deliuered in Euidence, and by Oath approued to his Face, he ſought to extenuate his Offence by verie ſhallow Speeches, vtterly impertinent, and moſt againſt himſelfe, in due Conſideration of his friuolous Allegations: For he had bin a Man of more dangerous Quality, then was conceiued in his preſent Tryall, hauing taſted the Kings moſt gracious Mercy, and had beene borne withall beyond his Deſeruing.

It was alſo told him, how farre he had waded in *Watſons* Treaſon, and was alſo a Partaker in the *Gunne-powder Plotte*, ſending Shot, and Powder alſo, to them in *Wales*; in all which the Mercie of his Maieſty had looked more mildly vpon him, then himſelfe coulde deſire, or any way deſerue. But the Iuſtice of Heauen very manifeſtly appeared, that ſo falſe and hollow a Hart, fullied with the deteſted Guilt of Treaſon, muſt now, in a wilful and malicious Act of Blood and Murder, declare it ſelfe to the whole Worlde, and the vpright Cenſure of Lawe this Way depriue him of Life, that had felte Mercie before, in a heauier Offence. Here is alſo to be noted, that, as the Quarel firſt hapned on Talk of the *Popiſh* Religion, ſo now *Lloyd* diſcouers him in his Colours. For, though it was told him, that he had very confidently deliuered himſelfe to be otherwiſe, and which himſelfe was not able to denye; yet nowe *Drewrie* the Prieſte (after his Iudgement) paſſing away by him in the Docket, gaue him a publicke noted Abſolution, with his Hand croſſing him, and vſing ſome cloſe Speeches; whereupon, thinking this ſufficient to waſh off his Stayne of Murder, he forthwith openly confeſt, that he is a *Catholicke*, ſo he had bin alwayes, and ſo he woulde die; as if that very Name ſhould giue Fame to his foul Fact, and, where he died a Murderer, his owne ydle Suppoſition of *Popiſh* Abſolution ſhoulde make him nowe to die in the Caſe of a Martyr, and for his Conſcience.

When he was drawne in the Carte (with others) toward Execution, and all the Cartes beeing ſtayed before Saint *Sepulchers* Church, where the moſt Chriſtian and charitable Deed of Maſter *Dooue*, at euery ſuch Time, is worthily performed, to moue Prayer and Compaſſion in Mens Harts, for ſuch ſo diſtreſſed: All the While that the Man ſpake, *Lloyd* ſtopte his Eares, not willing to heare any Thing; but, if any *Romaine Catholickes* were neere, he deſired ſuch to pray for him. And ſo at *Tyborne* he did in like Manner, calling to *Romaine Catholickes* to praye with him and for him; but no other Prayers would he accept of. But, the Lawe hauing cenſured him, and Juſtice likewiſe beeing paſt vpon him, what elſe remaines to be thought, or ſaid of him, let it be ſo charitably, as ſuch a Caſe requireth, and as becommeth all honeſt *Chriſtians*, euermore remembring, that Fleſh and Blood is ſubiect to Frailty, and he, that boaſteth moſt

moſt of Strength, maye ſooneſt fall and be deceiued: Therefore let vs meaſure other Mens Infirmities by a conſiderate Care of what our owne maye bee, and, committing all to him that is the onely Iudge of all, deſire his heauenly Help and Aſſiſtance neuer to ſuffer vs to be led into the like Temtations. Let vs nowe remember where we lefte before, and returne to the Matter concerning the Prieſt.

In this Time of Reſpit ſince his Condemnation, bethinking himſelfe, belike, of his preſent dangerous Condition, he ſolicited ſundry great Perſons by his Letters, entreating all poſſible Fauour to bee allowed him. Among the reſt, he wrote to Sir *Henry Mountague*, Recorder of *London*, requiring to haue ſome priuate Speech with him. The Gentleman, being of a milde and mercifull Inclination, willing to do Good to any, but much more to one at the Point of ſuch Perill, vpon *Monday* Morning, ſent for *Drewrie* downe into the Seſſions-houſe Garden to him; where, vrging to know what Fauour he requeſted, and alleaging the Kings great and gracious Mercy to any that expreſſed themſelues to be his louing Subiects, and would take the Oath of Duty and Obedience to him, *Drewrie* made voluntary Tender of himſelfe, that he would take the Oath, acknowledging the Greatnes of his Maieſties Mercy; and humbly required, that the like Grace might bee affoorded to his Brother, *William Dauies*, the other Prieſt, that was condemned with him. Maiſter Recorder conceiued very well of this his Submiſſion, and was in his Minde perſwaded, that, if he had put him to the Oath preſently, without any Refuſall he would haue taken it. But he, as an vpright Iuſticer, very wiſely conſidering, that, his Fact being openly knowne, and the People acquainted with his dangerous Practiſes, his publike Submiſſion, and Taking the Oath, would the better witneſſe his Obedience and Submiſſion, and proue much more pleaſing then any Thing done in priuate, deferred it till the Time of more Conueniency; ſo *Drewrie* departed vppe to his Chamber again, being vſed with all kind and gentle Reſpect.

## *The extraordinary great Grace and Mercy, offered at the* Seſſions-houſe *to* Robert Drewrie *and* William Dauies, *Prieſtes, on* Wedneſday, *the Twenty-fifth of* February; *and, laſtly, the Sentence of Death pronounced againſt them.*

ACcording to the Cuſtome in ſuch Caſes obſerued, the Tryall and Condemnation of *Robert Drewrie* paſſing, as hath beene already declared, on the *Fryday* before; on *Wedneſday* following, being the fiue and twentieth Day of *February*, the Priſoner was brought to the Barre againe; where it being tolde him, that he had been already arraigned vpon High-treaſon, and had pleaded thereto, *Not guilty*, but, for his Tryall, had put himſelfe vpon God and his Countrey, the Countrey had found and deliuered him vppe guilty; it now remained to hear what he could ſay for himſelfe, why Iudgement of Death ſhould not be pronounced againſt him.

He replyed, as he had done before, that he took himſelfe not to be conuicted of Treaſon, but onely for his Prieſt-hoode; which if the Law made Treaſon, he had nothing to ſay, but appealed to the Kinges Grace and Mercy.

Heereupon, his voluntarie Offer, to take Oath on the *Monday* before, was rehearſed to him. And it was further tolde him, that now it was apparantly perceiued, how collorably he cloaked his priuate and pernicious Dealing, anſwering by Equiuocation, and ſetting downe one Thing vnder his owne Hand, then afterward ſpeaking dyrectly againſt the ſame. For Proofe whereof, his owne Letter, written ſithence the Time of his Condemnation, to a Perſon of great Honor, was there read; and as much thereof, as concerned the preſent Occaſion then in Hand, was the more inſiſted vpon. Wherin (if my Memory faile me not) it appeared, that he had bin requyred to ſet downe his Cenſure and Opinion, according as himſelfe did beſt gather and conceiue therof, concerning the Oath of Legalty and Allegiance mentioned in the late Statute; whereunto (as I remember) his Anſwere was thus: 'I freely confeſſe, that (in my Opinion) euery honeſt 'and good *Catholicke* may lawfully and ſafely 'take it.' Immediately, becauſe he had made ſuch a free Confeſſion of the Oathes Lawfulnes,

nes, and Safety in Taking, himſelfe was willed to take the Oath, which he had thus cenſured, to let the World perceiue now publickly, whether his Hand and Hart held true Correſpondence together, and whether he were ſo honeſt and good a *Catholicke*, as but to expreſſe the Loyalty of a Subiect, and give *Cæſar* his Due. Now plainly appeared, both what he and ſuch of his Profeſſion inwardly are, for he plainly refuſed to take the Oath: Hauing the Booke deliuered into his owne Hands, and willed to take and alledge what Exceptions he colde againſt any Part or Particle of the Oath, his Anſwere was, That he did but deliuer his Opinion of the Oath, what any good or honeſt *Catholicke* might do, excluding himſelfe out of any ſuch Titles. 'Neither '(quoth he) can it be any waye aduantageable 'to me, being condemned as I am, and there-'fore I haue no Reaſon to take it.' But then, to meet iuſtly with ſuch cuning Diſſembling and Equiuocating, and to diſcouer ſuch apparant Falſhood, that no leſſe admired, then moſt worthy Gentleman, Sir *Henry Mountague*, Knight, Recorder of the Cittie of *London*, as he had many Times before, ſo ſtill he continued, in diſplaying the ſubtil Slights of ſo dangerous a Perſon, and what Hurt enſued the State by ſuch as he was. To driue him nowe from theſe ydle Suggeſtions, and to lay open the Kings moſt Royall Mercy, though not ſo much as in Truth it deſerued, yet ſufficiently able to conuince ſuch Impudence, he told him, That he was a poore Miniſter of Iuſtice vnder his Maieſty, and hadde ſuch true Acquaintance with his euer-royall and mercifull Inclination, that harty Sorrow, or Repentance, in an Offender, no ſooner colde be diſcerned, but he was euen as readie to giue Pardon and Forgiuenes, and rather did ſuperabound in Grace, then ſeeke after Blood; and therefore willed him to let all the People there perceiue, whether he would accept of this proffered Grace, or no. Nay, more; becauſe euery one was not acquainted with the Oath contained in the Statute, and (perchance) might conceite otherwiſe thereof, then in Equity it deſerued, the Clearke was commaunded to read it there publickly, and himſelfe to except againſt it whatſoeuer he could alledge. The Clearke accordingly began, as followeth, reading it deſtinctly, as it is in the Booke.

## The Oath of euery true and honeſt Subiect.

I *A. B.* do truely and ſincerely acknowledge, profeſſe, teſtifie, and declare in my Conſcience, beefore God and the Worlde, that our Soueraigne Lorde King *Iames* is lawfull and rightfull King of this Realme, and of all other his Maieſties Dominions and Countries: And that the Pope, neither of himſelfe, nor by any Authority of the Church or See of *Rome*, or by any other Meanes, with any other, hath any Power or Authority to depoſe the King, or to diſpoſe of any of his Maieſties Kingdomes or Dominions; or to authorize any forraigne Prince to inuade or anoy him, or his Countries; or to diſcharge any of his Subiectes of their Allegiance and Obedience to his Maieſty; or to giue Licenſe, or Leaue, to any of them to beare Armes, raiſe Tumult, or to offer Violence or Hurte to his Maieſties Royall Perſon, State, or Gouernment, or to any of his Maieſties Subiectes within his Maieſties Dominions.

Alſo, I do ſweare from my Hart, that, notwithſtanding any Declaration, or Sentence of Excommunication, or Depriuation, made or graunted, or to be made or graunted, by the Pope or his Succeſſors, or by any Authority deriued, or pretended to bee deriued, from him or his See, againſte the ſaid King, his Heires or Succeſſors; or any Abſolution of the ſaide Subiectes from their Obedience. I will beare Faith and true Allegiance to his Maieſtie, his Heires, and Succeſſors; and him and them will defende, to the vttermoſt of my Power, againſt al Conſpiracies and Attempts whatſoeuer, which ſhal be made againſt his or their Perſons, their Crown and Dignity, by Reaſon or Colour of anie ſuch Sentence or Declaration, or otherwiſe; and will doe my beſt Indeuour to diſcloſe and make knowne vnto his Maieſty, his Heires and Succeſſors, all Treaſons and traiterous Conſpiracies, which I ſhall know, or hear of, to be againſt him, or any of them.

And I doe further ſweare, that I doe from my Hart abhorre, deteſt, and abiure, as impious and heretical, this damnable Doctrine and Poſition, that Prince, which be excommunicated

municated or depriued by the Pope, may be depoſed or murdered by their Subiects, or anie other whatſoeuer.

And I do beleeue, and in Conſcience am reſolued, that neither the Pope, nor any Perſon whatſoeuer, hath Power to abſolue me of this Oath, or any Parte thereof, which I acknowledge by good and faithfull Authority to be lawfully miniſtred to me, and do renounce all Pardons and Diſpenſations to the Contrary. And al theſe Things I do plainly and ſincerely acknowledge and ſweare, according to theſe expreſſe Wordes by me ſpoken, and according to the plaine and common Sence, and Underſtanding to the ſame Words, without Equiuocation, or mental Euaſion, or ſecret Reſeruation whatſoeuer. And I do make this Recognition and Acknowledgement heartily, willingly, and truly, vpon the true Faith of a *Chriſtian*. So help me GOD.

This Oath, which no good Subiect will refuſe to take, hauing beene very audibly read, well neare in the perfect Hearing of euery one there preſent, he was required to alleadge or inferre againſt any Part thereof what he colde. But he inſiſting vainely, as he had done before, that he had but giuen his Opinion thereof for others, and refuſing vtterly to take it himſelfe, gaue euident and manifeſt Teſtimony, that ſuch Prieſtes, as himſelfe was, were not included in the Ranke of honeſt or good *Catholickes*, but apparant Traytors to the King and State, in ſaying one Thing, and dooing the Contrary; in making an outward Shew of Duty and Obedience under Hand-writing, and reſeruing a trayterous Intention in their cloſe Boſome; wherein the groſſe Deceiuing and Abuſing of too many ouer-credulous Soules (being falſely perſwaded of ſuch Men, otherwiſe then they are indeede) is very much to be pitied and lamented: For they do but iudge by the exteriour Habit of ſmooth Sanctitie and Holines, and not by the cloſe Seducing of them and their Soules. Religion is the Cloake caſt ouer intended Treaſon, and holy Proteſtations hide hollow-harted Practiſes, more deuilliſh then (in plaine Meaning) can eaſily be doubted, and far more daungerous, then weake Capacities are able to diſcouer, as, very excellently and elegantly, was there plainely approued.

Another Allegation alſo (as impertinent) did *Drewrie* make, in ſaying: That a *French* Prieſt, or *Spaniſh* Prieſt, comming into this Land, to exerciſe their Function at either of their Lord Ambaſſadours, or otherwiſe, they might, in like Manner, be tearmed Traytors; whereas all the By-ſtanders were euen ready to hiſſe him, knowing very well, and, as it was with good Diſcretion, anſwered him, that ſuch Prieſtes neither were, or colde be reckoned Subiects to this State, nor were they enabled to deal in ſuch daungerous Manner with our People, wanting our Language, and Credit, in ſuch a Caſe to countenance them, as (by their ſlye Inſinuating) they being borne Subiects, and credited more than beſeemed, did too much preuaile by. And as freely might ſuch Ambaſſadours haue Men of ſpiritual Office about them, being of their owne Countrey, as ours are allowed the like, within their Maiſters Dominions. So that ſtill he wolde haue maintained that Prieſthoode, and not the treacherous Complotting and Practiſes of Prieſtes, in his Underſtanding, was to bee held for Treaſon. The ſame Grace and Fauour, which had been before extended to *Drewrie*, in as ample Manſure was offered to *Dauies*, the other Prieſt, and he was demaunded whether he would take the Oath or no. Hee replyed, that he was a poor ſimple ignorant Man, and could hardly cenſure what thereto belonged. For there were many learned Prieſtes, whoſe Iudgements (in this Caſe) he would firſt know, and then, perhaps, he might be otherwiſe altered. Wherein appeareth, that one only *Romiſh* Rule and Obſeruation is a Leſſon or Direction to them all, and the Buls or Breues of the Pope are more regarded and reſpected by them, than the natiue Loyalty and Obedience, they owe to their King and Countrey. But Mercy hath been ouer-mild too long, and won no ſuch Grace from, as iuſtly was expected, but rather hath armed them with more Boldneſſe and Inſolence, than either is fit in them to offer, or ſtandes with the Wiſdome of ſo great a State to endure: For,

*Nunquid colligunt de ſpinis uvas, aut de tribulis ficus?*

*Doo Men gather Grapes of Thorns, or Figs of Thiſtles?*

When no further Good, either by Teſtimonie of their owne Shame, or euen Father-like and moſt kinde Perſwaſions, could be wrought vpon either of them; firſt a moſt graue, learned, and iudicious Admonition was

made unto them, containing breefely the many and extraordinarie great Graces of the Kings Maieſtie towarde Menne of their Condition, and howe, after graunting them firſt his free and generall Pardon, hee neuer left off, but purſued them ſtill with all Fauours that could be deuiſed, as not deſiring the Death of any one, but rather to live quietly, like a godly, peacefull, and religious King; not enacting any new or ſeuere Lawes againſt ſuch daungerous Perſons, but ratifieng and confirming them that he found at his Comming, which Queen *Elizabeth* (of euer happy Memory) compulſiuely was compelled and enforced to make againſt them. And yet the Juſtice of thoſe Lawes, which had been of ſeauen and twenty Yeers Continuance before, his Maieſtie did forbeare to execute; and finding manye, whoſe Liues lay vnder the Forfeit of the Law, not onely did he remitte them in Grace, but likewiſe gave his free Pardon to all; ſending ſo manie as were in Durance away at his own Coſt and Charge, and publiſhing the like Offer to all other, that wolde except of ſo kind a Benefit; as loath to meddle with their Blood, that were Enemies to his Life, and deſirous to win them by Mercy, if they were not too monſtrous. Nor hath he ſentenced any Prieſt with Death ſince his Comming to the Crowne, but ſuch as were Men of moſt daungerous Qualitie, and had their Hands ouer deep in moſt barbarous and inhumaine Treaſons. But when neither Perſwaſions, Sufferances, nor Proclamations will ſerue, to keep ſuch daungerous Men out of the Land, but euen, in Spight of the King and his Lawes, they will needs come over, and put in Practice their treacherous Deuyſes; Mercy (of Neceſſity) muſt giue Way to Iuſtice, and Pitty preuaile no longer, when Grace is diſpiſed.

The many and excelent Parts contained in Maiſter Recorders learned and elegant Speech, I am not able to ſet downe, and, therefore, do humbly craue Fauour, for but Glauncing at theſe few; which thogh they come farre ſhort of their iuſt Merite, yet let my good Will excuſe al Imperfections. Being come to the very Iumpe of giuing Iudgement, *Drewrie* demanded, if (as yet) he might haue Fauour to ſpeak, and (moſt honorably) it was anſwered that he might, for the King's Mercy was neuer too late; therefore he was willed, not to trifle the Time in friuolous Speeches, but, if he wolde yet take the Oath, do it, and afterwards ſpeak what further he wolde; which made all the Standers by euen confounded with Amazement, that Grace ſhould be ſo aboundantly offered vnto ſuch froward and wilfull Refuſers. *Drewrie* wolde not yeeld to take the Oath, whereupon the Sentence of Death was pronounced againſt them both. To bee conueyed thence to the Place from whence they came, and there to be laid vpon an Hurddle, and ſo drawne to the Place of Execution, where they ſhoulde hang till they were half deade; then to haue their Secrets cut off, and with their Intrailes throwne into the Fire before their Faces, their Heads to be ſeuered from their Bodies, which ſeuerally ſhould be deuided into four Quarters, and afterward diſpoſed at his Maieſties Pleaſure, in mean While, the Lorde to take Mercie upon their Soules; and ſo they were ſent backe to Priſon againe.

## *A breefe Report of the Execution of* Robert Drewrie, *drawne on a Hurddle in his* Fryer-Benedictine *Habbet to* Tyborne, *on* Thurſday the Twenty-fifth of *Februarie.*

ON the next Morning, being *Thurſday*, an Hurddle being broght to *Newgate*, *Robert Drewrie* (hoping yet for Life) and not thinking to die, as by the Sequell it plainely appeared, hauing put on after the Maner of the *Benedictine* Fryers beyond the Seas, a newe Suit of Aparrell, being made of black Stuffe, new Shooes, Stockings, and Garters, and a black new ſtuffe Prieſts Gown, or Caſſock, being buttoned downe before by Loops and Buttons, two and two together, to the verye Foote, a new cornered Cap on his Heade, and vnder it a fair wrought Night-cap; was, in this Manner, drawne along to *Tyborne*, where being by the Executioner prepared for Death, he was brought vp into the Cart, and vſing ſuch ydle Speeches, as he had don often before, that he dyed not for Treaſon, but for his Prieſthoode, hee was willed to deal more iuſtly, and not to abuſe the World nowe at his Death, in vttering that which was a manifeſt Lie and Untruth. He made Anſwere, that, in all his Life-time, he had not told a Lie, and then, after a ſhort Pauſe, added, Not willingly. There were

certain

certa'n Papers ſhewn at *Tyborne*, which had bin found about him, of very daungerous and traitorous Nature. And amonge them alſo was his *Benedicine* Faculty vnder Seale, expreſſing what Power and Authority he had from the Pope, to make Men, Women, and Children heere, of his Order; what Indulgences and Pardons he colde graunt them, both in this Life, and for Multitude of Yeares after their Death, preſeruing them both from Purgatory, and warranting their Entrance (by the Popes Keyes) into Heauen. He confeſſed himſelfe to be a *Romaine Catholick*, and a Prieſt, and deſired all *Romaine Catholickes* to praye with him, and for him. And often looking about him, as hopinge there was ſome Mercie for him, for Feare appeared very plainely in him, when he felt the Cart go away under him, and his Expectation to be deceiued, he caught faſt Holde with his left Hande on the Halter about hys Head, and very hardly was inforced to let it goe, but held ſo for a pretty While. If this were not an apparant Hope of Life, I refer it to better Judgements then mine own. He hung till he was quite dead, and afterwards his Body was quartered.

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# Love-Letters from King *Henry the Eighth*, to *Anne Boleyn*: And two Letters from *Anne Boleyn*, to Cardinal *Wolſey*; with her Laſt to *Henry the Eighth*.

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*AS theſe Letters, with a few Reflexions on them, may give thoſe, that have not Leiſure to turn over large Volumes, juſt Notions of the Grounds of King* Henry the Eighth's *Divorce, and arm them againſt the Calumnies of the* Papiſts *on that Subject, I ſhall give you a faithful Copy of them from the Originals, now preſerved in the* Vatican *Library, where they are uſually ſhewn to all Strangers, and a true Tranſlation of thoſe that were written in* French, *introducing them with a ſhort View of the moſt remarkable Tranſactions, which preceded, and gave Occaſion to them. To which End, it may firſt be obſerved* *, *that, in King* Henry the Seventh's *Time, his eldeſt Son, Prince* Arthur, *being* † *paſt fifteen Years of Age, was married to the Princeſs* Catharine *of* Spain, *who was elder than himſelf; that they lived together as Man and Wife for ſeveral Months, and then, Prince* Arthur *dying* ‡, *it was reſolved, for Reaſons of State, that Prince* Henry *ſhould marry his Brother's Widow. This was oppoſed by* Warham, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *as abſolutely unlawful, but adviſed by* Fox, *Biſhop of* Winchester, *who thought all Difficulties would be removed by a Diſpenſation from* Rome; *accordingly a Bull was obtained* ‖ *to that Effect, and they were married, the Prince being yet under Age. But* Warham *had ſo poſſeſſed the King with Scruples againſt this Marriage, that, the Day* § *on which the Prince was of Age, he, by his Father's Order, proteſted againſt it, as null and void; and* Henry the Seventh, *with his dying Breath, perſiſted in charging his Son to break it off intirely. However, when* Henry the Eighth *came to the Crown, it was reſolved in Council, that he ſhould renew his Marriage; which was done* ** *publickly, and he had ſeveral Children by the Queen, who all died young, except the Lady* Mary ††.

* Hiſt. Reform. Part I.. † *November* 14, 1501. ‡ *April* 2, 1502. ‖ *December* 26, 1503.
§ *June* 22, 1505. ** *June* 3, 1509. †† Afterwards Queen of *England*.

*After*

*After this there appeared no farther Diſquiet in the King's Mind, nor any Sign of an intended Divorce, till the Year* 1524, *when Cardinal* Wolſey, *by his Legantine Mandate, publiſhed a Bull of the Pope's againſt thoſe that contracted Marriage within the forbidden Degrees. This Mandate is yet extant in the Regiſter of* Fiſher, *Biſhop of* Rocheſter. *What followed makes this juſtly ſuſpected to have been done, on the King's Account. To confirm which Suſpicion, there is a concurring Circumſtance, in a Letter from* Simon Grineus *to* Bucer, *dated* September 10, 1531, *where he ſays* *, *The King had declared to him, that he had abſtained from Queen* Catharine, *for ſeven Years, upon Scruples of Conſcience.*

*However, tho' the King had Scruples at that Time, yet he concealed them carefully from the World, for ſome Years; and the immediate Occaſion of their breaking out ſeems to have been given by the* French *Ambaſſadors, who came* † *to* England *to treat of ſeveral Matters, and particularly of a Marriage between the Princeſs* Mary *and the* French *King, or the Duke of* Orleans, *his Second Son. This Alternative was at laſt agreed* ‡, *tho' it remained ſome Time in Suſpence* ‖, *becauſe* The Preſident of the Parliament of *Paris* doubted, whether the Marriage between the King and her Mother, being his Brother's Wife, were good or no. § *The Biſhop of* Tarbe *made the ſame Objection, and renewed it to the King's Ambaſſadors in* France, *as appears by King* Henry's *Speech to the Mayor and Citizens of* London *concerning his Scruples, where he ſays,* When our Ambaſſadors were laſt in *France*, and Motion was made, that the Duke of *Orleans* ſhould marry our ſaid Daughter, one of the chief Counſellors to the *French* King ſaid, It were well done to know, whether ſhe be the King of *England*'s lawful Daughter, or not; for well known it is, that he begat her on his Brother's Wife, which is directly contrary to God's Law, and his Precept. *That this Counſellor was the Biſhop of* Tarbe, *is affirmed* ** *by the Biſhop of* Bayonne, *in the Account he gives of this Speech to the Court of* France, *in a Letter dated the 27th of* November, 1528; *yet this very Biſhop of* Tarbe *was afterwards advanced to be a Cardinal, and was ſo far from retracting his Opinion, that, when he was Cardinal of* Grandemont, *in a Letter dated the 27th of* March, 1530, *he writes to the* French *Court,* That he had ſerved the Lord *Rochford (Anne Boleyn*'s Father) all he could, and that the Pope had three ſeveral Times ſaid to him in Secret, that he wiſhed the Marriage had been already made in *England*, either by the Legate's Diſpenſation, or otherwiſe; provided it was not done by him, nor in Diminution of his Authority, under Pretence of the Laws of God. *This Conduct ſhews, That it was not Religion, but Political Views, that turned the Court of* Rome *againſt the King's Cauſe, which they at firſt plainly favoured. And*

*Now as to the Arguments by which the King fortified himſelf in theſe Scruples. Theſe, as he himſelf owned* ††, *were, that he found by the Law of* Moſes, If a Man took his Brother's Wife, they ſhould die Childleſs; *this made him reflect on the Death of his Children, which he now looked on as a Curſe from God, for that unlawful Marriage. He found* Thomas Aquinas *(whom he chiefly valued of all the Caſuiſts) of Opinion, That the Laws of* Leviticus, *about the forbidden Degrees of Marriage, were moral and eternal, ſuch as obliged all Chriſtians; and that the Pope could only diſpenſe with the Laws of the Church, but not with the Laws of God: And, when the Vali-*

* See Hiſt. Reform. Part I. † *March* 2, 1527. ‡ *April* 30, 1527. ‖ *Hall.*
§ *Herbert.*. ** Hiſt. Reform. Part III. †† Hiſt. Reform. Part I.

*dity*

*dity of the Marriage came afterwards to be thoroughly canvaſſed, it appeared that the whole Tradition of the Church and the Opinions of its Doctors were againſt the Marriage.*

*In the Year* 1527, *before Cardinal* Wolſey's *Journey to* France, *which he began on the* 3*d of* July, *to promote the King's Marriage with the Ducheſs of* Alenſon, *the King's Scruples were become publick, as two Writers* * *teſtify almoſt in the ſame Words:* This Seaſon, *ſays* Hall, began a Fame in *London*, that the King's Confeſſor, the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, called Dr. *Langland*, and divers other great Clerks, had told the King, that the Marriage between him and the Lady *Catharine*, late Wife to his Brother Prince *Arthur*, was not good, but damnable.

*And this Suſpicion, of the Cardinal's going to promote a ſecond Match in* France, *is confirmed* † *by a Letter of his, dated* Feverſham, July *the* 5*th*, 1527, *where he ſays, Archbiſhop* Warham *had warned him of the great Jealouſies which Queen* Catharine *had of his* ‡ *Journey. And by another Letter dated* Auguſt *the* 1*ſt*, 1527, *where he labours to ſatisfy the King, that the Pope's Diſpenſation was in itſelf null and void. All theſe Particulars will be the ſtronger Proofs of the Cardinal's Intention, when it ſhall be proved that the Cardinal could then have no Thoughts of* Anne Boleyn; *whoſe Father, the Lord* Rochford, *came over to* England *from* France *with the Ducheſs of* Alenſon's *Picture* ‖ *to ſhew it to King* Henry; *and it was then, in all Probability, that* Anne Boleyn *came over with him; for, tho' ſhe had been in* England *in* 1522, *yet ſhe did not ſtay long* §, *but returned into the Service of* Claude *Queen of* France, *where ſhe continued till that Queen died, which was in* 1524, *and then went into the Ducheſs of* Alenſon's *Service, which ſhe left probably at this Time. Soon after her Coming into* England, *ſhe was taken into Queen* Catharine's *Court, where the Lord* Peircy *courted her, and was upon the Point of marrying her* **, *had not Cardinal* Wolſey, *by the King's Order, prevented it; and as the ſame Author aſſures us, it was not till after the Cardinal's Return from* France, *which was on the laſt Day of* September 1527, *that the King opened his Affection for* Anne Boleyn *to him.*

*Why then do the* Papiſts *pretend to ſay, that the King would never have had Thoughts of a Divorce, or Scruples againſt his firſt Marriage, had not his unlawful Paſſion for Mrs.* Boleyn *prompted him to them? Whereas it is plainly proved, that the King's Scruples were infuſed in him from his Infancy, on the juſteſt Grounds; that they were revived in him three Years* †† *before they were made publick, and that they were commonly talked of, and a new Match contrived for him to the Ducheſs of* Alenſon, *before* Anne Boleyn *appeared at Court. All which will ſtill appear more clearly in the enſuing Letters. But, before I make any Remarks on theſe, I muſt firſt give a ſhort Account of the King's Negotiations at* Rome, *without which ſome of them cannot be underſtood. In the End of* 1527 ‡‡, *the King ſollicited the Pope for a Commiſſion to judge the Validity of his Marriage with Queen* Catharine |||, *which after ſome Time was obtained in a Bull, dated the* 13*th of* April, 1528 §§, *impowering Cardinal* Wolſey, *with the Archbiſhop, or any other* Engliſh *Biſhop, to judge the Marriage. But this was not made Uſe of; perhaps becauſe it was thought, that a Stranger ought to be employed, that the Proceeding might be more impartial. So a new Commiſſion* *** *was deſired, and obtained, bearing Date the* 6*th of* June, *in which the Cardinals* Wolſey *and* Campegio (*an* Italian) *were appointed joint Legates to judge the Marriage.*

* *Stow, Hall.* † *Herbert.* ‡ Hiſt. Reform. Part I. ‖ Hiſt. Reform. Part I. § *Camden.*
** *Cavendiſh.* †† *Viz.* 1524. ‡‡ Hiſt. Reform. Part I. ||| Hiſt. Reform. Part III.
§§ *Rymer*, Tom. xiv. *** *Herbert.*

*And,*

*And, to make this the ſurer, there was a* Pollicitation *(or Promiſe) procured on the 23d of* July, 1528, *That the Pope would never inhibit or revoke this Commiſſion to judge the Marriage; and a Decretal Bull, which contained an abſolute Deciſion of the Cauſe, which was only ſhewn to the King, and Cardinal* Wolſey, *by* Campegio; *but all theſe Precautions which were admitted of, when the Pope was in a diſtreſſed Condition, did not reſtrain his Holineſs from ſending one* Campana *before the End of the Year, to ſee the Decretal Bull ſecretly burnt; and from recalling the Legate's Commiſſion, and avocating the Cauſe to* Rome *the next Year, when his Affairs were more flouriſhing, and the Emperor (who was Queen* Catharine's *Nephew) had granted all his Demands.*

*Now as to the Letters themſelves. It may be preſumed reaſonably, that, if there had been any Thing in them that had reflected on the King's Honour, or on* Anne Boleyn's, *they would certainly have been publiſhed by the* Papiſts *at that very Time; for they were in their Hands ſoon after they were written, as appears from this Paſſage in Lord* Herbert's *Hiſtory.*

'When Cardinal *Campegio* came to take Ship, the Searchers, upon Pretence he 'carried either Money or Letters from *England* to *Rome*, ranſacked all his Coffers, 'Bags, and Papers, not without Hope, certainly, to recover that Decretal Bull our 'King ſo much longed for. I find alſo (ſome Relation) that divers Love-Letters 'betwixt our King and Miſtreſs *Boleyn*, being conveighed out of the King's Cabi-'net, were ſought for, though in vain; they having been formerly ſent to *Rome*.'

*To explain this Account, it muſt be ſuppoſed, that they were taken, not out of the King's, but out of* Anne Boleyn's *Cabinet: This is the more probable, becauſe, in Fact, they are all Letters from the King to her; whereas, if his Cabinet had been rifled, her Anſwers to him would have been more likely to be found there.*

*As to the Time in which the King's Letters to* Anne Boleyn *were written, in all Probability, it was immediately after her Diſmiſſion from the Court* *, *which was done to ſilence the Clamours of the People on her Account; but ſhe was ſent away in ſo abrupt a Manner, that ſhe determined to abſent herſelf altogether; which made the King ſoon repent of his Severity, and preſs her to come back; but this was not obtained for a long Time, nor without great Difficulty; as appears by ſome of the following Letters. The Time of her Diſmiſſion was not till* May 1528, *for there is a Letter extant* † *from* Fox *to* Gardiner, *at* Rome, *dated* London, May *the 4th*, 1528, *where he writes*, Of his Landing at *Sandwich*, *May* the 2d, ——His Coming that Night to *Greenwich*, where the King lay,——His being commanded to go to Miſtreſs *Anne*'s Chamber in the *Tilt-Yard*—And declaring to her their Expedition in the King's Cauſe, and their haſtening the Coming of the Legate ——To her great Rejoicing and Comfort ——Then came the King, to whom he delivered his Letters, ——And opened his Negotiations ——Then he went to the Cardinal, *&c.*

*Soon after the Date of this Letter, ſhe was diſmiſſed; for, in the* firſt *of the Letters that follow, the King makes Excuſes for the Neceſſity of their being aſunder; and, in the* ſecond, *complains of her Unwillingneſs to return to Court. In neither of theſe, is a Word of the Sweating Sickneſs, which raged violently in* June; *and, of which, he ſpeaks in his* third *Letter, as of a Thing that had laſted ſome Time, and of which he had formed many Obſervations from Experience. Between this Letter, which ſeems to have been writ in*

* *Herbert.* † Lately in the Earl of *Oxford*'s Library, 39 B. 4.

July,

July, *and the* Sixth; *which, mentioning the Legate's Arrival at* Paris, *muſt have been written in the End of* September, *there are two Letters, which, by the Earneſtneſs of the Buſineſs, were plainly written within a few Days of one another. Probably, ſoon after the latter* * *of theſe was ſent by the King, where he expreſſed how much he was pleaſed with her Anſwer to his earneſt Deſire in the former* †, *in the Heat of his Gratitude, he paid a Viſit to his Miſtreſs, in which Time they wrote a joint Letter to Cardinal* Wolſey, *which is added in the* APPENDIX, *where the King expreſſes his Wonder, that he has not yet heard of the Legate* Campegio's *Arrival at* Paris ; *which makes it probable this happened in* September. *The King ſtayed not long with her after this ; for, when ſhe had received the Cardinal's Anſwer, ſhe writes a ſecond Letter, without mentioning the King's being there ; and again ſhews Impatience to hear of the Legate's Coming, of which, the King gave her the firſt News ſoon after. But,*

*To return to the* fourth *Letter, which from all theſe Particulars may be ſuppoſed to have been written in* Auguſt ; *it is the moſt important in all the Collection, for it fixes the Time when his Affection to* Anne Boleyn *began. He complains in it,* That he had been above a whole Year ſtruck with the Dart of Love, and not yet ſure whether he ſhall fail, or find a Place in her Heart or Affection. *Now, by the Nature of his Complaint, it is viſible, that he pleads all the Merit that a long Attendance could give him ; and, therefore, if, inſtead of a Year, he could have called it a Year and a Half, or two Years, he would certainly have done it, to make his Argument the ſtronger. It may likewiſe be probably concluded from the ſame Words, that he had not then known her much above half a Year ; for it would have been an ill Compliment in him, to let her underſtand that he had ſeen her ſome Time, before he was at all in Love with her.*

*Theſe Remarks confirm the Account already given, of her Coming from* France *with her Father, and, by that Means, ſerve to eſtabliſh the King's Vindication from the Scandal thrown on him by the Papiſts, that he had no Scruples about his Marriage, till he ſaw* Anne Boleyn.

*Though it may be here queſtioned, how the Time of any particular Letter can be known, ſince they have no Date, and therefore may have been put out of their Order. But thoſe, that will read them with any Attention, will find a Chain of Circumſtances referred to, that plainly ſhew they were laid together by one that knew the Order in which they were written, very likely by* Anne Boleyn *herſelf ; and whoever ſtole them, as he took them all together, ſo would be careful, no Doubt, to keep them in the Order he found them in, that the Diſcoveries to be made from them might be the more compleat.*

*It will not be doubted by any that read theſe Letters, that the King's Affection to* Anne Boleyn *was altogether upon honourable Terms. There appears no Pretenſion to any Favours, but when the Legates ſhall have paved the Way. There is but one Offence that can be taken at theſe Letters, which is, that there are indecent Expreſſions in them. But this is to be imputed to the Simplicity and Unpoliteneſs of that Age, which allowed too great Liberties of that Sort ; and it muſt be owned by his Enemies, that there are but three or four of theſe Sallies, in all the Collection, and that there are Letters which make much more for the King's Piety and Virtue, than thoſe Irregularities can fully his Character.*

*In the fifth Letter he tells her,* God can do it, if he pleaſes ; to whom I pray once a Day for that End, and hope, that, at length, my Prayers will be heard.

*In the ſixth,* I truſt ſhortly to enjoy, what I have ſo long longed for, to God's Pleaſure, and our both Comforts.

* Letter the Fifth. † Letter the Fourth.

*In the Ninth*, Praying God, that (and it be his Pleaſure) to ſend us ſhortly togydder. *Surely, theſe religious Expreſſions would have been very improper, to make an unlawful Paſſion ſucceed.*

*In the* Thirteenth, *ſpeaking of the ill Character of one that was propoſed to be made Abbeſs of* Wilton, *he writes*, I would not, for all the Gold in the World, clog your Conſcience nor mine, to make her Ruler of a Houſe, which is of ſo ungodly Demeanour; nor I truſt you would not, that, neither for Brother nor Siſter, I ſhould ſo deſtain mine Honour or Conſcience. *The whole Letter is of an excellent Strain, and would have been a very improper Exhortation to one againſt whoſe Virtue he had a Deſign.*

*The* laſt *of the Letters mentions the Legate's Illneſs, as a Reaſon why he had not yet entered upon his Office; which ſhews, that the Correſpondence ended at leaſt in* May 1529, *when the Proceſs began.*

*There is but one Thing after the Letters, that it ſeems very material to add here in the King's Defence, and, that is, the Approbation of his Cauſe by the learned Men of* Europe.

*During the Tryal*, Warham *and* Fiſher, *who were Advocates for the Queen, declared*, That they having been lately conſulted by the King, *&c.* had anſwered, that the King's Conſcience was diſturbed and ſhaken, not without the weightieſt and ſtrongeſt Reaſons *.

*After the Legates had trifled ſome Months, and at laſt*, Campegio, *under a Pretence of the Rules of the Court of* Rome, *had adjourned the Court for three Months; during which Time he obtained an Avocation from the Pope; the King was adviſed by* Cranmer, *not to depend longer on the Deciſions of the See of* Rome, *but to conſult the ſeveral Univerſities of* Europe, *as well as his own, about the Validity of his Marriage.*

*One* Crook *was employed in this Negotiation, and he obtained the Opinion of almoſt all the Univerſities* † *whither he went, for the Nullity of the Marriage; yet he complains in his Letters that he was in great Straits from the ſmall Allowance he had. And in an Original Bill of his Accounts it appears, that he never gave above a few Crowns to any that writ on the King's Side; whereas the Emperor gave a Benefice of five-hundred Ducats to one, and of ſix-hundred Crowns to another, that writ for the Queen. Yet, though on the one Side Men were poorly paid for their Trouble, and on the other richly rewarded, yet the moſt eminent Men were univerſally for the King.*

*It may here be added, that* Eraſmus, *whoſe Name was in the greateſt Eſteem at that Time, though he could not be prevailed with to write for the King, for Fear of the Pope and the Emperor, in whoſe Dominions he lived; yet he went ſo far as to give great Encomiums of the Worth and Virtues of Sir* Thomas Boleyn, *then Earl of* Wiltſhire, *in his Book*, De Præparatione ad Mortem, *which he dedicates to him; and this was all the Approbation that his Circumſtances made it convenient for him to ſhew of the King's Cauſe.*

*On this general Conſent of the Learned in his Favour, the King was told, he might proceed to a ſecond Marriage, the Firſt being of itſelf null and void; and, accordingly, he married* Anne Boleyn, *the Twenty-fifth of* January, 1533 ‡.

* *Rymer.* Tom. xiv. † See Hiſt. Reform. Part I. ‡ Hiſt. Reform. Part III.

# *Letters written by King* Henry the Eighth, *to* Anne Boleyn.

## *LETTER I. *Tranſlated from the* French, *as follows.*

MY Miſtreſs and Friend, I and my Heart put ourſelves in your Hands, begging you to recommend us to your Favour, and not to let Abſence leſſen your Affection to us. For it were great Pity to increaſe our Pain, which Abſence alone does ſufficiently, and more than I could ever have thought; bringing to my Mind a Point of Aſtronomy, which is, † That, the farther the *Moors* are from us, the farther too is the Sun, and yet his Heat is the more ſcorching; ſo it is with our Love, we are at a Diſtance from one another, and yet it keeps its Fervency, at leaſt on my Side. I hope the like on your Part, aſſuring you, that the Uneaſineſs of Abſence is already too ſevere for me; and when I think of the Continuance of that which I muſt of Neceſſity ſuffer, it would ſeem intolerable to me, were it not for the firm Hope I have of your unchangeable Affection for me; and now, to put you ſometimes in Mind of it, and ſeeing I cannot be preſent in Perſon with you, I ſend you the neareſt Thing to that poſſible, that is, my Picture ſet in Bracelets, with the whole Device, which you know already, wiſhing myſelf in their Place, when it ſhall pleaſe you. This from the Hand of

*Your Servant and Friend,*

*H. Rex.*

## ‡ LETTER II. *Tranſlated from the* French, *as follows.*

*To my Miſtreſs,*

BEcauſe the Time ſeems to me very long, ſince I have heard from you, or concerning your Health; the great Affection I have for you has obliged me to ſend this Bearer to be better informed, both of your Health and Pleaſure, particularly, becauſe, ſince my laſt Parting with you, I have been told, that you have intirely changed the Opinion in which I left

## *LETTRE I.

MA Maitreſſe & Amie, moy & mon coeur s'en remettent en vos mains, vous ſuppliant les avoir pour recommander a votre bonne grace, & que par abſence votre affection ne leur ſoit diminuè. Car pur augmenter leur peine ce ſeroit grande pitiè, car l'abſence leur fait aſſez, & plus que jamais je n'eûſſe pensè, en nous faiſant rementevoir un point d'Aſtronomie qui eſt tel. Tant plus loing que les Mores ſont, tant plus eloignè eſt le ſoleil, & non obſtant plus fervent, auſſi fait il de notre amour, par abſence nous ſommes eloignez, & neanmoins il garde ſa ferveur au moins de notre coſte. Ayant en eſpoir la pareille du votre, vous aſſeurant que de ma part l'ennuye de l'abſence deja m'eſt trop grande. Et quand je penſe a l'augmentation diceluy que par force faut que je ſoufre, il m'eſt preſque intollerable, ſil n'eſtoit la ferme Eſpoir que j'aye de votre indiſſoluble affection vers moy; & pur le vous rementevoir alcune fois cela, & voyant que perſonellement je ne puis eſtre en votre preſence, choſe la plus approchante a cela qui m'eſt poſſible au preſent je vous envoye, ceſt a dire ma picture, miſe en braſſelettes a toute la deviſe que deja ſcavez, me ſouhaitant en leur place quant il vous plairoit, c'eſt de la main de

*Votre ſerviteur & amy,*

*H. R.*

† This is a literal Tranſlation of this Sentence, but the Meaning does not appear.

## ‡LETTRE II.

*A ma Maitreſſe,*

POUR ce qui me ſemble le temps eſtre bien long depuis avoir ouy de votre bonne ſantè, & de vous. La grande affection que j'ay vers vous, m'a perſuadè de vous envoyer ce porteur pour eſtre mieux aſſertenè de votre ſantè & volontè, & pour ce que depuis mon partement de avec vous, on m'a averty que l'

left you, and that you would neither come to Court with your Mother, nor any other Way; which Report, if true, I cannot enough wonder at, being perſuaded in my own Mind, that I have never committed any Offence againſt you; and it ſeems a very ſmall Return for the great Love I bear you, to be kept at a Diſtance from the Perſon and Preſence of a Woman in the World that I value the moſt; and, if you love me with as much Affection as I hope you do, I am ſure, the Diſtance of our two Perſons would be a little uneaſy to you. Though this does not belong ſo much to the Miſtreſs as the Servant. Conſider well, my Miſtreſs, how greatly your Abſence grieves me; I hope it is not your Will that it ſhould be ſo; but, if I heard for certain, that you yourſelf deſired it, I could do no other than complain of my ill Fortune, and by Degrees abate my great Folly; and ſo, for Want of Time, I make an End of my rude Letter, deſiring you to give Credit to this Bearer in all he will tell you from me. Written by the Hand of your intire Servant.

## *LETTER III. *Tranſlated from the* French, *as follows.*

THE Uneaſineſs, my Doubts about your Health gave me, diſturbed and frightened me extremely, and I ſhould not have had any Quiet without hearing a certain Account. But now, ſince you have yet felt nothing, I hope it is with you as with us, for, when we were at *Waltan*, two Uſhers, two *Valets de Chambre*, and your Brother, Maſter-Treaſurer, fell ill, and are now quite well; and ſince we are returned to your Houſe at *Hondſon*, we have been perfectly well, God be praiſed, and have not, at preſent, one ſick Perſon in the Family; and, I think, if you would retire from the *Surrey* Side, as we did, you would eſcape all Danger. There is another Thing that may comfort you, which is, that in Truth in this Diſtemper few or no Women have been taken ill, and beſides, no Perſon of our Court, and few elſewhere have died of it. For which Reaſons I beg you, my intirely beloved, not to frighten yourſelf, nor to be too uneaſy at our Abſence. For, wherever I am, I am yours, and yet we muſt ſometimes ſubmit to our Miſfortunes, for, whoever will ſtruggle againſt Fate, is generally but ſo much the farther from gaining his End; wherefore, comfort yourſelf, and take Courage, and make this Miſfortune as eaſy to you as you can, and I hope ſhortly to make you ſing for Joy of your Recall. No more at preſent for Lack of Time, but that I wiſh you in my Arms, that I might a little diſpel your unreaſonable Thoughts. Written by the Hand of *him*, who is, and always will be yours,

*my*, H. *Rex*, *Lovely*.

*LET-

Opinion en quoy le vous laiſſoye eſt de tout aſteure changè, & que vous vouliez venir en cour ni avec Madame votre mere ny autrement auſſi. Lequel raport eſtant vray, je ne ſauroy aſſez emerveillier veux que depuis je m'aſſure de vous n'avoir jamois faite faute, & il me ſemble bien petite retribution pour le grand Amour que je vous porte de me eloigner & la perſonne & le perſonage de la femme du monde, que plus j'eſtime, & ſi, vous m'aymez de ſi bonne affection comme j'eſpere, Je ſuis ſure que la eloignement de notre deux Perſonnes vous ſeroit un peu ennyeuſe, toute fois qu'il n'appartient pas tant a la Maitreſſe comme au ſerviteur. Penſez bien ma Meſtreſſe que l'Abſence de vous fort me grief, eſperant qu'il n'eſt pas votre volontè, que ainſi ce ſoit, mais ſi je entendoy pur veritè que volonterement vous la deſiriez, je non puis mais faire ſi non plaindre ma mauvaiſe fortune en rebattant peu a peu ma grande folie, & ainſi faulte de temps fay fin de ma rude Lettre, ſupplyant de donner foy a ce porteur a ce qu'il vous dira de ma part. Eſcrit de la main du tout votre ſerviteur.

## *LETTRE III.

L'Ennuye que j'avois du doubte de votre ſantè me troubla & egarra beaucoup, & n'euſſe eſtè gere quiete ſans avoir ſue la certaintè, mais puiſque n'ancors n'avez rien ſentu, j'eſpere qu'il eſt comme de nous. Car nous eſtant a Waltan, deux vuſhyres, deux verles de chambre, votre frere meſtre Treſorere ont tombè malades, & ſont d'aſſure de tout ſains, & depuis nous nous ſommes reboutès en votre meſons de Hondſon, la ou nous nous ſommes bien trouves, ſans aucun malade pour ſteure, Dieu ſoit louè, & je penſe

que

## * LETTER IV. *Tranſlated from the* French, *as follows.*

BY turning over in my Thoughts the Contents of your laſt Letters, I have put myſelf into a great Agony, not knowing how to underſtand them, whether to my Diſadvantage, as I underſtood ſome others, or not; I beſeech you now, with the greateſt Earneſtneſs, to let me know your whole Intention, as to the Love between us two. For I muſt of Neceſſity obtain this Anſwer of you, having been above a whole Year ſtruck with the Dart of Love, and not yet ſure whether I ſhall fail, or find a Place in your Heart and Affection. This Uncertainty has hindered me of late from naming you my Miſtreſs, ſince you only love me with an ordinary Affection; but if you pleaſe to do the Duty of a true and loyal Miſtreſs, and to give up yourſelf, Body and Heart, to me, who will be, as I have been your moſt loyal Servant (if your Rigour does not forbid me) I promiſe you that not only the Name ſhall be given you, but alſo that I will take you for my Miſtreſs, caſting off all others that are in Competition with you, out of my Thoughts and Affection, and ſerving you only. I beg you to give an intire Anſwer to this my rude Letter, that I may know on what and how far I may depend. But, if it does not pleaſe you to anſwer in Writing, let me know ſome Place, where I may have it by Word of Mouth, and I will go thither with all my Heart. No more for Fear of tiring you. Written by the Hand of him, who would willingly remain Yours,

*H. Rex.*

que ſi vous vous voulez retirer du lieu Surye, comme nous fimes, vous le paſſerez ſans danger, & auſſi une autre choſe vous peut comforter, car a la verité comme il viſit, peu ou nulle fame ont eſté malade & que encore plus eſt nul de noſtre Cort & peu ailleurs en meurit, par quoy je vous ſupplie ma entiere aymeè de non avoir point de peure, ni de noſtre abſence vous trop ennuyere. Car ou que je ſoye, votre ſuis, & non obſtant il faut alcune fois a telles fortunes obeyer. Car qui contre fortune veut luter en tel endroit eſt bien ſouvent tant plus eloignè, par quoy recomfortes vous & ſoyez hardy, & vuidez le mal tant que vous pourrez. Et j'eſpere bientot de vous faire chanter le renvoye non plus pour aſteure de faute du temps, ſi non que je vous ſouhaitte entre mes bras, pour vous oſter ung peu de vos dereſonable penſes. Eſcrite de la main de iceluy, qui eſt & toujours ſera votre,

*ma H. R. aimable.*

## * LETTRE IV.

EN debatant de par moy le contenue de vos Lettres, me ſuis mis en grande agonie non ſchachant comment les entendre ou a mon deſavantage comme en des aucunes autres je les entendre, vous ſuppliant de bien bon cœur me vouloir certifiere appreſent votre intention entiere touchant l'amour entre nous deux. Car neceſſitè me contraint de pourchaſſer cette reponce, ayant eſtè plus qu'ung anneè atteinte du dard d'amour, non eſtant aſſurè de faliere ou trouver place en votre coeur & affection. Certain le quel dernier point m'en a gardè depuis peu temps en ça de vous point nommer ma Maitreſſe avec ce que ſi vous ne m' aymes d'autre ſort, que d'amour commune; mais ſi'l vous plait de fair l'office d'une vraye loyalle Meſtres & Amye, & de vous donner Corps & Coeur a moy qui veus eſtre & a eſte votre tres-loyal ſerviteur (ſi par riguer ne me defendes) je vous promes que non ſeulement le nom vous ſera deu, mais auſſi vous prendray pour ma Meſtreſſe en rebuttant tres tantes autres aupres de vous hors de penſe & d'affection, & de vous ſeulement ſervire; Vous ſuppliant me faire entiere reſponſe a cette ma rude Lettre, a quoy & en quoy me puis fier, & ſi'l ne vous plait de me faire reſponſe par eſcrite' aſſeurè moi quelque lieu la ou je la pourroy avoir de bouche, & je m'y trouveray de bien bon coeur. Non plus de peur de vous enuyer. Eſcrite de la main de celuy, qui volontiers de meureroit votre,

*H. R.*

## * LETTER V. *Tranſlated from the* French, *as follows.*

FOR a Preſent ſo valuable that Nothing could be more (conſidering the Whole of it) I return you my moſt hearty Thanks, not only on Account of the coſtly Diamond, and the Ship in which the ſolitary Damſel is toſſed about; but chiefly for the fine Interpretation, and too humble Submiſſion which your Goodneſs hath made to me. For I think it would be very difficult for me to find an Occaſion to deſerve it, if I was not aſſiſted by your great Humanity and Favour, which I have ſought, do ſeek, and will always ſeek to preſerve by all the Services in my Power; and this is my firm Intention and Hope, according to the Motto, *Aut illic aut nullibi* (either here, or no where). The Demonſtrations of your Affection are ſuch, the fine Thoughts of your Letter ſo cordially expreſſed, that they oblige me for ever to honour, love, and ſerve you ſincerely, beſeeching you to continue in the ſame firm and conſtant Purpoſe; and aſſuring you, that, on my Part, I will not only make you a ſuitable Return, but out-do you in Loyalty of Heart, if it be poſſible. I deſire you alſo, that, if at any Time before this I have in any Sort offended you, you would give me the ſame Abſolution which you ask, aſſuring you, that hereafter my Heart ſhall be dedicated to you alone, I wiſh my Body was ſo too, God can do it, if he pleaſes; to whom I pray once a Day for that End; hoping that at length my Prayers will be heard. I wiſh the Time may be ſhort, but I ſhall think it long, till we ſhall ſee one another. Written by the Hand of the Secretary, who in Heart, Body, and Will, is

*Your loyal*

*and moſt aſſured Servant.*

H. *no other* (AB) *ſeeks* Rex.

## LETTER VI. *Original.*

THE reaſonable Requeſt of your laſt Letter, with the Pleaſure I alſo take to know them, cauſes me to ſend you now this Newes. The Legat, which we moſt deſire, arrived at *Paris* on *Sunday* or *Monday* laſt paſt; ſo that I truſt, by the next *Monday*, to hear of his Arrival at *Calais:* And then, I truſt, within a While after, to enjoy that which I have ſo long longed for, to God's Pleaſure, and our both Comforts. No more to you, at

## *LETTRE V.

DE l' etrene ſi belle que rien plus (notant le tout) je vous remercy tres cordialement, non ſeulement pour le beau Diamande & navire en quoy la ſeulette Damoiſelle eſt tourmentè, mais principalement pour la belle interpretation, & trop humble ſubmiſſion, par votre benignitè en cette caſſe uſe, *bien* penſant, que meriter cela per occaſion me ſeroit fort difficile, ſi me n' eſtoit en ayde votre grande humanite & faveur pour laquelle j' ay cherchè, cherche, & chercheray par toutes bontes à moy poſſibles d'y demeurer en quelle mon eſpoir a mis ſon immuable intention qui dit, *aut illic aut nullibi* Les demonſtrances de votre affection ſont telles, les belles mots de lettre ſi cordiallement couches qui m' obligent a tout jamais vrayement de vous honorer, aymer & ſervir, vous ſuppliant le vouloir continuer en ce meſme ferme & conſtant propos, vous aſſeurant que de ma part je l' augmenteray pluſtot que la faire reciproque, ſi loyautè du cœur le peut avancer. Vous priant auſſi que ſi aucunement je vous ay per cy devant offencè que vous me donnez la meſme abſolution que vous demandes, vous aſſeurant que d' oranavant a vous ſeule mon cœur ſera dediè, deſirant fort que le corps aynſi pouvoit, Dieu le peut faire ſi luy plait, a qui je ſupplie une fois le jour pour ce faire. Eſperant que a la long ma priere ſera ouye, deſyrant le temps bref, penſant le long juſques au reveüe d' entre nous deux. Eſcrite de la main du Secretere qui en Cœur, Corps, & Volonte eſt

*Votre loyal & plus aſſure ſerviteur,*

H. *autre* (AB) *ne cherche* R.

this

this preſent, mine awne Darling, for Lake of Time; but that I would you were in myne Arms, or I in yours; for I think it long ſince I kyſt you. Written after the Killing of an Hart, at XI of the Clock: Minding with God's Grace To-morrow, mightily tymely to kill another, by the Hand of him, which I truſt ſhortly ſhall be yours,

*Henry R.*

## LETTER VII. *Original.*

DArling, though I have skant Leaſure, yet, remembring my Promiſe, I thought it convenient to certifie you breevly, in what Caſe our Affaires ſtand. As touching a Lodging for you, we have gotten wone by my Lord Cardinal's Means, the like whereof could not have been found hereabouts for all Cauſes, as this Bearer ſhall more ſhew you. As touching our other Affairs, I enſure you there can be no more done, or more Diligence uſed, nor all Manner of Dangers better both foreſeen and provided for, ſo that I truſt it ſhall be hereafter to both our Comforts, the Speciallities whereof were both to long to be writne, and hardly by Meſſenger to be declared. Wherefor till you repaire hydder, I keep ſomething in Store, truſting it ſhall not be long to. For I have cauſed my Lord your Father to make his Proviſions with Speed. And thus, for Lake of Tyme, Darling, I make an End of my Letter, writeing with the Hand of him, which I would were yours,

*H. R.*

## * LETTER VIII. *Tranſlated from the* French, *as follows.*

THough it does not belong to a Gentleman to take his Lady in the Place of a Servant, however, in following your Deſires, I willingly grant it, that ſo you may be more agreeably in the Place that you yourſelf have choſen, than you have been in that which I gave you. I ſhall be heartily obliged to you, if you pleaſe to have ſome Remembrance of me. 6. N. R. 1. de. R. O. M. V. E. Z.

*Henry Rex.*

## LETTER IX. *Original.*

THE Cauſe of my Writeing at this Time (good Sweetheart) is wonly to underſtand off your good Health and Proſperity, whereof to know I would be as glad as in Manner myne awne, praying God, that and it be his Pleaſure, to ſend us ſhortly togydder, for I promiſe you I long for it, howbeit, truſt it ſhall not be long to; and ſeeing my Darling is abſent, I can no leſs do, than to ſend her ſome Fleſhe repreſenting my Name, which is Harts Fleſhe for *Henry*, prognoſticating, that hereafter God willing you muſt enjoy ſome of mine, which if he pleaſed I wolde were now. As touching your Siſters Matter, I have cauſed *Walter Welche* to write to my Lord mine Mind therein, whereby I truſt that *Eve* ſhall not have Power to deceave *Adam*. For ſurely, whatſoever is ſaid, it cannot ſo ſtand with his Honour, but that he muſt needs take her his natural Daughter now in her extreame Neceſſity. No more to you at this Tyme, mine own Darling, but that with a Wiſhe I would we were togydder one Evening with the Hand of your,

*H. R.*

## *LETTRE VIII.

NEanmoins qu'l n'apartiene pas a ung Gentilhomme pour prendre ſa Dame au lieu de Servante toute fois en ſuivant vos deſirs volontiers le vous outroyeray ſi per cela vous puſſies trouver moins ingrate en la place per vous choyſie, qui avez eſte 'en la place par moy donne en vous merciant treſcordiallement ſi vous plete ancore avoir quelque ſouvenance de moy, 6. N. R. 1. De. R. O. M. V. C. Z.

*Henry R.*

* LET-

## *LETTER X. *Tranſlated from the* French, *as follows.*

ALthough, my Miſtreſs, you have not been pleaſed to remember the Promiſe which you made me when I was laſt with you, which was, that I ſhould hear News of you, and have an Anſwer to my laſt Letter; yet I think it belongs to a true Servant (ſince otherwiſe he can know Nothing) to ſend to enquire of his Miſtreſs's Health; and, for to acquit myſelf of the Office of a true Servant, I ſend you this Letter, begging you to give me an Account of the State you are in, which I pray God may continue as long in Proſperity, as I wiſh my own; and, that you may the oftener remember me, I ſend you, by this Bearer, a Buck killed late laſt Night by my Hand, hoping, when you eat of it, you will think on the Hunter; and thus for Want of more Room I will make an End of my Letter. Written by the Hand of your Servant, who often wiſhes you in your Brother's Room.

*H. Rex.*

## † LETTER XI. *Tranſlated from the* French, *as follows.*

THE Approach of the Time, which I have ſo long expected, rejoices me ſo much, that it ſeems almoſt ready come. However, the intire Accompliſhment cannot be till the two Perſons meet, which Meeting is more deſired by me than any Thing in this World; for what Joy can be greater upon Earth, than to have the Company of her who is my deareſt Friend? Knowing likewiſe that ſhe does the ſame on her Part, the Thinking on which gives great Pleaſure. You may judge what an Effect the Preſence of that Perſon muſt have on me, whoſe Abſence has made a greater Wound in my Heart than either Words or Writing can expreſs, and which Nothing can cure, but her Return: I beg you, dear Miſtreſs, to tell your Father from me, that I deſire him to haſten the Appointment by two Days, that he may be in Court before the Old Term, or at fartheſt on the Day prefixed; for otherwiſe I ſhall think, he will not do the Lover's Turn, as he ſaid he would, nor anſwer my Expectation. No more at preſent, for Want of Time; hoping ſhortly that by Word of Mouth I ſhall tell you the reſt of my Sufferings from your Abſence. Written by the Hand of the Secretary, who wiſhes himſelf at preſent privately with you, and who is, and always will be,

*Your loyal*

*and moſt aſſured Servant.*

H. *no other* (AB) *ſeeks* Rex.

## *LETTRE X.

TOute fois ma Meſtres qu'l ne vous pleu de ſouvenir de la Promeſſe que vous me fites quant je eſtoy dernierement vers vous, c'eſt a dire de ſcavoire de vos bonnes nouvelles & de ſcavoire reſponce de ma derniere Lettre, neanmoins il me ſemble quil app' artienne au vraye ſerviteur (voyant que autrement il ne peut rien Scavoir) d' envoyer ſcavoire la ſalute de ſa Meſtres & pur me acquitter de l' office du vray Serviteur, je vous envoye cette Lettre, vous Suppliant de me avertir de votre Proſperitè, la quelle je prie a Dieu qu'il ſoit auſſi long comme je voudroy la mienne; & pur vous faire en Corps plus ſouvent ſouvenir de moy, je vous envoye par ce porture ung boucke tuè hier ſoir bien tarde de ma main: Eſperant que quand vous en mangerez il vous ſouviendra du chaſſeur & ainſi a faute d'eſpace je feray fin a ma Lettre. Eſcrite de la main de votre ſerviteur qui bien ſouvent vous ſouhaitte au lieu de votre frere.

*H. R.*

## †LETTRE XI.

APprochant du temps qui m'a ſi longement durè me rejoye tante qu'il me ſemble preſque deja venu. Neanmoins l'entier accompliſſement ne ſe perfera tant que les deux perſonnes ſe aſſembleront laquelle Aſſemblè eſt plus deſirè en mon endroit que nulle choſe mondaine, car que rejoyement peut eſtre ſi grand

## * LETTER XII. *Tranſlated from the* French, *as follows.*

THere came to me in the Night the moſt afflicting News poſſible. For I have Reaſon to grieve upon three Accounts. *Firſt*, Becauſe I heard of the Sickneſs of my Miſtreſs, whom I eſteem more than all the World, whoſe Health I deſire as much as my own, and the Half of whoſe Sickneſs I would willingly bear to have her cured. *Secondly*, Becauſe I fear I ſhall ſuffer yet longer that tedious Abſence which has hitherto given me all poſſible Uneaſineſs, and, as far as I can judge, is like to give me more. I pray God he would deliver me from ſo troubleſome a Tormentor. The *third* Reaſon is, becauſe the Phyſician, in whom I truſt moſt, is abſent at preſent, when he could do me the greateſt Pleaſure. For I ſhould hope by him, and his Means, to obtain one of my principal Joys in this World, that is, my Miſtreſs cured; however, in Default of him, I ſend you the ſecond, and the only one left, praying God that he may ſoon make you well, and then I ſhall love him more than ever. I beſeech you to be governed by his Advices with Relation to your Illneſs; by your doing which I hope ſhortly to ſee you again, which will be to me a greater Cordial than all the precious Stones in the World. Written by the Secretary who is, and always will be,

*Your loyal*

*and moſt aſſured Servant,*

H. (AB) R.

grand en ce monde-comme d'avoire la compagnie de celle qui eſt la plus chere amye, ſachant auſſi qu'elle fait la pareille de ſon cotè, la panſe du quel me fait grand plaiſir: Juges adonque, que fera le perſonage l'abſence du quel m'a fait plus grand mal au cœur que ni langue ni eſcriture peuvent exprimer, & que jamais autre choſe exceptè cela peut remedier, vous ſuppliant ma Meſtreſſe de dire a Monſieur votre pere de ma part que je luy prie d'avancer de deux jours le temps aſſinè, qu'il peut eſtre en Court devant le vieille terme, ou au moins ſur le jour prefiſchè, car autrement, je penſeray qu'il ne feroyt point le tour des amoureus qu'il diſoit, ni accordant a mon expectation. Non plus d'aſteure de faulte de temps. Eſperant bientote que de bouche vous diray le reſte des peines par moy en votre abſence ſouſtenües. Eſcrite de la main du ſecretere qui ſe ſouhaite d'aſteure privement apres de vous, & qui eſt & qui a jamais ſera

*Votre loyal & plus aſſure Serviteur*

H. *autre* (AB) *ne cherche* R.

## * LETTRE XII.

NOuvelles me ſont en nuit ſoudonement venues les plus depleſantes qui me pourroient avenir. Car pour trois Cauſes touchant icelle faut il que je lamente: la premiere pour entendre la Maladie de ma Meſtreſſe, laquelle je eſtime plus que tout le monde, la ſantè de quelle je deſire autant comme la mienne, & vouloys volontiers porter la moitiè du votre pour vous avoir guery. La ſeconde pour la crainte que j'ay d' eſtre encore plus longuement preſſè de mon ennuyeux abſens qui juſques icy m'a fait toute l'ennuie a lui poſſible, & quand encore puis juger & deliberer de pys faire, priant Dieu qu'il m'en deaſſe de ſi importune rebelle. La troiſieme pour ce que le medecin en qui plus me fie eſt abſens aſteure quant il me pourroit plus grand plaiſir. Car j'eſpereroy par luy & ſes moyens de obtenir une de mes principales joyes en ce monde; ceſt a dire, ma Meſtreſſe guerie. Neanmoins en faute de luy je vous envoye le ſeconde & le tout, priant Dieu que bientot il vous peut rendre ſaine, & adunques je l' aymeray plus que jamais, vous priant etre gouvernè par ſes avis touchant votre Maladie, en quoy faiſant j' eſpere bientot vous revoire qui me ſera plus grand Cordiale que toutes les pierres pretieuſes du monde. Eſcrite du ſecretere qui eſt, & a j'amais ſera

*Votre loyal & plus aſſurè Serviteur,*

H. (AB) R.

## LETTER XIII. *Original.*

SInce your laſt Letters, myne awne Darling, *Water Welche*, Maſter *Brown*, *John Care*, *Yrion* of *Brearton*, *John Cocke* the Pothecary, be fallen of the Swett in this Houſe, and thankyd be God all well recovered, ſo that as yet the Pleague is not fully ceaſed here; but I truſt ſhortly it ſhall by the Mercy of God; the reſt of us yet be well, and I truſt ſhall paſſe it, either not to have it, or at the leaſt as eaſily as the reſt have don. As touching the Matter of *Wylton*, My Lord Cardinal hath had the Nunys before him, and examined them, Maſter *Bell* being preſent, which hath certified me that for a Truth, that ſhe hath confeſſed her ſelf (which we would have had Abbeſſe) to have had two Children by two ſundry Prieſts; and, furder, ſince hath been keeped by a Servant of the Lord *Broke*, that was, and that not long ago. Wherefor I would not for all the Gold in the World clog your Conſcience nor mine to make her Ruler of a Houſe which is of ſo ungodly Demeanour; nor I truſt you would not, that neither for Brother nor Siſter I ſhould ſo deſtain mine Honour or Conſcience: And as touching the Pryoreſſe, or Dame *Ellenors* eldeſt Siſter, though there is not any evident Caſe proved againſt them, and that the Pryoreſſe is ſo old, that of many Years ſhe could not be as ſhe was named; yet notwithſtanding, to do you Pleaſure, I have don that neither of them ſhall have it, but that ſome other good and well diſpoſed Woman ſhall have it: Whereby the Houſe ſhall be the better reformed (whereof, I enſure you, it had much Need) and God much the better ſerved: As touching Abode at *Hever*, do therein as beſt ſhall like you, for you know beſt what Aire doth beſt with you; but I would it were come thereto (if it pleaſed God) that neither of us need care for that, for I enſure you I think it long. *Suche* is fallen ſick of the Swett, and therefor I ſend you this Bearer, becauſe I think you long to hear Tydings from us, as we do in likewiſe from you. Writeing with the Hand,

*De votre ſeul*

(of Yours only)

*H. R.*

## LETTER XIV. *Original.*

DArling, theſe ſhall be only to advertiſe you, that this Bearer, and his Fellow, be diſpatched with as many Things to compaſſe our Matter, and to bring it to paſſe as our Wits could imagine or deviſe, which brought to paſſe, as I truſt by their Diligence, it ſhall be, ſhortly you and I ſhall have our deſired End, which ſhould be more to my Hearts Eaſe, and more Quietneſſe to my Minde, than any other Thing in this World, as with Gods Grace ſhortly I truſt ſhall be proved, but not ſo ſoon as I would it were, yet I will aſſure you there ſhall be no Tyme loſt, that may be wone, and further cannot be done, for *ultra poſſe non eſt eſſe*: Keep him not too long with you, but deſire him for your Sake to make the more Speed, for, the ſooner we ſhall have Word from him, the ſooner ſhall our Matter come to paſſe; and thus, upon Truſt of your ſhort Repair to *London*, I make an End of my Letter, mine awne Sweetheart. Writne with the Hand of him which deſyreth as much to be yours, as you do to have him.

*H. R.*

## LETTER XV. *Original.*

DArling, I heartily recommend me to you, aſſertaining you, that I am not a little perplexed with ſuch Things as your Brother ſhall on my Part declare unto you, to whom I pray you give full Credence, for it were too long to write. In my laſt Letters I writ to you that I truſted ſhortly to ſee you, which is better known at *London* than with any that is about me, whereof I not a little mervelle, but Lake of deſcreet Handling muſt needs be the Cauſe

Cauſe thereof. No more to you at this Tyme, but that I truſt ſhortly, our Meeting ſhall not depend upon other Mens light Handlings but upon your awne. Writne with the Hand of him that longeth to be Yours,

*H. R.*

## LETTER XVI. *Original.*

MYne awne Sweetheart, this ſhall be to advertiſe you of the great Ellingneſs that I find here ſince your Departing, for I aſſure you, methinketh the Tyme longer ſince your Departing now laſt then I was wont to do a whole Fortnight; I think your Kindneſs and my Fervence of Love cauſeth it, for otherwiſe I would not thought it poſſible, that for ſo little a While it ſhould have grieved me, but now that I am comeing towards you, methinketh my Pains been half releaſed, and alſo I am right well comforted, inſomuch that my Book maketh ſubſtantially for my Matter, in writing whereof I have ſpent above IIII Hours this Day, which cauſed me now to write the ſhorter Letter to you at this Tyme, becauſe of ſame Payne in my Head, wiſhing myſelf (ſpecially an Evening) in my Sweethearts Armes whoſe pritty Duckys I truſt ſhortly to kyſſe. Writne with the Hand of him that was, is, and ſhall be yours by his Will,

*H. R.*

## LETTER XVII. *Original.*

TO informe you what Joye it is to me to underſtand of your Conformableneſs with Reaſone, and of the Suppreſſing of your inutile and vain Thoughts and Fantaſies with the Bridle of Reaſone, I aſſure you all the Good of this World could not counterpoiſe for my Satisfaction the Knowledge and Certainty thereof; wherefore, good Sweetheart, continue the ſame not only in this, but in all your Doings hereafter, for thereby ſhall come both to you and me the greateſt Quietneſſe that may be in this World. The Cauſe why this Bearer ſtayeth ſo long, is the Buſineſs that I have had to dreſſe up Geer for you, which I truſt ere long to ſee you occupye, and then I truſt to occupye yours, which ſhall be Recompence enough to me for all my Pains and Labours. The unfayned Sickneſs of this well-willing Legate doth ſomewhat retard his Acceſſe to your Perſon, but I truſt veryly, when God ſhall ſend him Health, he will with Diligence recompence his Demurre, for I know well where he hath faid (lamenting the Saying, and Brute (*Noyſe*) that he ſhall be thought Imperial) that it ſhall be well known in this Matter, that he is not Imperial. And this for Lake of Tmye farewell. Writne with the Hand which faine would be yours, and ſo is the Heart.

*H. R.*

# APPENDIX.

## Two Letters from *Anne Boleyn*, to Cardinal *Wolſey*. *

## LETTER I.

MY Lord, in my moſt humbleſt wiſe that my Heart can think, I deſire you to pardon me that I am ſo bold, to trouble you with my ſimple and rude Writing, eſteeming it to proceed from her, that is much deſirous to know that your Grace does well, as I perceive by this Bearer that you do. The which I pray God long to continue, as I am moſt bound to pray; for I do know the great Pains and Troubles that you have taken for me, both Day and Night, is never like to be recompenced on my Part, but alonely

* Hiſt. Ref. Part I. p. 55.

in loving you, next unto the King's Grace, above all Creatures living. And I do not doubt, but the daily Proofs of my Deeds ſhall manifeſtly declare and affirm my Writing to be true, and I do truſt you do think the ſame. My Lord, I do aſſure you, I do long to hear from you News of the Legate; for I do hope, and they come from you, they ſhall be very good, and I am ſure you deſire it as much as I, and more, and it were poſſible, as I know it is not: And thus, remaining in a ſtedfaſt Hope, I make an End of my Letter, written with the Hand of her that is moſt bound to be,

## *Poſtſcript by King* Henry.

THE Writer of this Letter would not ceaſe till ſhe had cauſed me likewiſe to ſet to my Hand; deſiring you, though it be ſhort, to take it in good Part. I enſure you, there is neither of us, but that greatly deſireth to ſee you, and much more joyous to hear that you have ſcaped this Plague ſo well, truſting the Fury thereof to be paſſed, ſpecially with them that keepeth good Diet, as I truſt you do. The not hearing of the Legate's Arrival in *France*, cauſeth us ſomewhat to muſe; notwithſtanding, we truſt by your Diligence and Vigilancy (with the Aſſiſtance of Almighty God) ſhortly to be eaſed out of that Trouble. No more to you at this Time; but that I pray God ſend you as good Health and Proſperity, as the Writer would.

*By your*

*loving Sovereign and Friend,*

Henry *K.*

*Your humble Servant,*

Anne Boleyn.

## LETTER II.

MY Lord, in my moſt humble wiſe that my poor Heart can think, I do thank your Grace for your kind Letter, and for your rich and goodly Preſent, the which I ſhall never be able to deſerve without your Help, of the which I have hitherto had ſo great Plenty, that, all the Days of my Life, I am moſt bound, of all Creatures, next the King's Grace, to love and ſerve your Grace; of the which, I beſeech you, never to doubt, that ever I ſhall vary from this Thought, as long as any Breath is in my Body. And, as touching your Grace's Trouble with the Sweat, I thank our Lord, that them that I deſired and prayed for are ſcaped, and that is the King and you; not doubting, but that God has preſerved you both for great Cauſes known alonely of his high Wiſdom. And as for the Coming of the Legate, I deſire that much; and, if it be God's Pleaſure, I pray him to ſend this Matter ſhortly to a good End, and then I truſt, my Lord, to recompence Part of your great Pains. In the which, I muſt require you, in the mean Time, to accept my good Will in the Stead of the Power, the which muſt proceed partly from you, as our Lord knoweth; to whom I beſeech to ſend you long Life, with Continuance in Honour. Written with the Hand of her that is moſt bound to be

*Your humble and*

*obedient Servant,*

Anne Boleyn.

*Queen*

## *Queen* Anne Boleyn's *laſt Letter to King* Henry *.

SIR,

YOUR Grace's Diſpleaſure, and my Impriſonment, are Things ſo ſtrange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuſe, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you ſend unto me (willing me to confeſs a Truth, and ſo obtain your Favour) by ſuch an one whom you know to be mine antient profeſſed Enemy; I no ſooner received this Meſſage by him, than I rightly conceived your Meaning; and if, as you ſay, Confeſſing a Truth indeed may procure my Safety, I ſhall with all Willingneſs and Duty perform your Command.

But let not your Grace ever imagine that your poor Wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a Fault, where not ſo much as a Thought thereof preceded. And to ſpeak a Truth, never Prince had Wife more Loyal in all Duty, and in all true Affection, than you have ever found in *Anne Boleyn*, with which Name and Place I could willingly have contented my ſelf, if God and your Grace's Pleaſure had been ſo pleaſed. Neither did I at any Time ſo far forget myſelf in my Exaltation, or received Queenſhip, but that I always looked for ſuch an Alteration as now I find; for, the Ground of my Preferment being on no ſurer Foundation than your Grace's Fancy, the leaſt Alteration, I knew, was fit and ſufficient to draw that Fancy to ſome other Subject. You have choſen me, from a low Eſtate to be your Queen and Companion, far beyond my Deſert or Deſire. If then you found me worthy of ſuch Honour, good your Grace let not any light Fancy, or bad Counſel of mine Enemies, withdraw your Princely Favour from me; neither let that Stain, that unworthy Stain of a Diſloyal Heart towards your good Grace, ever caſt ſo foul a Blot on your moſt dutiful Wife, and the Infant Princeſs your Daughter: Try me, good King, but let me have a lawful Trial, and let not my ſworn Enemies ſit as my Accuſers and Judges; yea, let me receive an open Trial, for my Truth ſhall fear no open Shame; then ſhall you ſee, either mine Innocency cleared, your Suſpicion and Conſcience ſatisfied, the Ignominy and Slander of the World ſtopped, or my Guilt openly declared. So that, whatſoever God or you may determine of me, your Grace may be freed from an open Cenſure; and mine Offence being ſo lawfully proved, your Grace is at Liberty, both before God and Man, not only to execute worthy Puniſhment on me as an unlawful Wife, but to follow your Affection already ſettled on that Party, for whoſe Sake I am now as I am, whoſe Name I could ſome good While ſince have pointed unto: Your Grace being not ignorant of my Suſpicion therein.

But, if you have already determined of me, and that not only my Death, but an infamous Slander muſt bring you the Enjoying of your deſired Happineſs; then I deſire of God, that he will pardon your great Sin therein, and likewiſe mine Enemies, the Inſtruments thereof; and that he will not call you to a ſtrict Account for your unprincely and cruel Uſage of me, at his General Judgment-Seat, where both you and myſelf muſt ſhortly appear, and in whoſe Judgment, I doubt not, (whatſoever the World may think of me) mine Innocence ſhall be openly known, and ſufficiently cleared.

My laſt and only Requeſt ſhall be, that my ſelf may only bear the Burthen of your Grace's Diſpleaſure, and that it may not touch the innocent Souls of thoſe poor Gentlemen, who (as I underſtand) are likewiſe in ſtrait Impriſonment for my Sake. If ever I have found Favour in your Sight; if ever the Name of *Anne Boleyn* hath been pleaſing in your Ears, then let me obtain this Requeſt; and I will ſo leave to trouble your Grace any further, with mine earneſt Prayers to the Trinity to have your Grace in his good Keeping, and to direct you in all your Actions. From my doleful Priſon in the *Tower* this Sixth of *May*.

*Your moſt Loyal and ever*

*Faithful Wife,*

ANNE BOLEYN.

* Records of Hiſt. Ref. Part I. Page 154.

The

The humble Petition and Information of Sir *Lewis Stukeley*, Knight, Vice-Admiral of *Devon*, touching his own Behaviour in the Charge committed unto him, for the Bringing up of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and the ſcandalous Aſperſions caſt upon him for the ſame. Imprinted at *London*, by *Bonham Norton* and *John Bill*, Printers to the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, *Anno* 1618. *Quarto*, containing ſeventeen Pages.

## To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty.

*The whole Story of Sir* Walter Raleigh *is ſo affecting, and the Juſtice of his Sentence, and the Integrity of his Conduct, has been ſo much controverted, that every Tract, from which any Information concerning him can be attained, ought to be eſteemed worthy to be preſerved. We have therefore inſerted, in this Collection, Sir* William Stukeley's *Vindication of himſelf, from the Artifices which were thrown upon him by* Raleigh *on the Scaffold, which propably give Occaſion to the Declaration which was afterwards publiſhed for the Vindication of the King. The Facts, however diſadvantageous to Sir* Walter's *Character, are declared with Aſſeverations ſufficient to gain Belief, but they appear likewiſe to have been denied with equal Solemnity. The Reader muſt judge therefore from his Circumſtances, who ought to be credited.* —— J. *.

BEing deterred by your Majeſty's more important Affairs from any Hope of Redreſs of thoſe Scars caſt upon my Reputation by Sir *Walter Raleigh* at his Death, without ſome Remonſtrance of the Buſineſs, made by myſelf; I have preſumed to offer, to your moſt excellent Majeſty, a juſt Defence of my Carriage in that Affair: Wherein as I hold it the Part of an honeſt Man, to prefer publick Duty before private Affection; ſo I cannot but keep the Heart of a Gentleman, which is ever more ſenſible of a Wound given to his Reputation, than to his Life. I have no Pleaſure to fight with a Ghoſt: But, ſeeing an Angel of Darkneſs did put on him the Shape of an Angel of Light at his Departure, to perform two Parts moſt cunningly: *Firſt*, to poiſon the Hearts of diſcontented People; *Secondly*, to blemiſh me in my good Name, a poor Inſtrument of the juſt Deſires of the State, with falſe Imputations: Give me Leave, moſt gracious Sovereign, to ſpeak for myſelf, which I do not to inſult upon the Dead, but to defend myſelf againſt the falſe Reports of the Living, taken from the Dead upon Truſt, to ſtrike me directly, but, through my Sides indirectly, aiming at a higher Mark. All Men have long known, that this Man's whole Life was a mere Sophiſtication, and ſuch was his Death, in which he borrowed ſome Tincture of Holineſs, which he was thought not to love in his Life, therewith to cover his Hatred of others in his Death. As it appeareth, that, being moved by the Dean of *Weſtminſter*, and thereupon promiſing Charity to me in the Priſon, doth thus vent his Hatred on the Scaffold, in Shew of Charity to the Living, to take Heed of ſo dangerous a Man. An uncharitable Charity, not much unlike that Man's Repentance, who,

who, purpoſing to hang himſelf, writes his Repentance of that Sin before Hand in his Book, which he did purpoſe to commit.

Yet will not I take upon me to judge of his laſt Repentance, I leave him unto God, to whom he ſtands or falls; but I would he had given a better Sign of it, than by godly Words at his Death to gather Credit to himſelf to work upon the Compaſſion of Men, thereby to infuſe more warily the Venom of Sedition, into the Hearts of as many as he might, and to gain Reputation upon his Sovereign, but to ſpend his Malice upon me your poor Servant, who did nothing, but execute your juſt Commands, with the Peril of my Life. Witneſs his open Invitation of divers to his Death, wherein he meant, as in *his* laſt Will and Teſtament, to leave a Legacy of his Hatred unto *me*, to be executed upon me by them to my Deſtruction.

But it is nothing, in Reſpect of his general End, to ſpread by them, whom he had invited, the Contagion of his ſeditious Humour unto others, which the Event doth manifeſt: That it grows very queſtionable, whether this Man did more Hurt by his Life, or by his Death: By his Life, through his ill Example; by his Death, through *his falſe* Teſtimony, to traduce *the Juſtice* and *Inſtruments* of the State. Yea but it was the Teſtimony of a dying Man, now a Penitent, as all ſay, as ſome ſay a Saint, even then when, as himſelf ſaid, it was no Time to flatter, or fear Princes; yea, but it was the Teſtimony of an Enemy, of a perjured, of a condemned Man. *Firſt*, of an Enemy, and of an angry Enemy, even with your Majeſty that would have Juſtice executed on him, upon *his* original Condemnation, who were ſatisfied, as he publickly did ſpeak of his Innocency in that Cauſe, as privately before he bewrayed his deep Diſcontentment, when it was urged, that the Teſtimony of the Lord *Cobham* was never retracted, Sir *Walter Raleigh* did peremptorily deny it. To whom Anſwer was made, that then the publick Act regiſtered in the Council-Book would manifeſt it, for there it appears. So fain would this Man caſt Aſperſion upon your Juſtice, for Taking the Life of an Innocent in that Cauſe, wherein he was condemned by his Country. When this would not ſerve his Turn; then did he fly to the Commiſſion of a General; pleading it as an implicit Pardon of that former Offence: Not conſidering that, being already a Man condemned for Treaſon, he was, as the Learned in the Law held, uncapable of another Trial, by which he might have been found as *Nocent* as before. For, he having a Commiſſion, to go into thoſe Parts of *America*, unpoſſeſſed by any Chriſtian Prince in League with your Majeſty, and no where elſe, either to plant or trade, he made his Deſign for the River of *Oroonoko*, where he knew the Subjects of the King of *Spain* were already planted, which, as he confeſſed under his Hand to your Majeſty, he concealed from you; and this under Pretence of his Gold Mine, which he did apparently to this End, to break the League, and to imbroil the two States. Many Generals have for Exceeding their Commiſſions been puniſhed, even for good Services, How then could he have eſcaped, for this his Diſſervice, being againſt his Commiſſion, if he might by the Law have been tried upon it? It is clear then, that he was angry with your Majeſty, for commanding Juſtice to be done upon him; How then could he chuſe but be angry with me the poor Inſtrument, who brought him back to Juſtice, from whence he intended often to make an Eſcape?

Firſt at Sea, upon his Return, making Motion to be ſet on Shore in *France*, and to quit his Ship to his Company in that Condition; for the which he was blocked up in his Cabbin for a Month together, as himſelf hath confeſſed unto me, and is to be proved by divers of his Company: By which it is clear again, that, out of his Guiltineſs, he did not ſo much truſt in your Goodneſs, as he ſaid on the Scaffold he did too much, or elſe he had not ſuffered Death. Next at *Plymouth*, after he was, by your Majeſty's ſpecial Command, committed to my Keeping, he plotted with two *French* Captains; by Name with Captain *Flory*, and Captain *Le Grand*, to eſcape in one of their Ships, then there in Harbour, as he then confeſſed to the Lords Commiſſioners, it being firſt evidently proved againſt him; by which it appeareth again, he did not truſt your Majeſty's Goodneſs, as he wrote and ſaid, at his Death. But I am ſure by this he did much wrong my Kindneſs, to my Undoing, had not the Goodneſs of Heaven prevented him. Next he plotted his Eſcape at *Saliſbury*, which my worthy Couſin, *William Herbert*, firſt diſcovered to your Majeſty. Laſt upon the ſame *Saturday*, when I received your Majeſty's Com-

Commiſſion, by my Couſin *Herbert*, by whom alſo I received Intelligence, that at that Inſtant he was flying from my Cuſtody without my Privity; not having as yet made him any Semblance of Condeſcent, ſo that I almoſt came on him at unawares, even at the Inſtant that he was putting on his falſe Beard and his other Diſguiſements: Which declares he did ſtill diſtruſt your Goodneſs; doubtleſs, out of the Conſcience of his Guiltineſs, whatſoever he wrote or ſaid to the Contrary. And is it any Marvel then, that he was angry with me at his Death for Bringing him back? Beſides, that, being a Man, as he was thought, of ſo great a Wit, it was no ſmall Grief, that a Man, of ſo mean a Wit as I, ſhould be thought to go beyond him. Yea, but you ſhould not have uſed ſuch Craft to go beyond him. No? *Sic ars deluditur arte. Neque enim lex juſtior ulla eſt quam necis artifices arte perire ſua.* But why did not you execute your Commiſſion barely to his Apprehenſion on him in his Houſe? Why? my Commiſſion was to the Contrary, to diſcover his other Pretenſions, and to ſeize his ſecret Papers, *&c.* And can any honeſt Subject queſtion my Honeſty, in the Performance of ſuch a Commiſſion, which tended to the Diſcovery of the ſecret Intentions of an ill affected Heart to my Sovereign? How can any diſlike this in me, and not bewray his own diſhoneſt Heart unto the State? Yea, but though another might have done this, yet how might you do it, being his Kinſman, and his Friend? Surely, if I had been ſo, yet in a publick Employment, and Truſt laid upon me, I was not to refuſe it, much leſs to prefer private Kindneſs or Amity, before my publick Duty and Loyalty: For what did I know the dangerous Conſequence of theſe Matters which were to be diſcovered? Or who knows them yet, of thoſe that make themſelves my competent Judges? But, if there were no Kindred or Amity between us, as I avow there never was, What Bond then might tie me to him, but the Tie of Compaſſion of his Miſery? Which was in my Sovereign's Heart to diſtribute, when he ſaw Time, that did command me, and not in the Diſpenſation of me, nor of any other Inſtrument's Power that is to be commanded. Hitherto I have proved he was angry, both with your Majeſty, and with myſelf, and therefore his Teſtimony ought not to be of any Force againſt me. It followeth next to prove, that his Proteſtations and Oaths concerning others were falſe, both before he came to the Scaffold, and upon the Scaffold. Before, againſt Queen *Eliſabeth*, of infinite famous Memory, who advanced him with great Favour from the Duſt. For one Day myſelf upbraiding him with the notorious extreme Injury he did my Father, in deceiving him of a great Adventure which my ſaid Father had in the *Tyger*, when he went to the *Weſt-Indies* with my Uncle, Sir *Richard Greenville*; which was, by his own Confeſſion, worth Fifty-thouſand Pounds, which came all to his Hands, my Father's Portion at the leaſt being Ten-thouſand Pounds that he might lawfully claim. He anſwered, that the Queen, howſoever ſhe ſeemed a great good Miſtreſs unto him in the Eyes of the World, yet was ſo unjuſt and tyrannous unto him, that ſhe laid the Envy, as well of this, as of many other her Oppreſſions upon him; and that ſhe took all the Pearl in a Cabinet unto herſelf, without ever giving him ſo much as one Pearl. This he ſwore to me, and to Captain *Pennington*; he did ſo baſely and barbarouſly rail upon that our moſt excellent Queen oftentimes, as he can atteſt, that no Man hath Cauſe to believe his Oath againſt others, that would break his Oath of Allegiance to ſo excellent a Miſtreſs, that had raiſed him from ſuch Meanneſs to ſuch Greatneſs, as we of his Country did well know.

Now that he ſwore that he was not guilty of the Plotting of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Death, nor did inſult upon him being dead, there is a Gentleman of Worth, which about that Time came from out of a long Captivity, which he had ſuffered in *Spain*, who touched at *Sherbourne*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh* aſked him, What they ſaid in *Spain* of *Eſſex*'s Death? He anſwered, They heard not of it there; But that he was ſorry he heard it in the *Iſland* Voyage, that the Earl had brought him to his Mercy. To which Sir *Walter Raleigh* anſwered, But I truſt I am now Quittance with him; which this Gentleman is ready to atteſt. Beſides, in his Letters written to others, he did ordinarily upbraid him, That he died like a Craven; and in another, That the great Boy died like a Calf: And he was often heard to ſay, That he died like a Fool, and like a Coward: So perſecuting his Ghoſt, and inſolently trampling in his Aſhes; that it thence grew into many Men's Mouths, that it was better to be a living Dog than a dead Lion. But a more

evident

evident Demonſtration there cannot be of any Thing, than that an old Warder of the *Tower* will depoſe, That he ſaw Sir *Walter Raleigh*, the Night before the Earl's Suffering, with his Footman only with him, to come to the *Tower*, and heard him give ſtrait Inſtructions to the Lieutenant of the *Tower* for Execution of the Warrant, for that worthy Lord's Execution, which ſhortly followed him. Whether then he forſwore not himſelf, even at his Death, for publick Applauſe, about the not plotting the Deſtruction, and not inſulting on the Death of that moſt noble Earl, and excellent Saint of God; whoſe *Chriſtian* Humility and Charity, if Sir *Walter* had followed, he had not called his Repentance and Saintſhip ſo far into Queſtion, as now he hath done, and ſo ſeditiouſly have poiſoned the Hearts of diſcontented People, nor ſo maliciouſly wounded the Reputation of an honeſt Subject: Who, upon juſt Reaſon, believing the diſloyal and diſhonourable Words ſpoken by ſuch a proud *Vaſſal* againſt your ſacred Perſon to Monſieur *Manoury*, as other his diſloyal Deeds which he intended againſt you: That, if he had eſcaped, he was like to prove as dangerous a Traitor to his Crown, as ever *Antonio de Perez* was to the Crown of *Spain*; took them to Heart, and performed my beſt *Devoyer* to bring him unto Juſtice. But whether, I ſay, he forſwore not himſelf in theſe Things, I refer myſelf to them that are better acquainted with the Tragedy of that Time.

Not to forget, in the End, that which he confeſſed himſelf unto me and others, that he took an Oath upon the Bible to his Company, which he purpoſed to break; which Perjury, his Lady hath ſaid, was the Cauſe of all his Ruin. And what Interpretation can my greateſt Enemy make of his Oath, which voluntarily he ſwore unto myſelf in the Lieutenant's Dining-Chamber, the *Wedneſday* after his Commitment; which was, that he loved me as well, as any Friend he had in the World; to which I have ſubſtantial Witneſs. But in all theſe Things he uſed an Equivocation, as he doth in theſe Things now concerning me. To which I anſwer in General once for all, Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, Father to his Wife, was thought juſtly to except againſt the Teſtimony of one *Vaughan*, brought againſt him, becauſe he was a condemned Man: And may not I then except againſt the Teſtimony of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, urged againſt me upon the Scaffold, coming from an Outlaw after Judgment, even in a Caſe of High-Treaſon? Yet, to anſwer in Particular to the Points, he ſaith, *Firſt*, I never did receive Advice from my Lord *Carew* to make my Eſcape. And I do now verily believe he never did receive any ſuch Advice, as I ever ſaid to the Lords; but that *Raleigh* told it unto *Stukeley*, yea, and that many Times, I will avow it unto Death, and take the Sacrament upon it.

To the *Second*; I never named my Lord *Hay*, and my Lord *Carew*, in other Words and Senſe, than as my honourable Friends, amongſt other Lords my honourable Friends. That is very true, and I would the reſt of his honourable Friends underſtood, how far he named them, as well as I do. But as ever I believed, that he did abuſe their honourable Names, to ſeduce me, and to draw me to his Purpoſe: So did I promiſe to myſelf, that ſome of the chief of them, being joined in the Bond either of Blood or Affinity with me, a poor Gentleman, would be a Comfort unto me in the Way of my Loyalty, and renounce the Teſtimony of ſuch a diſloyal Man, that was never true to any but to himſelf. There is no Man's Diſpleaſure can further hurt me, than he hath threatened me, That, if I revealed the Things he told me in Private, I ſhould die for it. And die for this Cauſe I am content, ſo it be not by an Aſſaſſinate: But, whenſoever I die, there ſhall die your Majeſty's faithful and loyal Servant, and one that will part with his Blood at as dear a Rate as he can.

For the *Third*, concerning the ſhewing of a Letter to me about Money; his Wife, if ſhe were put to her Oath, can tell whether it were ſo or no. But, under the former Proteſtation, I avow it to be true, that he ſhewed me ſuch a Letter; though I think it not true what the Letter ſpake. I omit his Perjury in ſwearing he had no Deſign for *France*; whenas Sir *John Fearne* and Captain *Pennington* are able to teſtify upon their Oaths, that he often told them he had a Commiſſion to ſtand them in Stead from the High Admiral of *France*, which confirms the Teſtimony of M. *Manoury*, who ſaw the Commiſſion at *Plymouth*, as he will depoſe it. I urge not his Perjury in that Article concerning Sir *John Fearne*, that he never had it in his Thought to go from *Trinidado*, to leave his Company; which Sir *John Fearne* is ready to prove, by the Depoſition of ſixty Perſons, that Sir *Walter* propounded it

unto them, whatſoever he intended. And therefore, how this Man equivocates at his Death, all the World may ſee. O barbarous Cruelty, to leave ſo many Gentlemen, when he had ſecretly heard that his Son was dead, to the Mercy of their Enemies, without Hope or Means to return. Where he alſo perſuaded Captain *Pennington* to go away, who anſwered him, he would rather die, than lay the Guilt, upon his Soul, of the Death of ſo many Gentlemen: But, if I would, you lately ſwore you had no Money left, quoth Captain *Pennington*, without which we cannot victual at *Virginia*; Tut, whatſoever I ſwore, (ſaid Sir *Walter*) I have Three-hundred Pieces in a Corner, at a dead Lift; as he confeſſed alſo to the Lords, that he gave One-hundred and fifty Pieces to his Company to come Home: And how then can that be true, which he ſwore at his Death, that he carried but ſixty Pieces with him, and brought Home near the ſame Sum. Certainly Perjury was but a *Peccadillo* with this Man, which he ſhewed alſo towards me, when he proteſted that I perſuaded him to go to Sir *Edward Parham*'s Father's Houſe, which is moſt untrue: For Sir *Walter Raleigh* (having a ſecret Intention, which afterwards appeared, to play the Mountebank at *Saliſbury*, to pretend the Taking of a Doſe of Poiſon, by which he deceived me firſt, that by me he might deceive others, which was a moſt baſe, unmanly Part) thought Sir *Edward Parham*'s Father's Houſe, whom he thought to be a *Papiſt*, to be a fit Subject of Suſpicion, which he meant to caſt upon his Friend, who had ſo lovingly and worthily entertained us. For, ſaid Sir *Walter*, though the Gentleman would not hurt me, yet there might be Prieſts or *Jeſuits* there that did it: For I remember, after my Morning's Draught of a Cup of Ale, which Sir *Edward Parham* offered me in the Hall, I felt preſently a Kind of Excoriation in mine Intrails, as if ſome *Jeſuit* had been the Butler. Now, when I ſaw the Puſtules break out upon him at *Saliſbury*, my Compaſſion, I confeſs, was too credulous to report from his Mouth ſo much, wherein I made no Lye, but told a Lye: *Non mentientis aſtu, ſed compaſſionis affectu*, which hath been ill requited by him to whom I ſhewed it. But I am heartily ſorry for it, that, being ſo far abuſed as I was, I ſhould wrong my true Kinſman, which moved me after to no ſmall Indignation againſt Sir *Walter*, who had thus abuſed us both. When I heard of his often Purpoſes to eſcape, to my Undoing, to draw him forward to it, which he intended of himſelf by making a Lye, *Non amore mendacij, ſed officij*, the rather becauſe he had inveigled me to hurt my Kinſman, by telling of a Lye, which I doubt that Divinity would not bear; but Reaſon of State, as the beſt Philoſophers do hold, doth bear it to be lawful to tell a Lye for the Diſcovery of Treaſon to do Service to the Common-wealth. Yea, but they ſay, that he hath not left ſo ſufficient a Man behind him, and that therefore his Death is a Loſs to the Common-wealth; I doubt much of both. But no Man denies but he had many Sufficiencies in him: But what are theſe, but ſo many Weapons of Practice and Danger to the State, if he eſcaped, being ſo deeply tainted in ſo many Points of Diſcontent, Diſhoneſty, and Diſloyalty? He knew, as he wrote, that, as in Nature, ſo in Policy, *A privatione ad habitum non fit regreſſio*; and therefore, being deſperate of any Fortune here, agreeable with the Height of his Mind, who can doubt, but he would have made up his Fortune elſewhere upon any Terms againſt his Sovereign and Country? No *Coriolanus*'s Heart could be more vindicative than he was unto them to whom he did imputę his Fault. Yea, but he died moſt reſolutely: Yea, but he was taken moſt ſheepiſhly. Never was there Man, out of the Conſcience of his own Corruption and Guiltineſs, ſo cowed at his Taking, as he was; trembling and weeping to come before Juſtice. Yea, but he gathered his Spirits afterwards, and died reſolutely. Even ſo hath many a *Jeſuit* done at *Tyburn*; a cancered Enemy to God and his Sovereign: But with this Difference, that they died in Hope of falſe Martyrdom, and this with a Deſire of falſe popular Fame.

But he died like a Saint too: He hath before very much called his Saintſhip into Diſpute by the Carriage of his Life: We may now judge of it, by that he did, a Night before his Death, who, after his Conferences with the Dean of *Weſtminſter*, for his better Inſtruction, and Preparation of his Soul for God, called the Keeper of the *Gate-houſe*, Mr. *Weekes*, to him, and was curiouſly inquiſitive to know whether he had any *Romiſh* Prieſts under his Charge and Cuſtody, and what they were; but upon his Anſwer, that he had not any, whether he miſtruſted that Mr. *Weekes* would

would not deal plainly with him, or would not be true unto him, he presently surceased from any further Inquisition of that Matter; which, whether it might proceed of an Irresolution in the Religion wherein he professed himself to die, or out of a popular Affectation to insinuate and apply himself to all Factions, I leave it to the Censure of the judicious Reader, and of such as best observed the whole Scene of his Action upon the Scaffold. But, to go further, they said he died like a Soldier and a Saint, and therefore then to be believed, not only against me, but against the Attestation of the State. O wicked Times, to say no more! But my Hope is, that Religion, and the Fear of God, and the Conscience of my Duty and Loyalty to your Majesty, will sway more with the most, and best, by that Time Men shall from the State be better informed. *Opinionum commenta delebit dies, veritatis judicia confirmabit*, saith *Tully*. Wherefore I do here make two most humble Petitions to your most excellent Majesty. *First*, That seeing I, your poor, loyal Subject, am burdened, and oppressed, with the Testimony of a bitter Enemy, of a perjured and condemned Man, which is against all Reason, Conscience, and Law: That I may have your Majesty's Leave, to the Confirmation of the Truth, which I have avowed to be sufficient; to receive the Sacrament upon it in your Majesty's Chapel. The *next* is, that your Majesty will be so gracious unto me, as to suffer a Declaration to come forth from the State, for the Clearing of these Matters, and further Satisfaction of the World: By which it may appear, that the Justice of God, and the Justice of the King, did never better meet together in one Man: Which my just and humble Request, I hope your Majesty will not deny, to

*Your Majesty's loyal Subject,*

*and Servant,*

LEWIS STUKELEY.

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A Chronological Catalogue, or short Remembrance of the Princes Electors *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, that have been of the House of *Bavaria* unto this Day, together with their Succession and Lives. The Second Edition. *London*, printed by *William Jones*, dwelling in *Red-Cross-Street*, 1631. *Duodecimo*, containing thirty-eight Pages.

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Consecrated and dedicated to the most high and peerless Princess, *Elisabeth*, Princess of *Great-Britain*, Qũeene of *Bohemia*, Duchess of *Bavaria*, Princess *Palatine* Electress, *&c.* By her Majesty's most affectionated and bound in all humble Duty,

*W. H.*

## OTHO the ELDER.

OTHO, sirnamed *the Elder*, Earl of *Wittelsbach*, and Governor of the Palace of *Bavaria*, Grandfather to *Otho the Illustrious*, first Elector of his House, being descended of *Charles the Great*, and of the most antient Dukes and Princes of *Bavaria*; was a courageous and valiant Prince, a cunning and great Warrior; was endowed with rare and singular Virtues both of Body and Mind; was employed into *Italy* and *Greece*, in divers great Ambassages; was fully given to advance the

Republick; was exceedingly addicted to the Military Art; he atchieved divers noble Exploits in *Italy*. Upon which Occaſion, *Henry the Twelfth* being deprived and condemned, he, for his ſingular Virtues, was by the Emperor *Frederick the Firſt* created Duke of *Bavaria* in *Anno* 1180, from the which his Predeceſſors had been dejected, about 231 Years before, by *Otho the Firſt*. He bought *Dachau*; annexed to his Eſtate *Raning*; built the Town of *Kelham* on the *Danube*, where he was born in a Caſtle of that ſame Name; founded *Landſhut* upon the River *Iſara*. He died, the 26th of *June*, *Anno Chriſti* 1183, while he was yet in Controverſy with the Biſhop of *Friſſinghen*, for ſome Cuſtoms of Salt, after he had ruled *Bavaria* three Years. He married *Agnes*, Daughter of *Theodorick*, Tetrarch of *Waſſerburg*, and had theſe Children by her:

*Lewis*, Prince *Palatine* of the *Rhine*.
*Sophia*, who was joined in Marriage to *Herman*, Landgrave of *Heſſe*.
*Mechtildis*, joined to *Rapoto*, the Second Warden of *Krainburg*.

## LEWIS, *Duke of* Bavaria.

*LEWIS*, Duke of *Bavaria*, ſucceeded *Otho*. He was a Prince endued with great Eloquence, Wiſdom, Piety, and many other Virtues; he increaſed with Riches, and beautified much the Eſtate of *Bavaria*; built many ſumptuous Works, planted divers new Colonies, and built *Straubing*, a famous Town upon the *Danube*. He was a great Lover of Peace and Juſtice, who never made Wars, unleſs he had been forced thereto. Having gone about to repreſs *Albert*, Earl of *Bogen*, who had invaded and ſpoiled his Country, he received a great Overthrow by him, and was forced to fly; he warred againſt the Earls of *Artenberg*, that had broken the Peace, and took from them *Waſſerburg*, and *Krainburg* Caſtle: *Otho* of *Witttelsbach* and *Henry Truchſes*, Baron of *Walpurg*, being declared Rebels to the Empire, he ſpoiled their Caſtles of *Wittlesbach* and *Andeches*, and razed them thereafter. From the Emperor *Frederick the Second*, he received the County *Palatine* of the *Rhine*; and, whilſt he went about to take Poſſeſſion of the Towns and Caſtles thereof ſomewhat unwarily, he and his Company were taken by the Inhabitants of the Country, and afterwards releaſed for a great Sum of Money contributed by the *Bavarians*. Thereafter being received of them peaceably, within a ſhort Time after, he took his Journey, and went into the *Holy Land* with divers other Princes, againſt the *Infidels*; from whence, having loſt many of his People, and his Life being ſpared to him, he returned with a few that remained. In the End, while he was walking on the Bridge of *Kelhaim*, he was ſtabbed with a Knife by one *Stichius*, a Fool, that was offended at his Jeſts, and immediately fell down dead among his Nobles, the 15th of *September*, in *Anno* 1231. He was buried in great State and Pomp in *Sheyrn*. He ruled *Bavaria*, after his Father's Deceaſe, Forty-eight Years and more. He married *Louiſa*, Daughter of *Primeſlaus*, King of *Bohemia*, Widow of *Albert Boggy*, a Princeſs of great Beauty, and of an high Spirit. His Children by her were theſe:

*Otho*, Prince *Palatine* Elector of the *Rhine*, Duke of *Bavaria*.
*Lewis*, ſlain by the Emperor *Frederick the Second*.
*Iſabella*, married to the Emperor *Frederick the Second*.
*Anna*, married to *Rudolph*, Duke of *Saxony*, *Angria*, and *Weſtphalia*.

## OTHO *the Illuſtrious*.

*OTHO*, ſirnamed *the Illuſtrious*, was, in his Father's Life-time, created both Duke of *Bavaria*, and Prince Elector *Palatine* of the *Rhine*. He made Wars againſt *Frederick* of *Auſtria*, a ſeditious and unquiet Prince; ſpoiled and burnt a great Part of his Country, with a great Slaughter of the Inhabitants; took *Sherding*, and annexed it to his own Eſtate. Being ſeduced through the Perſuaſion of Pope *Gregory*, he conſpired with other Princes againſt the

the Emperor *Frederick the Second*; wherefore, ſeeing himſelf to be in ſuch eminent Danger, and accuſed of Diſloyalty and High-Treaſon, and fearing the Event of the Emperor's Diſpleaſure, he turned unto his Side again. He joined his Forces with the Emperor *Conrade*, his Son-in-law, againſt *Conrade* of *Waſſerburg*, vanquiſhed him, took from him all his Caſtles and Poſſeſſions, and chaced him out of the Precinct of *Bavaria*, becauſe he had received and refuſed to render *Albert* of *Bathaen*, a ſeditious and factious Nobleman, and Breaker of the Peace: *Albert*, in the End, being taken, he cauſed his Skin to be pulled off him, while he was yet living. He repreſſed valiantly *Albert*, Biſhop of *Regensburg*, who plotted againſt the State. He married *Agnes*, Daughter of *Henry*, the laſt *Palatine* Elector of his Family, and Niece of *Henry*, ſirnamed the *Lion*, and ſo was the firſt Elector *Palatine* of the Houſe of *Bavaria*. He died in *Landſhut*, in *Anno* 1269, and was buried in *Sheren*. He begot theſe Children:

*Lewis the Severe*, Duke of *Bavaria*, and Prince *Palatine* Elector of the *Rhine*.

*Henry* Duke of *Bavaria*, who, after his Father's Deceaſe, had for his Portion and Inheritance the Country of *Nordge*, or North *Bavaria*, and died at *Burckhauſen*, in *Anno* 1290.

*Eliſabeth*, married to the Emperor *Conrade the Fourth*, and after his Death to *Meinhard* Earl of *Tyrol Sophia*, married to *Gebhard* of *Hirſperg* for his Valour and Stoutneſs, ſhewed againſt the *Bohemians*.

## LEWIS the Severe.

*Lewis*, ſirnamed *the Severe*, Duke of *Bavaria*, Prince Elector *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, was born, the Fifteenth of *April* 1229. The ſecond Year after his Father's Deceaſe, he divided the Inheritance with his Brother, and had for his Part the *Palatinate* of the *Rhine*, and upper *Bavaria* (whereof the chief Towns be *Munchen*, *Waſſerburg*, and *Ingolſtadt*) together with the Government of *Regenſburg*, to wit, *Riettenburg*, *Stephaning*, *Lengenfield*, *Rengſtauff*, and *Kalmunt*. He was a very virtuous and religious Prince, and a great Juſticiar; he was of a good Wit, and adorned with many ſingular Virtues, both of Body and Mind. He cauſed to behead his Wife *Anne*, the Duke of *Brabant*'s Siſter, for Suſpicion of Adultery. He built *Furſtenfield*, to bury her in honourably. About ſome five Years after, he warred againſt the Marſhals of *Pappenheim*; took, burnt, and razed *Wiſſenburg*, a Town in *Nordge*. After other five Years, he built the Town *Fridberg* for a Defence againſt the Citizens of *Augſburg*. After the Emperor *Lewis*'s Death, the Empire having continued without a Head, during the Space of eighteen Years (which was the Cauſe of much Sedition, and divers great Troubles, both in *Italy* and *Germany*) he, with the Conſent and Approbation of all the Princes, had full Power and Authority given him to chooſe another Emperor in his Place. Whereupon he elected *Rudolph*, Earl of *Haſburg*, and afterwards married his Daughter, and was a conſtant Friend to him, all his Life Time. In the End, being come to *Heidelberg*, to make Peace between *Albert* and *Adolph*, both *Cæſars* at one Time; and being taken with a Diſeaſe, which had ſwelled his Privy Members, and (for Shame he had thereof) having neglected the Remedies too long, he died in the ſame Chamber where he was born, the Firſt of *February*, in *Anno* 1294, of his Age the Sixty-fifth, having ruled forty Years, and was buried in *Furſtenfield*. He had three Wives, the firſt, *Mary*, Daughter of the Duke of *Brabant*, and had no Children by her. By his ſecond Wife, *Anne*, Daughter of *Conrade* King of *Poland*, he had

*Lewis*, a frugal and virtuous Prince, who died at *Norenberg*, through the Stroke of a Lance, that he received of *Crato*, Earl of *Hohenloe*, while they were running together.

By *Mechtildis* the Emperor's Daughter, his laſt Wife, he had

*Rudolph*, Prince Elector *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, of whom all the *Palatine* Electors are deſcended, that have been ſince.

*Anne*, married to *Henry*, Earl of *Catzenelbogen*.

*Mechtildis*, married to *Otho*, Duke of *Lunenburg*.

*Lewis*

*Lewis the Fifth*, Emperor, of whom are deſcended all thoſe other Princes, that, ſince that Time, have ruled *Bavaria*, unto this Day.

## RUDOLPH the Firſt.

*Rudolph the Firſt*, Prince Elector *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, in the Beginning, laboured to make Peace and Agreement between his Uncle *Albert* of *Auſtria*, Emperor, and the Emperor *Adolph*, his Father-in-Law. But afterwards began to adhere more cloſely to *Adolph*, and ſuccoured him in his unfortunate Wars againſt *Albert* (both of them contending for the Empire) being kindled with an Indignation againſt his Uncle, becauſe he had beſieged *Alze*, a Town within his Dominions; and, *Adolph* being ſlain in the Battle, he had much ado to eſcape with a ſmall Number, and ſave himſelf in *Worms*. Having, through the Interceſſion of his Mother, obtained free Pardon and Remiſſion from his victorious Uncle, for his former Offence; notwithſtanding, having, within a ſhort While after, become unmindful of the Receipt of ſo great a Benefit, was among others, one that conſpired and plotted againſt him. Wherefore, being beſieged again by his Uncle, he was forced to demand Pardon of him, and withal paid a Sum of Money, to have his Towns rendered to him again. Finally, having conceived ſome Hatred and Malice, againſt his Brother *Lewis*, for that he was advanced to the Imperial Dignity, he was chaced out of his Country by him, and fled into *England*. Where he died, in *Anno* 1319, of his Age the Forty-fourth. By *Mechtild* Daughter of the Emperor, *Adolph*, Earl of *Waſſaw*, he had

*Adolph*, *Rudolph the Second*, and *Rupert the Firſt*, *Palatine* Electors of the *Rhine*.

## ADOLPH the Simple.

*Adolph*, ſirnamed *the Simple*, after his Father's Deceaſe, was with the reſt of his Brethren received in Favour by the Emperor *Lewis*, their Uncle; and, had the Electoral *Palatinate* rendered to him, together with certain Towns of *Bavaria*, and *Nordge* or Upper *Palatinate*. He was a Prince void of all Ambition, and more given to his private Eaſe and Reſt, than to take any Pains in ordering and ruling the Republick. Whereupon he reſigned over the Electorate to his Brother *Rudolph*, about the Year 1327. Nevertheleſs, *John*, Duke of the Lower *Bavaria*, being deceaſed without Iſſue, he went about among others to obtain this vacant Eſtate, but was excluded from the ſame, by the Emperor *Lewis*, who was a Degree nearer to the Defunct than he; he died, in *Anno* 1327, and was buried in *Shœnau*. He married *Irmengard*, Daughter of *Lewis*, Earl of *Oentingen*, of whom he begot

*Rupert the Second*, *Palatine* Elector, and a Daughter that was married to *Meinhard*, Earl of *Artenburg*.

## RUDOLPH the Second.

*Rudolph the Second*, ſirnamed *Blind*, born at *Wolffratzhaſen*, ſucceeded his Brother, *Adolph*, in the Electoral *Palatinate*; but died not long after, about the Year 1353. He had by his Wife, *Anne*, Daughter of *Otho* Duke of *Carinthia*, one Child only, to wit.

*Agnes*, married to the Emperor *Charles the Fourth*, and was crowned with him in *Rome*.

## RUPERT the First.

*Rupert the First*, ſirnamed *Rufus*, was Prince *Palatine* Elector of the *Rhine*, after his Brother's Deceaſe; he founded and erected the Univerſity of *Heidelberg*, in *Anno* 1346. Having joined his Forces with *Lewis*, the Elector of *Brandenburg*, he fought againſt a certain couſening Miller, that had given himſelf out for *Waldemar*, Marquis of *Brandenburg*; he was by him vanquiſhed and taken Priſoner, and was releaſed by the Emperor *Charles* with much Difficulty. He had two Wives, the firſt, *Eliſabeth* of *Namur*, the ſecond, *Beatrix* of *Bergen*, and had no Iſſue by them; he died, in *Anno* 1390, and was buried in *Heuſtat*.

## RUPERT the Second.

*Rupert the Second*, ſirnamed *Durus*, Son to *Adolph the Simple*, ſucceeded his Uncle *Rupert* in the *Palatine* Electorate of the *Rhine*. After the Death of the Emperor *Charles the Fourth*, having joined his Forces with the other Dukes of the Houſe of *Bavaria*, he made War againſt the Emperor *Vinceſlaus*, for that he detained certain Towns and Caſtles of North *Bavaria*, which his Father had taken in Pawn for his Wife's Portion; wherefore, at the Commandment of the Emperor, he was purſued in open Warfare, by thoſe of *Regenſburg*, *Augſburg*, and divers other Towns, lying on the *Rhine*, and, having fought againſt his Enemies near unto *Spires*, he ſlew Two-hundred, took Three-hundred of them, and compelled the reſt to fly into the ſame City. His Country having been ſpoiled and burnt by ſome wicked and damnable Perſons, and having apprehended them, he cauſed to throw them into an hot Furnace, being ſome Forty in Number; in the End, he gave himſelf to Peace and Quietneſs, and renewed and increaſed the Univerſity of *Heidelberg*, ſo far, that it may ſeem that he was (as it were) the firſt Founder thereof. He was a famous and renowned Prince, both in Peace and War; he died, in *Anno* 1398, and was buried in *Shœnau*; he married *Beatrix*, Daughter of *Frederick*, King of *Sicily*, of whom he begot

*Rupert*, the Emperor.
*Anne*, married to the Duke of *Juliers* and *Bergen*.
*Eliſabeth* married to *Procopius*, Marquis of *Moravia*.

## RUPERT the Third.

*Rupert the Third*, Prince Elector of *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and Duke of *Bavaria*, was by the Princes elected Emperor at *Bopart*, in *Anno* 1406, and ſacred by the Archbiſhop at *Cologne*, after that, *Vinceſlaus* had been depoſed from his Government. Being very earneſtly requeſted by the Pope to make War againſt *John Galeace*, Duke of *Milan*, whoſe Greatneſs he feared, he went into *Italy*; where, having fought in the Country of *Breſcia*, againſt the Duke, who was aſſiſted by ſuch as had not as yet made Defection from *Vinceſlaus*, he received an Overthrow at his Hands, and retired back again, not regarding the earneſt Suit of the *Florentines*, that intreated for his Help and Aſſiſtance, taking Ship at *Venice*, and returned into *Germany*, where he ſpent the reſt of his Days in beautifying and adorning of the ſame. He was ſevere, of an high Spirit and great Courage, was expert in Warfare, and a great Juſticiar; being withal much addicted to the Advancement of the Republick, and Conſerving of the ſame in her full Integrity and Glory. Thus, after he had ruled the Empire very commendably nine Years and (almoſt) nine Months, he died at *Oppenheim*, the Seventeenth of *May*, in *Anno* 1410, and was buried at *Heidelberg*, togegether with his Wife *Eliſabeth*, Daughter of *Frederick*, Burgrave of *Noremberg*, he had ſix Children by her,

*Rupert*, ſirnamed *Pepin*.
*Lewis*, Prince Elector *Palat.* of the *Rhine*.
*John*,

*John*, Duke of *Neuburg*.
*Frederick* of *Amburg*.
*Otho*, Duke of *Neumarckt* in *Bavaria*, and *Moſpach* on the *Neckar*.
*Stephen*, Duke of *Zweibrugken* and *Obrinca*.

## LEWIS the Fourth.

*Lewis the Fourth*, ſirnamed *Barbatus* and *Pius*, ſucceeding his Father in the Electorate, a Prince that was famous both in Peace and in War. He was Preſident or Moderator of the Council of *Conſtance*, in *Anno* 1415, warred in the *Holy Land*, and aſſiſted the Order of *Teutons* in *Pruſſia* with ſome Troops of Soldiers which he brought unto them. He helped likewiſe the Earl of *Vaudemont* againſt thoſe of *Lorrain*, by ſending unto him a ſelected Company of experimented Warriors, who died all in the Battle; the *French-men*, that were on their Side, having firſt begun to fly, and (as it were) betrayed them, in *Anno* 1431, he learned the *Greek* Tongue in his old Age; becauſe he had underſtood that the Emperor *Sigiſmond* had found great Fault with the barbarous Education of unlearned Princes. Being very aged, and having waxed blind, he died in *Anno* 1436, and was buried at *Heidelberg*. He had two Wives, the firſt *Blanch*, Daughter of *Henry the Fourth*, King of *England*; the ſecond *Mechtild*, Daughter of *Lewis* Earl of *Piedmont* and *Savoy*, and had by her three Sons;

*Lewis*, Prince Elector *Palat.* of the *Rhine*.
*Frederick*, Tutor and Adminiſtrator of the *Palatine* Electorate.
*Rupert*, Archbiſhop of *Cologne*.

## LEWIS the Fifth.

*Lewis the Fifth*, called the *Younger* and *Virtuous*, Prince Elector *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and Duke of *Bavaria*, being a religious and peaceable Prince, a Lover of Juſtice, and very mild and affable withal, was much beloved for his ſingular Virtues. He died in *Anno* 1449, and was buried at *Heidelberg*: He married *Margaret*, Daughter of *Amadeus* Duke of *Savoy*, and Widow of *Lewis*, Duke of *Anjou*, married after his Deceaſe to *Ulrick* Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and had, by her,

*Mechtild*, married to *Lewis* Duke of *Wirtemberg*.
*Philip*, Prince Elector *Palatine*.

## FREDERICK the Firſt.

*Frederick the Firſt*, ſirnamed *Victorious*, born the Firſt of *Auguſt*, in *Anno* 1425, was at firſt Tutor and Adminiſtrator to the young Prince *Philip*, his Nephew, and afterwards, by adopting of him to his Son, became Prince Elector *Palatine*; he was a moſt valiant and courageous Prince, moſt conſtant and invincible at Arms, and fought many dangerous Combates; he ſecured his Country from all foreign Invaſion, and purged the High-ways of Robbers; he was a ſtout Defender of the Imperial Dignity and Majeſty, againſt all the ſubtle and treacherous Plots of the Popes. He forced *Ulrick*, Duke of *Wirtemberg*, to leave off the unlawful Suing for his Wife's Dowry, from *Philip*, his Pupil, which he fought by Arms; and afterwards being again invaded by the ſame Prince, that was aſſiſted by *Charles* Marquis of *Baden* and one of his Brethren, he vanquiſhed them all in one Battle, near unto *Heidelberg*, and took them Priſoners, on the Firſt of *July*, 1462; whom, after a little While, he ſet at Liberty, for a great Sum of Money, being content with the Honour of ſo famous a Victory. He was never married; he died in *Anno* 1476, of his Age the Fifty-firſt.

PHI-

## PHILIP.

*Philip*, born after his Father *Lewis the Younger*'s Deceaſe, and ſirnamed *Ingenuous*, was Prince *Palatine* Elector of the *Rhine*, after the Death of *Frederick the Firſt*; before the Wars of *Bavaria*, he was a moſt potent, rich, and redoubted Prince; but, having refuſed to make Peace, upon very equitable Conditions, which the Emperor *Maximilian* had offered to him, he was by him declared a Rebel; and being left by the *French-men*, that were the Cauſe and Inſtruments of this War, he loſt a great Part of his Dominions, with many of his Nobility and others, which were either ſlain in the Battle, poiſoned or executed; he died in *Anno* 1508, and was buried at *Heidelberg*. He married *Margaret*, Daughter of *Lewis the Rich*, Duke of *Bavaria*, and had twelve Children by her, whoſe Names be theſe:

*Lewis*, Prince Elector of *Palatine*.
*Rupert the Virtuous*.
*Frederick*, ſirnamed *Pious*, Prince Elector *Palatine*.
*Philip*, Biſhop of *Freiſingen*.
*George*, Biſhop of *Spires*.
*Henry*, Biſhop of *Utrecht* and *Worms*.
*John*, Biſhop of *Regenſburg*.
*Wolfgang*, Duke of *Newmarckt*.
*Æmilia*, married to *George the Firſt*, Duke of *Stetin* and *Pomerania*.
*Helena*, married to *Henry*, Duke of *Meckelburg*.
*Eliſabeth*, married to *William the Younger*, Landgrave of *Heſſe*, and after his Death to *Philip the Second*, Marquis of *Baden*.
The Fourth Daughter was an *Abbeſs*.

## LEWIS the Sixth.

*Lewis the Sixth*, Prince Elector *Palatine*, Duke of *Bavaria*, &c. was a wiſe and prudent Prince, and a great Favourer of Learning. Having moſt prudently pacified many Tumults and Diſcords, he was called *the Peaceable* or *Peace-maker*. He lived fifty-five Years and above, died in *Anno* 1544, and was buried at *Heidelberg*; he married *Sybilla*, or *Sidonia*, Daughter of *Albert the Fourth*, Duke of *Bavaria*, but had no Iſſue by her.

*Frederick the Second*, Brother to *Lewis the Sixth*, and ſirnamed *Pius*, Prince Elector *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and Duke of *Bavaria*, born in *December*, in *Anno* 1482, excelling in many high and princely Virtues, was much admired and praiſed of all Men. He was ſo much inclined to Pity and Devotion, that, in *Anno* 1546, he aboliſhed and chaced *Popery* quite out of his Dominions, and planted the true and ſincere Doctrine of *Chriſtian* * Religion in Place thereof. He loved his Country and Subjects ſo dearly, that he deſired nothing ſo much as the Good and proſperous Eſtate of ſuch as lived under him, and the Safety of whole *Germany*. He was ſo much given to Peace, that, during thoſe domeſtick and cruel Diſſenſions that were then, he ſpared neither Coſt, Charges, Labour, nor Pains to attain thereto, and thereafter to enjoy the ſame: Not that he was not ſkilful and expert in Warfare; ſeeing that by the States of the Empire he was choſen General of the Army, when the Town of *Vienna* was beſieged by the *Turk*, and by his Nephew moſt valiantly defended and freed of all Danger; but becauſe he had learned by Experience, how bleſſed and happy a Thing Peace was. He was, moreover, a great Favourer and Cheriſher of all Sorts of good Learning, and learned Men. In ſuch great and weighty Affairs of the Empire as he meddled with, he proved wary and careful in Enterpriſing, prudent in Managing, and fortunate in the Event and Succeſs. He died in *Anno* 1556, of his Age the 74th. He married *Dorothy*, Daughter of *Chriſtiern* King of *Denmark*, and had no Iſſue by her.

* Reformed.

## OTHO HENRY.

*Otho Henry*, Prince Elector *Palatine*, Son to *Rupert the Virtuous*, and Nephew to the Elector *Philip*, born in *April*, in *Anno* 1502, ſucceeded his Uncle in the Electoral *Palatinate*, which he had reſigned over to him, while he was dying, in *Anno* 1556; and enjoyed the ſame ſcarce three Years, but died at *Heidelberg* in *Anno* 1559, and was buried there alſo: A Prince very commendable in his Actions, a ſtout Defender and Advancer of true Religion, an earneſt Lover of Peace, and withal endued with Wiſdom and Magnanimity. He married *Suſanna*, one of the Houſe of *Bavaria*, Widow of *Caſimir*, Marquis of *Brandenburg*, and had no Children by her.

## FREDERICK the Third.

*Frederick the Third*, Son of *John* Earl of *Obrinca*, *Simmeren* and *Spanheim*, the Poſterity of *Lewis*, ſirnamed *Pious*, having here failed, ſucceeded by right Deſcent to the *Palatine* Electorate. He was a peaceable Prince, and a ſingular Protector of the Muſes. He died in *November*, in *Anno* 1576, of his Age the 62d. He married firſt *Mary*, Daughter of *Caſimir*, Marquis of *Brandenburg*, in *Anno* 1537; and afterwards *Æmilia*, Daughter of the Earl of *Newenar*, and Widow of *Henry* of *Bredérode*, in *Anno* 1569, having no Children by her. The Firſt bore unto him theſe Eleven:

*Albert*, who died in his Infancy.
*Lewis the Seventh*, Prince Elector *Palatine*, &c.
*Eliſabeth*, married to *John Frederick*, Duke of *Saxony*.
*Herman-Lewis*, Prince *Palatine*, who was drowned in the River at *Bourges* in *France*.
*John Caſimir*, Prince *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, &c. Tutor and Adminiſtrator of the Electorate.
*Suſanna Dorothy*, married to *William*, Duke of *Saxony*.
*Albert* and *Charles*, who died in their Infancy.
*Anne-Eliſabeth*, married to *Philip the Second*, Landgrave of *Heſſe*.
*Cunnegunde-Jacob*, Wife to *John* Earl of *Naſſaw*, in *Dillemberg*.
*Chriſtopher*, Prince *Palatine*, ſlain in the *Low-Countries*.

## LEWIS the Seventh.

*Lewis the Seventh*, Prince Elector *Palatine*, Duke of *Bavaria*, Earl of *Simmeren* and *Spanheim*, born in *July*, in *Anno* 1539, was a very religious Prince, of a ſincere and unſpotted Life and Converſation. He brought all the Churches of the *Palatinate* to a moſt commendable and good Order. He increaſed with great Liberality, the Revenues of *Heidelberg* Univerſity, and maintained Juſtice and Peace with prudent Dexterity and Policy. He had two Wives; the firſt, *Eliſabeth*, Daughter of *Philip*, Landgrave of *Heſſe*, by whom he had many Children. The other *Anne*, Daughter of the Earl of *Emden*. He died, in *Anno* 1583, of his Age the 44th, and was buried at *Heidelberg*. Theſe be the Names of his Children:

*Anne Mary*, married to *Charles* Prince of *Summerland*, &c.
*Eliſabeth*, *Dorothy*, *Frederick*, and *Philip*, dead in their Infancy.
*John*, *Frederick*, *Lewis*, and *Chriſtian*, dead in their Childhood.
*Frederick the Fourth*, Prince Elector *Palatine*, Duke of *Bavaria*, &c.
*Philip* and *Dorothy* died in their firſt Years.

FREDERICK

## FREDERICK the Fourth.

FRederick *the Fourth*, Prince Elector *Palatine*, Duke of *Bavaria*, &c. born in *Anno* 1574, after his Father's Deceaſe, having lived nine Years under the Rule and Government of *John Caſimir*, his Uncle and Tutor, and being, at his Death, in *Anno* 1592, of full Age, ſucceeded his Father in the Electorate. He was a virtuous and religious Prince, favoured Learning much, and was very careful in Ordering and Settling the Eſtate both of Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Affairs throughout all his Countries. He founded the Town and Caſtle of *Manheim* between the Mouth of the *Neckar* and the *Rhine*, in *Anno* 1606, where before ſtood a mean Village and Fortreſs of that Name, as a moſt ſtrong Bulwark, and ſure Defence, againſt all the Aſſaults of whatſoever Enemies. He died in *Anno* 1611, and was buried at *Heidelberg*. He married *Louiſa Juliana*, Daughter of *William* Prince of *Orange*, who liveth ſtill, and had by her theſe Children:

*Louiſa-Juliana*, married to *John*, Prince *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, Duke of *Zuneiburgh*, and Adminiſtrator to *Catharina Sophia*.

*Frederick the Fifth*, King of *Bohemia*, Prince Elector *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, &c.

*Elizabeth-Charlotta*, married unto *George*, Elector of *Brandenburg*.

*Anna-Leonora*, dead in her Infancy.

*Lewis-William*, dead within a few Days after he was born.

*Maurice-Chriſtian*, dead in his tender Age.

*Lewis-Philip*, Prince *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, who hath allotted to him for his Inheritance *Lauterberg*, &c.

## FREDERICK the Fifth.

FRederick *the Fifth*, Prince *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, Duke of *Bavaria*, Elector and Arch-ſewer of the ſacred *Roman* Empire, and, in Vacancy of the ſame, Vicar thereof, and one of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, born the Sixteenth of *Auguſt*, 1596. After his Father's Deceaſe, having lived for ſome little Space, under the Rule and Government of his Couſin, *John*, Prince *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, Duke of *Zuneiburgh*, and Adminiſtrator, took upon him the Government of the *Palatinate*: A Prince (for his Age) ſurpaſſing far his Predeceſſors, as being adorned with all ſingular and rare Virtues, which are requiſite in a true and perfect Prince. He beautified the Caſtle of *Heidelberg* with an huge and ſtrong Tower, and divers other Reparations; together with moſt pleaſant, ſumptuous, and admirable Gardens, Walks, Water-works, and other princely Ornaments, for the moſt Part cut out of the Side of the Mountain, where the Caſtle ſtandeth. He continued, with exceeding great Coſt, the Building and Fortification of the invincible Fort of the Town and Caſtle of *Manheim*, founded by *Frederick the Fourth*, his Father. He pacified the Civil Diſſenſion of *Worms*, having ſent Four-thouſand Men of War into the City, for that Purpoſe. Being aſſiſted by the other Princes of the Union, he demoliſhed and razed the new Fortifications of the Town of *Udonheim*, ſtanding on the *Rhine*, which the Biſhop of *Spires* had cauſed to be built, contrary to the Privileges of the Country. He was, for the great Multitude of his heroical and princely Virtues, by the general Conſent of the *Bohemian* States, elected King of *Bohemia*, and was crowned in *Prague*, the Five-and-twentieth of *October*; and the Lady *Eliſabeth*, his Spouſe, ſole Daughter of *James*, King of *Great-Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, &c. the Twenty-eighth of that ſame Month, *Anno* 1619. He was likewiſe received and acknowledged for Marquis of *Moravia*, Duke of *Sileſia*, and Marquis of *Luſatia*, by all the States of thoſe Countries. About a Year after, having loſt a great Battle, which the Emperor and the Duke of *Bavaria* won, not far from *Prague*, he was forced to leave *Bohemia*, and the Neighbour-Countries that belonged unto him, to his victorious Enemy, which, within a few Months after the ſame Time, took Poſſeſſion of them all. Not long after theſe Things were paſt, in the End he

loſt the *Palatinate*, with his whole Inheritance, which the Emperor *Ferdinand* took from him unjuſtly, and gave the ſame to the Duke of *Bavaria*, that had helped him in all the Wars of *Bohemia* and the *Palatinate*. He lived to the Year 1632 in *Holland*, and from thence went up unto the King of *Sweden*, hoping, through God's Aſſiſtance, for to recover his Country again; ſince the which he is departed this Life. The Names of his Children are theſe:

Prince *Frederick-Henry*, choſen King of *Bohemia*, born at *Heidelberg*, about Midnight, the Firſt of *January*, 1614: He died the Seventh of *January*, 1629, having newly entered into the fifteenth Year of his Age.

Prince *Charles-Lewis*, born at *Heidelberg*, the Twenty-ſecond of *December*, 1617.

*Eliſabeth*, born at *Heidelberg*, the Twenty-ſixth of *December*, 1618.

*Rupert*, born at *Prague*, *December* the Seventeenth, 1619.

*Maurice*, born at *Cuſtrin*, the Sixth of *January*, 1621.

*Louiſa-Hollandina*, born at the *Hague*, the Twenty-eighth of *April*, 1622.

*Lewis*, born at the *Hague*, the Twenty-firſt of *Auguſt*, 1623; and died in *January*, 1625.

*Edward*, born at the *Hague*, the Sixth of *October*, 1624.

*Henrietta*, born at the *Hague*, the Seventh of *July*, 1626.

*Philip*, born at the *Hague*, the Sixteenth of *September*, 1627.

*Charlotta*, born at the *Hague*, the Nineteenth of *December*, 1628: She died, the Twenty-fourth of *January*, 1631.

*Sophia*, born at the *Hague*, the Thirteenth of *December*, 1630.

*Henry-Frederick*, born at the *Hague*, *February* the Third, 1631.

*God, of his unſpeakable Mercy, bleſs, protect, and defend this noble Queen, with her Royal Progeny *, to the Enlarging of his Church, to the further Ruin of* Antichriſt, *to the Comfort of all the Godly diſperſed through the World.*

* God has ſo far bleſſed her Royal Progeny, that they now ſit upon the Throne of *Great-Britain*; King *George the Second* being great Grandſon to *Eliſabeth*, Queen of *Bohemia*.

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*Gowries* Conſpiracie: A Diſcovrſe of the vnnatvrall and vyle Conſpiracie, attempted againſt the Kings Maieſties Perſon, at *Sanct-Iohnſtovn*, vpon *Twyſday* the Fifth of *Auguſt*, 1600. *Edinbvrgh*, printed by *Robert Charteris*, 1600. *Octavo*, containing three Sheets and a Half.

*Cvm Privilegio Regio.*

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*This is one of the earlieſt Accounts of this remarkable Conſpiracy, and therefore deſerves to be reprinted, not only as it is very rarely to be found, but as it is very clear and elegant, with Regard to the Dialect in which it is written. In the Language, though ſome Paſſages may appear uncouth, no Alteration has been made; both becauſe we would not depart from the Fidelity that we promiſed, nor, by changing Expreſſions, give Reaſon to ſuſpect, that we take the ſame Liberty with Facts; and becauſe the Language may be, to ſome, no leſs an Object of Curioſity, than the Events to others.*

*Of this Conſpiracy, which, though ſome have queſtioned its Reality, is by moſt allowed to be proved beyond Contradiction, a very particular Account may be found in* Spotſwood.———J*.

HIS Majeſtie having his Reſidence at *Falkland*, and being daily at the *Buck-hunting*, as his Vſe is in that Seaſon, vpon the Fifth Day of *Auguſt*, being *Twyſday*, hee raid out to the Park, betwixt ſix and ſeuen Hours in the Morning, the Weather beeing wonderfull pleaſant and ſeaſonable. But, before his Maieſtie could leap on Horſe-back, his Hienes being now come downe by the Equerie, all the Huntiſ-men with the Houndes attending his Maieſty on the Greene, and the Court making to their Horſes, as his Hienes ſelf was; Maiſter *Alexander Ruthven*, ſecond Brother to the late Earle of *Gowrie*, being then lighted in the Toun of *Falkland*, haiſted him faſt downe to ouer-take his Maieſtie before his On-leaping, as he did: Where meeting his Hienes, after a verie low Courteſie, bowing his Head vnder his Maieſties Knee (althogh he was neuer wont to make ſo low Courteſy) drawing his Maieſtie a-part, he beginnes to diſcourſe vnto him, but with a verie dejected Countenance, his Eies euer fixed vppon the Earth, how that it chanced him the Euening before to be walking Abroad about the Fields, taking the Air, ſolitarie allone, without the Toun of *Sanct Iohnſtoun*, wher his preſent Dwelling was with the Lord his Brother; and there by Accident affirmed to haue recountred a baſe like Fellow, vnknowne to him, with a Cloke caſt about his Mouth; whome at as he enquyred his Name, and what his Erand was, to be paſſing in ſo ſolitary a Part, being from all Waies. The Fellow become at the ſuddain ſo amaſed, and his Tongue ſo faultered in his Mouth, that, vppon his ſuſpitious Behauiour, he begouth more narrowly to look vnto him, and examine him; and, perceauing that there appeared ſome Thing to bee hid vnder his Cloke, he did caſt by the Lappes of it, and ſo findes a great wyde Pot to be vnder his Arme, all full of coyned Gold in great Peeces. Aſſuring his Maieſtie, that it was in verie great Quantitie: Vpon the Sight whereof, as hee affirmed, he took back the Fellow with his Burthen to the Toun; where he priuatly, without the Knowledge of any liuing, took the Fellow, and band him in a priuie derned Houſe, and, after Lokking many Durres vppon him, left him there, and his Pot with him, and had haiſted himſelf out of *Sanct-Iohnſtoun* that Day, by four Houres in the Morning, to make his Maieſtie aduertiſed therof, according to his bound Dutie: Earneſtlie requeſting his Maieſtie, with all Diligence and Secrecie, that his Maieſtie might take Order therewith, before anie know thereof; ſwearing and proteſting, that he had yet concealed it from all Liuing, yea, from the Earle his owne Brother.

His Maieſties firſt Anſwere was (after Thanking him for his Good-will) That it could not become his Maieſtie to meddle anie wayes in that Matter, ſince no Mans Treaſure, that is a free and lawfull Subiect, can by the Lawe appertaine vnto the King, except it bee found hid vnder the Earth, as this was not. Whereunto he anſwered, That the Fellow confeſſed vnto him, that hee was going to haue hid it vnder the Ground, but could not take Leaſure at that Time to enquyre any further of him. Whereunto his Maieſtie replyed, That there was great Difference betwixt a Deed, and the Intention of a Deed; his Intention to haue hid it not beeing alyke as if it had beene found alreadie hid. Maiſter *Alexander*'s Anſwer was, That hee thought his Maieſtie ouer ſcrupulous in ſuch a Matter, tending ſo greatly to his Maieſties Profite; and that, if his Maieſty deferred to meddle with it, it might bee, that the Lord his Brother, and other great Men, might meddle with it, and make his Maieſtie the more a-doe: Wherupon the King, beginning to ſuſpect that it had been ſome forraine Gold, brought Home by ſome *Ieſuites*, or practiſing *Papiſts* (therewith to ſturre vp ſome newe Sedition, as they have oftentymes done before) inquyred of the ſaid M. *Alexander*, What Kinde of Coine it was, and what a Fellow hee was that carried it? His Anſwere was, That, ſo far as hee could take Leaſure to ſee of them, they ſeemed to bee forraine and vncouth Strokes of Coine; and, although that the Fellow, both by his Language and Faſhion, ſeemed to bee a *Scots* Fellow, yet hee could neuer remember, that hee had ſeene him before. Theſe Speaches increaſed

ſed his Maieſties Suſpition, that it was forraine Coyne, brought in by ſome practiſing *Papiſts*, and to bee diſtributed into the Countrie, as is before ſaid. And that the Fellowe, that carried it, was ſome *Scots* Prieſt or Seminarie, ſo diſguiſed for the more ſure Tranſporting thereof. Whereupon his Maieſtie reſolued, that he would ſend backe with the ſaid Maiſter *Alexander* a Seruand of his own, with a Warrand to the Prouoſt and Baillies of *Sanct-Iohnſtoun*, to receaue both the Fellow and the Money off Maiſter *Alexanders* Hand, and, after they had examined the Fellow, to retaine him and the Treaſure, till his Maieſties further Pleaſure were knowne: Whereat the ſaid Maiſter *Alexander* ſturred meruelouſlie, affirming and proteſting, that, if either the Lord his Brother, or the Baillies of the Toun were put on the Counſal thereof, his Maieſtie would get a verie bad Compt of that Treaſure; ſwearing, that the great Loue and Affection, he bare vnto his Maieſtie, had made him to preferre his Maieſtie, in this Cace, both to himſelf, and his Brother. For the which Seruice he humblie craued that Recompence, that his Maieſty would take the Paines once to ryde thither, that he might bee the firſt Seear thereof himſelf; which beeing done, he woulde remit to his Maieſties owne honorable Diſcretion, how far it would pleaſe his Maieſtie to conſidder vpon him for that Seruice. His Hienes beeing ſtricken in great Admiration, both of the Vncouthnes of the Tale, and of the ſtrange and ſtupide Behauiour of the Reporter; and the Court being alreadie horſed, wondring at his Maieſties ſo long Stay with that Gentleman, the Morning being ſo fair, the Game alreadie found, and the Huntiſmen ſo long ſtaying on the Fields on his Maieſtie, he was forced to break off onlie with theſe Wordes: That hee coulde not nowe ſtaye anie longer from his Sporte, but that hee would conſidder of the Matter, and, at the End of his Chaſe, giue him a reſolute Anſwere, what Order he would take therein. Wherupon his Maieſty parted in Haſte from him towardes the Place where the Game was. Maiſter *Alexander* parting from his Maieſtie verie miſcontent, that indelaiedlie he raid not to *Sanct-Iohnſtoun*, as he deſired him; proteſting, that his Maieſtie would not finde euerie Day ſuch a Choiſe of Hunting, as he had offered vnto him; and that hee feared, that his Maieſties long Delay, and Slowneſs of Reſolution, would breed Leaſure to the Fellow, who was lying bound, to cry, or make ſuch Din, as would diſappoint the Secrecie of that hail Purpoſe, and make both the Fellow and the Treaſure to be medled with, before any Word could come from his Maieſtie: As alſo, that his Brother would miſſe him, in Reſpect of his Abſence that Morning; which if his Maieſtie had pleaſed to haſte, he might haue preuented, arryuing there in the Tyme of his Brothers and the whole Townes being at the Sermon; whereby his Maieſtie might haue taken ſuch ſecrete Order with that Matter, as hee pleaſed, before their Outcomming from the Church. But, his Maieſtie, without anie further Anſwering of him, leaping on Horſe-back, and ryding to the Dogs, where they were beginning to hunt, the ſaid Maiſter *Alexander* ſtayed ſtill in that Place wher hee left his Maieſtie; and, hauing two Men with him appointed by the late Earle his Brother, to carrie back vnto him the certaine Newes, in al Haiſt, of his Maieſties Comming, as heerafter more particularlie ſhall in this ſame Diſcourſe be declared, hee directed one of them, called *Andrew Henderſon*, Chalmerlane to the ſaid Earle, to ryde in all Haſte to the Earle; commanding him, as hee loued his Brothers Honour, that hee ſhoulde not ſpare for Spilling of his Horſe; and that hee ſhould aduertiſe the Earle, that hee hoped to moue his Maieſtie to come thither, and that hee ſhould not yet looke for him, the Space of three Houres thereafter, becauſe of his Maieſties Hunting, adding theſe Words: Pray my Lord my Brother to prepare the Denner for vs. But his Maieſtie was no ſooner ridden vp to a little Hil aboue the little Woode, wher the Dogs were laid on in Hunting, but that, notwithſtanding the pleaſant Beginning of the Chaſe, hee could not ſtay from muſing and wondering vpon the Newes. Whereupon, without making anie Bodie acquainted with this Purpoſe, finding *Iohn Neſmith*, Chirurgian, by Chance ryding beſide him, his Maieſtie directed him back to bring Maiſter *Alexander* with him; who being brought vnto his Maieſtie, and hauing newlie directed, as ſaid is, one of his Men, that was with him, back to my Lord his Brother, his Maieſtie, vnknowing or ſuſpecting that any Man huing had come with him, then tolde him, that hee had bene aduyſing with himſelf, and, in Reſpect of his laſt Wordes ſo earneſt with him, hee reſolued

ſolued to ryde thither for that Erand in his own Perſon, how ſoone the Chaſe was ended, which was alreadie begun; lyke as his Maieſty, vppon the verie Ending of theſe Words, did ryde away in the Chaſe, the ſaid Maiſter *Alexander* euer following him at his Back; no other liuing being with his Hieneſſe, but hee, and *Iohn Hammilton* of *Grange*, one of his Maieſties Maiſter-ſtablers, the reſte of the Court being all before in the Chaſe, his Maieſtie onlie being caſten back, vpon the Staying to ſpeak with Maiſter *Alexander*, as is before ſaid. The Chaſe laſted from Seuen Houres in the Morning, vntil Alleuen and more, being one of the greateſt and foreſt Chaſes, that euer his Maieſtie was at: All which Tyme, the ſaid Maiſter *Alexander* was, for the moſt Part, euer at his Maieſties Back, as ſaid is. But there neuer was anie Stop in the Chaſe, or ſo ſmall a Delay, that the ſaid Maiſter *Alexander* omitted to round to his Maieſtie, earneſtly requeſting him to haiſt the End of the Hunting, that he might ryde the ſooner to *Sanct-Iohnſtoun*: So as, at the Death of the Buck, his Maieſtie, not ſtaying vppon the Curie of the Deir, as his Vſe is, ſcarcelie took Time to alight, awaiting vppon the Comming of a freſh Horſe to ryde on, the Greatneſſe of the Chaſe hauing weried his Horſe. But the ſaid Maiſter *Alexander* would not ſuffer the King to ſtay in the Parke, where the Buck was killed, whil his freſh Horſe, which was alredy ſent for, was brought out of the Equery to him, although it was not two Flight Shot of Bounds betwixt the Part, where the Buck was killed, and his Maieſties Equerie; but, with verie Importunitie, forced his Maieſtie to leap on againe vpon that ſame Horſe, that hee had hunted all the Day vppon, his freſhe Horſe beeing made to gallop a Myle of the Way to ouertake him; his Maieſtie not ſtaying ſo much as vppon his Sword, nor whil the Duke and the Earle of *Mar*, with diuerſe Gentlemen in his Companie, had changed their Horſes; onlie ſaying vnto them, that hee was to ryde to *Sanct-Iohnſtoun* to ſpeak with the Earle of *Gowry*, and that hee would bee preſently back againe before Euen. Whereupon, ſome of the Court galloped backe to *Falkland*, als faſt as they could, to change their Horſes, and could not ouertake his Maieſtie, whill he come within four Myle of *Sanct-Iohnſtoun*. Others raid fordward with their Horſes, weried as they were, wherof ſome were compelled to alight by the Way; and, if they had not both refreſhed their Horſes, bled them, and giuen them ſome Graſſe by the Way, they had not carried them to *Sanct-Iohnſtoun*. The Cauſe of his Maieſties Seruands following ſo faſt, vndeſired by him, being onlie grounded vpon a Suſpition they had conceaued, that his Maieſties Intention of Ryding was for the Apprehenſion of the Maiſter of *Oliphant*, one who had latelie done a vyle and proud Oppreſſion in *Angus*; for Repairing of the which, they thoght, that his Maieſtie had ſome Purpoſe for his Apprehenſion. But the ſaid Maiſter *Alexander*, ſeing the Duke and the Earle of *Mar*, with diuers other of the Court, getting freſh Horſes for following of his Maieſtie, earneſtlie deſired him, that hee would publiſh to his whole Traine, that, ſince he was to returne the ſame Euening, as is before ſaid, they needed not to follow him; eſpeciallie, that he thought it meeteſt, that his Maieſtie ſhould ſtay the Duke and the Earle of *Mar* to follow him, and that he ſhould onlie take three or four of his owne meane Seruands with him; affirming, that, if anie noble Man followed him, hee could not anſwere for it, but that they would marre that whole Purpoſe. Wherupon his Maieſtie, half angerlie, replied, That he wold not miſtruſt the Duke, nor the Earle of *Mar*, in a greater Purpoſe nor that; and that hee could not vnderſtand, what Hinder anie Man could make in that Erand. But theſe laſt Speeches of M. *Alexanders* maid the King to begin to ſuſpecte what it could meane; whereuppon manie diuerſe Thoughts begouth to enter in the Kings Minde. But that his Maieſtie could neuer ſuſpect anie Harme to be intended againſt his Hienes, by that young Gentleman, with whome his Maieſtie had bene ſo well acquainted, as hee had, not long before, beene in Sute to be one of the Gentlemen of his Chalmer: So as the fartheſt, that the Kings Suſpition could reache to, was, that it might bee, that the Earle his Brother had handled him ſo hardlie, that the young Gentleman, being of a hie Spirit, had taken ſuch Diſpleaſure, as he was become ſomewhat by himſelf, which his Maieſtie coniectured aſwell by his raiſed and vncouth Stairing, and continuall Penſiueneſſe, all the Time of the Hunting, as likewiſe by ſuch ſtrange Sort of vnlykelie Diſcourſes, as is alreadie mentioned. Wherupon, his Maieſty took Occaſion to make the Duke of *Lennox* acquainted with the whole Purpoſe,

Purpoſe, enquyring of him verie earneſtlie, What he knew of that young Gentlemans Nature, beeing his Brother in Law? And, If he had euer perceiued him to be ſubiect to any high Apprehenſion? His Maieſtie declaring his Suſpition plainelie to the ſaid Lord Duke, that hee thought him not well ſetled in his Wits; alwaies deſiring my Lord Duke not to faile to accompanie him in to that Houſe, where the alledged Fellow and Treaſure was. The Lord Duke wondered much at that Purpoſe, and thought it verie vnlikelie; yet he affirmed, that hee could neuer perceaue any ſuch Appearance in that Gentlemans Inclination. But Maiſter *Alexander*, perceyuing his Maieſties priuie Conference with the Duke, and ſuſpecting the Purpoſe, as it appeared, came to the King, requeſting his Maieſtie verie earneſtlie, that he ſhoulde make none liuing acquainted with that Purpoſe, nor ſuffer none to go with his Maieſty, where he ſhould conuoy him, but himſelfe onlie, vntill his Maieſtie had once ſeene the Fellowe and the Treaſure: Whereunto his Maieſtie, halfe-laughing, gaue Anſwere, That he was no good Teller of Money, and behooued therefore to haue ſome to helpe him in that Erand. His Replye was, That hee woulde ſuffer none to ſee it, but his Maieſties Selfe, at the firſt; but, afterward, hee might call in whom hee pleaſed. Theſe Speeches did ſo encreaſe his Maieſties Suſpition, that then he begouth directly to ſuſpect ſome treaſonable Deviſe; yet, manie Suſpitions and Thoughts ouerwhelming euerie one an other in his Minde, his Maieſtie coulde reſolue vpon no certaine Thing, but raid further on his Iourney, betwixt Truſt and Diſtruſt, beeing aſhamed to ſeeme to ſuſpect in Reſpect of the Cleanneſſe of his Maieſties owne Conſcience, except he had found ſome greater Ground. The ſaid Maiſter *Alexander* ſtill preaſing the King to ride faſter, although his owne Horſe was ſcarcelie able to keepe Companie with the King, for Wearineſſe, hauing riden with him, all the Chaſe before. But, as the King was come two Miles from *Falkland*, the ſaid Maiſter *Alexander* ſtayed a little behind the King in the Way, and poſted away the other Seruand, *Andrew Ruthven*, to the Earle his Brother, aduertiſing him, howe farre the King was on his Waye to come thither. Then, how ſoon ſoeuer the King come within a Myle to the Toun of *Sanct-Iohnſton*, he ſaid to his Maieſty, that he would poſte in before, to aduertiſe the Earle his Brother of his Maieſties Comming; who, at his Incomming to him, was ſitting at the Middes of his Denner, neuer ſeeming to take Knowledge of the Kings Comming, whill his Brother told it him, notwithſtanding of his two Seruands aduertiſing him thereof before: And, immediatlie vppon his Brothers Reporte, ryſing in Haſte from the Borde, and warning al the Seruands and Friendes to accompanie him to meete his Maieſty, met him, to the Number of three or four Score, at the End of the *Inſh*, his Maieſties whole Companie and Traine not exceeding the Nomber of ſixteene Perſons, and al without any Kinde of Armour, except Swords; no, not ſo much as Daggers, or Whingears. His Maieſtie ſtayed an Houre, after his Comming to the ſaide Earles Lodging, in *Sanct-Iohnſtoun*, before his Denner come in: The Longſomneſſe of the Prepairing of the ſame, and Badneſſe of the Cheare, beeing excuſed, vppon the Sodainty of his Maieſties Comming vnlooked for there. During the which Tyme, his Maieſtie enquyred of Maiſter *Alexander*, When it was Tyme to him to goe to that priuate Houſe, for that Erand, whereof he had informed him? Whoſe Anſwere was, That al was ſure enough, but that there was no Haſte yet, for an Houre, whill his Maieſty had dyned at Leiſure; praying his Maieſty to leaue him, and not to be ſeen to round with him before his Brother, who, hauing miſſed him that Morning, might therupon ſuſpect, what the Matter could meane: Therefore his Maieſty addreſſed him to the Earle, and diſcourſed with him vpon ſundrie Purpoſes, but could get no direct Anſwere of him, but Halfe-wordes, and imperfect Sentences. His Maieſtie beeing ſet down to the Denner, the ſaid Earle ſtood very penſiue, and with a deiected Countenaunce, at the End of his Maieſties Table, oft rounding ouer his Shoulder, whiles to one of his Seruands, and whiles to another; and oftentims went out and in to the Chamber: Which Forme of Behauiour he likewiſe kept before his Maieſties Sitting downe to Denner, but without any Welcomming of his Maieſtie, or anie other hartlie Forme of Entertainement; the Noblemen and Gentlemen of the Court, that was with his Maieſty, ſtanding about the Table, and not deſired to dyne, as Vſe is, when his Maieſty is once ſet down, and his firſt Seruice brought vp, vntil the Kings Maieſty had almoſt dyned. At the whi[illegible] Time, the Ear[illegible]

conuoyed

conuoyed them forth to their Dinner, but ſate not down with them him ſelfe, as the common Forme is, but come back, and ſtood ſilent at the End of the Kings Table, as of before; which his Maieſtie perceauing did begin to entertaine the Earle in an homelie Manner, wondering that hee had not remained to dine with his Gueſts, and entertaine them there. In the meane Tyme, his Maieſty beeing ready to riſe from the Table, and his whole Seruants beeing in the Hal at their Dinner, the ſaid Maiſter *Alexander*, ſtanding behinde his Maieſties Backe, pulled quietlie vppon him, rounding in his Maieſties Eare, That it was Tyme to goe; but that hee woulde haue faine bene quite of the Earle his Brother, wiſhing the King to ſend him out to the Hall to entertaine his Gueſts: Wherupon the King called for a Drinke, and, in a merrie and homelie Manner, ſaid to the Earle, That, although the Earle had ſeene the Faſhion of Entertainement in other Countries, yet hee would teach him the *Scottiſhe* Faſhion, ſeeing hee was a *Scottiſh* Man; and therefore, ſince hee had forgot to drink to his Maieſtie, or to ſit with his Gueſts, and entertaine them, his Maieſtie would drink to him his owne Welcome, deſirring him to take it foorth and drinke to the reſt of the Company, and, in his Maieſties Name, to make them welcome. Wherupon, as he went foorth, his Maieſtie did riſe from the Table, and deſired M. *Alexander* to bring Sir *Thomas Erskine* with him; who, deſiring the King to go forward with him, and promiſing that he ſhould make anie one or two follow him, that he pleaſed to cal for, deſired his Maieſty to command publikly, that none ſhould follow him. And thus the King, accompanied onelie with the ſaid Maiſter *Alexander*, commes forth of the Chamber, paſſes through the End of the Hal, where the noble Men and his Maieſties Seruants were ſitting at their Dinner, vp a Turne-pyke, and through three or four high Chambers, the ſaid Maiſter *Alexander* euer lokking behinde him euery Dore as he paſt, and then, with a more ſmyling Countenance nor he had all the Day before, euer ſaying he had him ſure and ſafe enough kept; until at laſt, his Maieſty paſſing through three or four ſondrie Houſes, and all the Dores lokked behind him, his Maieſtie entered into a little Studie, where his Maieſtie did ſee ſtanding, with a verie paſed Countenance, not a Hound-man, but a free Man, with a Dagger at his Girdle. But his Maieſtie had no ſooner entered into that little Studie, and Maiſter *Alexander* with him, but Maiſter *Alexander* lokked to the Studie Dore behind him, and at that Inſtant, changing his Countenance, putting his Hat on his Head, and drawing the Dagger from that other Mans Girdle, held the Point of it to the Kings Breaſt, avowing now, that the King behoued to be in his Will, and vſed as he liſt; ſwearing manie bloody Othes, that, if the King cried one Word, or opened a Windoe to look out, that Dagger ſhould preſently go to his Hart: Affirming, that hee was ſure, that now the Kings Conſcience was burdened for the Murthering of his Father. His Maieſtie, wondering at ſo ſuddaine an Alteration, and ſtanding naked, without any Kynde of Armour but his Hunting Horne, which hee had not gotten Leiſure to lay from him, betwixt theſe two Traitors, which had conſpird his Life, the ſaide Maiſter *Alexander* ſtanding, as ſaide is, with a drawne Dagger in his Hand, and his Sword at his Side, but the other trembling and quaiking, rather like ane condemned Man, then an Executioner of ſuch an Enterpryſe; his Maieſty begouth then to dilate to the ſaide Maiſter *Alexander*, howe horrible a Thing it was to him to meddle with his Maieſties innocent Blood; aſſuring him it would not be left vnreuenged, ſince God had giuen him Children and good Subiectes; and, if there were no more, God would raiſe vp Stocks and Stones to puniſh ſo vyle a Deed. Proteſting before God, that hee had no Burthen in his Conſcience, for the Execution of his Father, both in Reſpect that, at the Tyme of his Fathers Execution, his Maieſtie was but a Minor of Age, and guyded at that Tyme by a Faction, which ouer-ruled both his Maieſtie, and the reſt of the Country; as alſo, that, whatſoeuer was done to his Father, it was done by the ordinar Courſe of Law and Iuſtice. Appealing the ſaide Maiſter *Alexander* vppon his Conſcience, how well he, at al Tymes ſince, had deſerued at the Hands of al his Race; not only hauing reſtored them to al their Landes and Dignities, but alſo in nouriſhing and vpbringing of two or three of his Siſters, as it were, in his own Boſome, by a continual Attendance vppon his Maieſties deareſt Bedfellow in her Priuy Chamber. Laying alſo before him the Terrors of his Conſcience, eſpecially that he made Profeſſion, according to his Education, of the ſame Religion which his Maieſtie has

euer profeſſed: And namelie his Maieſtie remembred him of that holie Man, M. *Robert Rollock*, whoſe Scholler he was, aſſuring him, that one Day the ſaid M. *Roberts* Soule would accuſe him, that hee had neuer learned of him to practiſe ſuch vnnaturall Crueltie. His Maieſtie promiſing to him, in the Worde of a Prince, that, if hee would ſpare his Life, and ſuffer him to go out againe, hee ſhould neuer reueale to any Fleſhe liuing what was betwixt them at that Tyme nor neuer ſuffer him to incur anie Harme or Puniſhment for the ſame. But his Maieſties Feare was, that hee could hope for no Spairing at his Hand, hauing ſuch Cruelty in his Lookes, and ſtanding ſo irreuerently, couered with his Hat on; which Forme of rigorous Behauiour could prognoſticat no Thing to his Maieſtie, but preſent Extremitie. But, at his Maieſties perſwaſiue Language, hee appeareth to bee ſomewhat amaſed; and, diſcouering his Head againe, ſwore and proteſted, that his Maieſties Lyfe ſhould be ſafe, if hee would behaue him ſelfe quyetlie, without making Noyes, or Crying; and that he would onlie bring in the Earle his Brother, to ſpeak with his Maieſtie: Wherupon, his Maieſtie enquyring, what the Earle would do with him, ſince (if his Maieſties Life was ſafe, according to Promiſe) they could gaine little in keeping ſuch a Priſoner? His Anſwere onlie was, That hee could tel his Maieſtie no more, but that his Lyfe would bee ſafe, in Cace hee behaued him ſelfe quietlie; the reſt the Earle his Brother, whome hee was going for, would tel his Maieſtie, at his Comming. And with that, as hee was going forth for his Brother, as hee affirmed, hee turned him about to the other Man, ſaying theſe Wordes vnto him: I make you heere the Kings Keeper, vntill I come back againe, and look that ye keep him vppon your owne Perill: And therewithall ſayes to his Maieſtie, Ye muſt content your ſelfe to haue this Man nowe your Keeper vntill my Back-comming. And with theſe Words he paſſes foorth, lokking the Dore behinde him, and leauing his Maieſtie with that Man he fand there before him. At whome his Maieſtie then enquyred, If he was appointed to be the Murtherer of him at that Tyme? And how far he was vppon the Counſell of that Conſpiracie? Whoſe Anſwere, with a Trembling, and aſtoniſhed Voice and Behauiour, was: That, as the Lord ſhould judge him, hee was neuer made acquainted with that Purpoſe, but that hee was put in ther perforce, and the Dore lokked behinde him, a little Space before his Maieſties Comming; as indeede, al the Tyme of the ſaid Maiſter *Alexanders* Menaſſing his Maieſtie, he was euer tremblinglie requeſting him for Gods Sake, and with manie other Atteſtations, not to meddle with his Maieſtie, or to do him anie Harme. But, becauſe Maiſter *Alexander* had, before his Forth-going, made the King to ſweare, that he ſhould not cry, nor open anie of the Windoes, his Maieſtie commanded the ſaide Fellow to open the Windoe with his Hand; which he readelie did; ſo that, although hee was put in there to vſe Violence ouer the King, yet God ſo turned his Hart at that Time, as hee become a Slaue to his Priſoner. While his Maieſtie was in this dangerous Eſtate, and none of his owne Seruants nor Traine knowing in what Part of the Worlde he was in, as his Maieſties Traine was aryſing in the Hal from their Dinner, the Earle of *Gowry* being preſent with them, one of the Earle of *Gowries* Seruants commes haſtelie in, aſſuring the Earle his Maiſter, that his Maieſty was horſed and away through the *Inſhe*; which the Earle reporting to the Noblemen, and the reſt of his Maieſties Traine that was there, they al ruſhe out together at the Gate in great Haſte; and, ſome of his Maieſties Seruants enquyring at the Porter, When his Maieſtie went forth? The Porter affirmed, That the King was not yet forth. Wherupon the ſaide Earle looked verie angerlie vpon him, and ſaide he was but a Liear; yet, turning him to the Duke and to the Earle of *Mar*, ſaid, hee ſhould preſentlie get them ſure Word where his Maieſtie was. And with that ran throgh the Cloſe, and vp the Staire. But his Purpoſe indeede was to ſpeak with his Brother, as appeared verie well by the Circumſtance of the Tyme, his Brother hauing at that ſame Inſtant left the King in the little Studie, and ran down the Staire in great Haſte. Immediatly therafter the Earle commeth back, running againe to the Gate wher the Noblemen and the reſt were ſtanding in a Maſe, aſſuring them that the King was out long ſince at the Back-gate, and, if they haſted not them al the ſooner, they would not get him ouertaken, and with that cried for his Horſe; whereupon they ruſhe altogether out at the Gate, and makes towardes the *Inſhe*, crying al for their Horſes; paſſing al (as it was the Prouidence of God) vnder one of the Windoes of that Studie, wherein his Maieſtie was.

was. To whome Maiſter *Alexander* verie ſpedelie returned, and, at his Incomming to his Maieſtie, caſting his Hands abroade in a deſperate Manner, ſaide, hee could not mend it, his Maieſtie behoued to die; and with that offered a Garter to bind his Maieſties Hands, with ſwearing he behoued to be bound. His Maieſtie at that Word of Binding ſaid, hee was born a free King, and ſhould die a free King. Wherupon hee gripping his Maieſtie by the Wreſt of the Hand to haue bound him, his Maieſtie releeued him ſelfe ſuddainlie of his Grips; wherupon, as he put his right Hand to his Sworde, his Maieſtie, with his right Hand, ſeazed vppon both his Hand and his Sworde, and with his left Hand claſped him by the Throat, like as hee with his left Hand claſped the King by the Throat, with two or three of his Fingers in his Maieſties Mouth, to haue ſtaied him from Crying. In this Forme of Wreſtling, his Maieſtie, perforce, drewe him to the Windoe, which hee had cauſed the other Man before to open vnto him, and vnder the which was paſſing by at the ſame Tyme the Kings Traine, and the Earle of *Gowrie* with them, as ſaide is; and, holding out the right Side of his Head and right Elbowe, cried, that they were murthering him there in that treaſonable Forme; whoſe Voice being inſtantly heard and knowne by the Duke of *Lennox*, and the Earle of *Mar*, and the reſt of his Maieſties Traine there, but the ſaide Earle of *Gowrie* euer aſking what it meant, and neuer ſeeming anie Wayes to haue ſeen his Maieſtie or heard his Voice, they all ruſhed in at the Gate together, the Duke and the Earl of *Mar* running about to come by that Paſſage his Maieſtie come in at, but the Earle of *Gowrie* and his Seruants made them for another Way vp a quyet Turnpyke, which was euer condemned before, and was onlie then left open, as appeared for that Purpoſe. And in this mean Time his Maieſtie, with Strugeling and Wryſtling with the ſaide Maiſter *Alexander*, had brought him out perforce out of that Study, the Dore wherof, for Haſte, he had left open at his laſt Incomming, and his Maieſtie hauing gotten with long Strugling the ſaide Maiſter *Alexanders* Head vnder his Arme, and him ſelfe on his Knees, his Maieſtie did driue him backe perforce, hard to the Dore of the ſame Turnpyke; and as his Maieſtie was throwing his Sworde out of his Hand, thinking to haue ſtriken him therewith, and then to haue ſhotte him ouer the Stair, the other Fellow ſtanding behinde the Kings Backe, and doing nothing but trembling all the Tyme; Sir *Iohn Ramſay*, not knowing what Way firſt to enter, after he had heard the Kings Cry, by Chance finds that Turn-pyke Dore open, and, following it vp to the Head, enters into the Chamber, and findes his Maieſtie and Maiſter *Alexander* ſtrugling in that Forme, as is before ſaide; and, after he had twiſe or thriſe ſtriken Maiſter *Alexander* with his Dagger, the other Man withdrew him ſelfe, his Maieſtie ſtill keeping his Grips, and holding him cloſe to him; immediatly therafter he tooke the ſaid Maiſter *Alexander* by the Shoulders, and ſhotte him down the Staire; who was no ſooner ſhotte out at the Doore, but he was met by Sir *Thomas Erſkine* and Sir *Hew Hereis*, who there, vppon the Staire, ended him; the ſaid Sir *Thomas Erſkine* being caſten behinde the Duke and the Earle of *Mar*, that ran about the other Way, by the Occaſion of his medling with the ſaide late Earle vppon the Street, after the Hearing of his Maieſties Cry. For, vppon the Hearing thereof, hee had claſped the Earle of *Gowrie* by the Gorget, and caſting him vnder his Feet, and, wanting a Dagger to haue ſtriken him with, the ſaid Earles Men redde the Earle their Maiſter out of his Hands; whereby he was caſten behinde the reſt, as ſaide is; and, miſſing the Companie, and hearing the ſaide Sir *Iohn Ramſayes* Voice vpon the Turn-pyke Head, ran vp to the ſaid Chamber, and cried vppon the ſaid *Hew Hereis* and another Seruant to follow him; where, meeting with the ſaide Maiſter *Alexander* in the Turn-pyke, he ended him there, as ſaide is; the ſaide Maiſter *Alexander* onely crying for his laſt Words, Allace! I had not the Wyte of it. But no ſooner could the ſaide Sir *Thomas*, Sir *Hew*, and another Seruant win in to the Chamber wher his Maieſtie was, but that the ſaid Earle of *Gowrie*, before they could get the Dore ſhutte, followed them in at the Back, hauing caſten him directly to come vp that priuie Paſſage, as is before ſaide; who, at his firſt Entrie, hauing a drawne Sworde in euerie Hand, and a ſteil Bonnet on his Head, accompanied with ſeuen of his Seruants, euerie one of them hauing in like Manner a drawne Sworde, cried out with a great Oath, that they ſhoulde all die as Traitors. Al the which Tyme his Maieſtie was ſtill in the Chamber, who, ſeeing the Earl of *Gowrie* come in

with his Swordes in his Hands, fought for Maiſter *Alexanders* Sworde, which had fallen from him at his Out-ſhutting at the Dore, hauing no Sort of Weapon of his owne, as ſaid is; but then was ſhot backe by his owne Seruants that were there, into the little Studie, and the Dore ſhut vppon him; who, hauing put his Maieſtie in Safetie, re-encountred the ſaide Earle and his Seruants; his Maieſties Seruants being onlie in Nomber four; to wit, Sir *Thomas Erskine*, Sir *Hew Hereis*, Sir *Iohn Ramſay*, and one *Wilſoun*, a Seruant of *Iames Erſkines*, a Brother of the ſaide Sir *Thomas*; the ſaide Earle hauing ſeuen of his Seruants with him: Yet it pleaſed God after manie Strokes on al Hands to giue his Maieſties Seruants the Victorie, the ſaide Earle of *Gowrie* beeing ſtriken dead with a Stroke through the Heart, which the ſaide Sir *Iohn Ramſay* gaue him, without once Crying upon God, and the reſt of his Seruants dung ouer the Stair with many Hurts; as in like Manner the ſaide Sir *Thomas Erſkine*, Sir *Hew Hereis*, and Sir *Iohn Ramſay* were all three hurt and wounded. But, all the Tyme of this Fight, the Duke of *Lennox*, the Earle of *Mar*, and the reſt of his Maieſties Traine were ſtriking with great Hammers at the vtter Doore, wherby his Maieſtie paſt vp to the Chamber, with the ſaid Maiſter *Alexander*, which alſo he had lokked in his Bycomming with his Maieſtie to the Chamber, but, by Reaſon of the Strength of the ſaide double Dore, the whole Wall being likewiſe of Bordes, and yeelding with the Strokes, it did byde them the Space of half an Houre and more, before they coulde get it broken and have Entreſſe. Who, having met with his Maieſtie, and (beyond their Expectation) his Maieſtie delivered from ſo imminent a Perill, and the ſaide late Earle, the principall Conſpirator, lying dead at his Maieſties Feete. Immediatlie therafter his Maieſtie kneeling downe, on his Knees, in the Midſt of his own Seruants, and they all kneeling round about him, his Maieſtie out of his own Mouth thanked God of that miraculous Deliuerance and Victory, aſſuring him ſelfe that God had preſerued him from ſo diſpaired a Perill for the perfiting of ſome greater Worke behinde to his Glorie, and for the procuring by him the Wel of his People, that God had committed to his Charge. After this the Tumult of the Toun hearing of the Slaughter of the ſaide Earle of *Gowrie*, their Prouoſt, and not knowing the Manner therof, nor beeing on the Counſell of his treaſonable Attempt, continued for the Space of two or thre Houres, therafter, vntill his Maieſtie by oft ſpeaking out to them at the Windoes, and beakening to them with his owne Hand, pacifying them, cauſing the Baylies and the reſt of the honeſt Men of the Toun to bee brought into the Chamber, to whom hauing declared the whole Forme of that ſtrange Accident, hee committed the Houſe and Bodies of the ſaid Traitors, Brethren, to their Keeping, vntill his Maieſties further Pleaſure were knowne. His Maieſtie, hauing before his Parting out of that Toun, cauſed to ſearche the ſaide Earle of *Gowries* Pockets, in Cace anie Letters that might further the Diſcouerie of that Conſpiracie, might bee found therein. But no Thing was found in them, but a little cloſe Parchment Bag, full of Magicall Characters, and Words of Inchantment, wherin, it ſeemed, that he had put his Confidence, thinking him ſelfe neuer ſafe without them, and therfore euer carried them about with him; beeing alſo obſerued, that, while they were vppon him, his Wound wherof he died, bled not, but, incontinent after the Taking of them away, the Blood guſhed out in great Aboundance, to the great Admiration of al the Beholders. An Infamy which hath followed and ſpotted the Race of this Houſe, for manie Diſcents, as is notoriouſlie knowne to the whole Countrie. Thus the Night was far ſpent, being neir eight Houres at Euening before his Maieſtie could, for the great Tumult that was in the Toun, departe out of the ſame. But before his Maieſtie had ridden four Myles out of the ſame towardes *Falkland*, although the Night was verie darke and rainie; the whole Way was cled with all Sorts of People, both on Horſe and Foote, meeting him with great Ioy and Acclamation. The Frequencie and Concourſe of Perſons of al Degrees to *Falkland*, the reſt of the Weeke, and to *Edinburgh* the next, from al the Quarters of the Countrie; the Teſtimonie of the Subiects heartie Affection and Ioy for his Maieſties Deliuerie, expreſſed euery wher by Ringing of Bels, Bonefires, Shutting of Gunnes of al Sorts both by Sea and Land, &c. with all other Things enſuing therupon, I haue of fet Purpoſe pretermitted, as well knowne to al Men, and impertinent to this Diſcourſe; contenting my ſelfe with this plaine and ſimple Narration; adding onlie, for Explanation and Confirma-

tion

tion therof, the Depoſitions of certaine Perſons who were either Actors, and Eie-witneſſes, or immediat Hearers of thoſe Things that they declair and teſtifie; whrein, if the Reader ſhall finde anie Thing differing from this Narration, either in Subſtance or Circumſtance, hee may vnderſtand the ſame to be vttered by the Deponer in his owne Behoof, for obtaining of his Maieſties Princelie Grace and Fauour.

Apud Falkland, 9 Auguſt, 1600.

*In Preſence of the Lord Chancellar, Lord Treaſurer, Lord Secretare, Lord Comptroller, Lord Aduocate, the Lord* Incheffray, *and Sir* George Home *of* Spot, *Knicht.*

*IAmes Weimis* of *Bogy*, of the Age of xxvi. Yeare, or therby, ſworne and examined vppon the Forme and Manner of Behauiour of late *Iohn*, Earle of *Gowrie*, the Tyme of his being with him at *Strabran*, or if he had heard the ſaide Earle make anie Motion of the Treaſon intended againſt his Maieſtie, depones that hee neither heard nor ſawe anie Appearance of anie ſuch Intention in the ſaid Earle.

Demanded, if hee was in anie Purpoſe with the ſaid Earle anent anie Matters of Curioſitie; depones, that at their being in *Strabran*, ſome of their Company found an Edder, which being killed, and Knowledge therof comming to the Earle, the Earle ſaide to this Deponer, 'Bogy, if the Edder had not 'beene ſlaine, yee ſhould haue ſeene a good 'Sport; for I ſhould haue cauſed her ſtand 'ſtill, and ſhe ſhould not haue preiſſed away, 'by pronouncing of an *Hebrew* Worde, which 'in *Scottiſh* is called, *Holineſſe*;' but the *Hebrew* Worde the Deponer remembers not of; and that the Earle ſaide hee had put the ſame in Practice oft before. And this Deponer enquyring at the Earle, Where hee did get the *Hebrew* Worde? The Earle anſwered, In a Cabbaliſt of the *Iewes*, and that it was by Tradition; and the Deponer enquyring, What a Cabbaliſt meaned? The Earle anſwered, It was ſome Wordes which the *Iewes* had by Tradition, which Wordes were ſpoken by God to *Adam* in *Paradice*, and therfore were of greater Efficacie and Force, nor anie Wordes which were excogitate ſince by Prophetes and Apoſtles. The Deponer enquyring, If there was no more requiſite but the Worde? The Earle anſwered, That a firm Faith in God was requiſite and neceſſarie, and that this was no Matter of Maruel amongſt Schollers, but that al theſe Things were naturall. And that the Earle ſhew to this Deponer, that hee had ſpoken with a Man in *Italie*, and firſt hearing by Report that hee was a Nigromancer, and therafter being informed, that hee was a verie learned Man and a deep Theologue, he entered in further Dealing with him anent the Curioſities of Nature.

Depones further, that the ſaid Earle reported to him, that, hee being at the Muſick, hee fell in Companie with another Man, who ſtairing in the Earles Face, ſpake to the reſt of the Companie Things of him, which he could neuer attain vnto, nor be worthie of; and therfore that the Earle reproached him, and deſired him to forbear theſe Speeches. And that he met again with the ſaide Man in a like Company, who did begin with the ſame Language which he had ſpoken before; and that the Earle ſaide to him, My Friend, in Cace yee wil not hold your Peace from ſpeaking Lies of mee, I wil make you hold your Peace by ſpeaking Sooth of you; and ſaide vnto him, Within ſuch a Space hee ſhould be hanged for ſuch a Crime; and ſo it came to paſſe. This Deponer enquyring of the Earle, Who told him that? He eanſwered merely, That hee ſpake it begueſſe, and it fell out ſo. And that the Earle ſaide further, That it was no Thing to make an Herb Fleſh, which would diſſolve in Flies; and that, likewiſe, it was poſſible that the Seed of Man and Woman might be brought to Perfection otherwiſe then by the *Matrix* of the Woman; and that this Deponer counſelled the Earle to bewar with whom he did communicate ſuch Speeches; who anſwered, that hee woulde ſpeake them to none but to great Schollers, and that hee woulde not haue ſpoken them to this Deponer, if he had not knowne him to bee a Fauourer of him, and a Friend of his Houſe, and woulde not reueale the ſame again, ſeeing he knew they woulde be euill interpreted amongſt the common Sorte.

*Sic ſubſcribitur,*

*I. Weimis* of *Bogye.*

*Apud*

Apud Falkland, 20 Auguſt, 1600.

*In Preſence of the Lords Chancellor, Treaſurer, Aduocate ;* *Sir* George Home *of* Spot, *Sir* Robert Melvill, *and Sir* Iames Melvill, *Knichts.*

MAiſter *William Rynd*, ſworne and examined, and demanded, where he firſt did ſee the Characters which were found vppon my Lord ; depones, that hee, hauing remained a Space in *Venice*, at his Returning to *Padua*, did finde in my Lords Pocket the Characters which were found vppon him at his Death ; and the Deponer enquyring of my Lord, Where he had gotten them ? My Lord anſwered, That by Chance he had copied them him ſelfe ; and that the Deponer knowes, that the Characters in *Latin* are my Lords owne Hand Write, but he knows not if the *Hebrew* Characters were written by my Lord. Depones further, that, when my Lord woulde change his Clothes, the Deponer woulde take the Characters out of my Lords Pocket, and woulde ſay to my Lord, Wherfore ſerues theſe ? And my Lord woulde anſwere, Can yee not let them bee, they do you no Euill ; and further the Deponer declares, that ſometimes my Lord would forget them vntill hee were out of his Chamber, and would turn back as he were in an Anger, vntill he had found them, and put them in his owne Pocket ; depones further, that he was ſundrie Times purpoſed to haue bunt the Characters, were not he feared my Lords Wraith and Anger, ſeeing, when the Deponer woulde purpoſelie leaue them ſometimes out of my Lords Pocket, my Lord would bee in ſuch an Anger with the Deponer, that for a certaine Space he woulde not ſpeak with him, nor coulde finde his good Countenance ; and that, to this Deponers Opinion, my Lord woulde neuer be content to want the Characters off him ſelfe, from the firſt Time that the Deponer did ſee them in *Padua*, to the Houre of my Lords Death.

Being demanded, For what Cauſe my Lord kept the Characters ſo well ? Depones, That to his Opinion it was for no Good, becauſe he heard that, in thoſe Parts where my Lord was, they would give ſundrie Folks Breeues.

Depones further, that M. *Patrik Galloway* did let this Deponer ſee the Characters, ſince hee came to this Toun of *Falkland*, and that hee knowes them to be the verie ſame Characters which my Lord had.

Depones alſo, that, vppon *Monday* the Fourth of *Auguſt*, the Maiſter, *Andrew Henderſoun*, and the Deponer remained in my Lords Chamber vntil about ten Houres at Euen, and, after a long Conference betwixt the Lord and the Maiſter, my Lord called for *Andrew Henderſoun*, and, after ſome Speeches with him, diſmiſſed them.

Denies that he knew of the Maiſters or *Andrew Henderſouns* Ryding to *Falkland*, and after *Andrews* Returne from *Falkland* vpon the Morrow, howbeit he did ſee him booted, yet he knew not that hee was come from *Falkland*.

Depones that, my Lord being at Dinner when the Maiſter come in, the Deponer heard my Lord ſay to the Maiſter, Is the King in the *Inſhe?* And with that he did riſe, and ſaid, Let vs goe. But the Deponer knowes not what the Maiſter ſaid to my Lord.

Being demanded if he did ſee anie Kinde of Armour or Weapons, except Swordes, in the Kings Companie, depones that he hid ſee none.

It being demanded, how the Deponer was ſatisfied with my Lords Anſwere made to him concerning the Kings Comming to *Sanct. Iohnſtoun*, ſaying, that hee knewe not how hee come ; declares, that hee thought that my Lord had diſſembled with him, and that hee behooued to haue knowne it, ſeeing his Brother was come with his Maieſtie before that hee demanded of him, and that hee had confered with my Lord priuilie.

Depones, that hee knew not that the Maiſter was ridden to *Falkland*, vntill after his Maieſties Comming to *Sanct. Iohnſtoun*, that *Andrew Ruthwen* told him, becauſe the Deponer enquyred at *Andrew Ruthwen*, wher the Maiſter and hee had bene, and that *Andrew* anſwered they had bene in *Falkland* ; and that, the Maiſter hauing ſpoken with the King, his Maieſtie come forward with them, and that this Conference betwixt the Deponer and *Andrew Ruthwen* was in the Yarde, when my Lord was there. And *Andrew Ruthwen* ſhew to the Deponer, that *Andrew Henderſoun* was directed by the Maiſter to ſhew my Lord that his Maieſtie was comming.

Depones

Depones alſo that, in his Opinion, the Maiſter could not haue drawne the King to my Lords Houſe, without my Lords Knowledge; and that, when hee heard the Tumult, he was reſolued in his Heart the Maiſter had done his Maieſtie Wrong, and that no trewe Chriſtian can think otherwiſe, but that it was an high Treaſon, attempted againſt his Highneſſe by the Maiſter and the Lord.

Depones alſo that, to his Opinion, the Kings whole Companie was within a dozen of Men.

*Sic ſubſcribitur,*

*M. W. Rynd.*

22 *Auguſt*, 1600.

Maiſter *William Rynd* ſworne and reexamined, if euer he heard the Earle of *Gowrie* vtter his Opinion anent the Dutie of an wiſe Man in the Execution of an high Enterpriſe? Declares that, being out of the Countrie, hee has diuerſe Times heard him reaſon in that Matter; and that hee was euer of that Opinion that hee was not an wiſe Man, that, hauing intended the Execution of an high and dangerous Purpoſe, communicate the ſame to any but to him ſelfe, becauſe, keeping it to him ſelfe, it it coulde not be diſcouered nor diſappointed; which the Deponer declared before vn-required to the Comptroller, and Maiſter *William Cowper*, Miniſter at *Perth*; and, hearing the Depoſitions of *Andrew Henderſoun* red, and being enquyred vpon his Conſcience what he thought of the Fact that was committed againſt his Maieſtie, declares that vppon his Saluation that he beleeues *Andrew Henderſoun* has declared the Circumſtances trulie.

*Sic ſubſcribitur,*

*M. W. Rynd.*

## Apud Falkland, 20 Auguſt, 1600.

### *In Preſence of the Lords Chancellar, Treaſurer, Aduocate, Comptrollar, and Sir* George Home *of* Spot, *Sir* Iames Melvill, *Knichts.*

*ANdrew Henderſoun*, ſworne and examined, and demanded what Purpoſe was betwixt him and the Earle of *Gowrie*, vppon *Monday* at Night the Fourth of this Inſtant in the ſaid Earles Chamber? Depones, that the Earle enquyred of him what he would be doing vppon the Morrow, and hee anſwering that hee was to ryde to *Ruthwen*; the Earle ſaid to him, You muſt ryde to *Falkland* with Maiſter *Alexander* my Brother, and, when hee directs you backe, ſee that ye returne with al Diligence, if he ſend a Letter or anie other Aduertiſement with you.

Depones, that the Maiſter directed him to ſend for *Andrew Ruthwen*, to be in Readineſſe to ryde with them the Morrow at four Houres in the Morning.

Declares, that, they comming to *Falkland*, about ſeuen Houres in the Morning, the Maiſter ſtayed in a Ludging beſide the Palice, and directed the Deponer to ſee what the King was doing; and, the Deponer finding his Maieſtie in the Cloſe comming forth, he paſt backe and told the Maiſter, who immediatlie addreſſed him ſelfe to his Highneſſe, and ſpake with his Maieſtie a good Space beneth the Equerie; and, after his Maieſtie was on Horſeback, the Maiſter commes to the Deponer, and commands him to fetche their Horſes, and bade him haſte him, as he loued my Lords Honour and his, and aduertiſe my Lord that his Maieſtie and hee would be there incontinent, and that his Maieſtie would be quiet; and, the Deponer enquyring at the Maiſter, if he ſhould go preſentlie, hee did bid him leap on and followe him, and not to go away vntill he ſpake with the King; and the Maiſter hauing ſpoken with the King, at a Breach of the Park Wal, he turned backe and bade the Deponer ride away; and the Deponer making his Return in al poſſible Haſte to *Sanct. Iohnſtoun*, he fand my Lord in his Chamber about ten Houres, who left the Companie hee was ſpeaking with, and come to the Deponer, and aſked, Hath my Brother ſent a Letter with you? The Deponer anſwered, No, but they will be al heere incontinent, and bade the Deponer deſire my Lord to cauſe prepare the Dinner. Immediatlie therafter, my Lord took the Deponer to the Cabinet, and aſked at him, How his Maieſtie took with the Maiſter his Brother? The Deponer anſwered, Very well, and that his Maieſtie laide his Hand ouer the Maiſters Shoulder. Therafter my Lord enquyred, if there was manie at the Hunting with the King? The Deponer anſwered, that he took no Heed, but they who were accuſtomed to ride with his Maieſtie, and ſome

*Engliſhmen*

*Engliſhmen* were there; and that my Lord enquyred what ſpecial Men were with his Maieſtie, and that the Deponer anſwered hee did ſee none but my Lord Duke. And within an Houre therafter, when the Deponent came in from his owne Houſe, the Earle bid him put on his Secreit and Plait-ſleeues, for he had an *Heylandman* to take, which the Deponer did incontinent; and about twelve Houres, when the Deponer was going out to his owne Houſe to his Dinner, the Steward came to him and ſhewe him that *George Craigingelt* was not well, and was lyne down, deſired him to tary and take vp my Lords Dinner; and about half an Houer after Twelue my Lord commanded him to take vp the firſt Seruice; and, when the Deponer was commanded to take up the ſecond Seruice, the Maiſter and *William Blair* came into the Hal to my Lord.

The Deponer remembreth him ſelfe, that *Andrew Ruthwen* came before the Maiſter a certaine Space, and ſpake with my Lord quyetlie at the Table, but heard not the particular Purpoſe that was amongſt them. And ſo ſoone as the Maiſter came to the Hal, my Lord and the whole Company raiſe from the Table; and the Deponer, hearing the Noyes of their Foorth-going, ſupponed they were going to Makebreakes for Makilduy; and the Deponer ſent his Boy for his Gantlet and ſteil Bonnet; and ſeeing my Lord paſſe to the *Inſhe*, and not the *Shoe-gate*, the Deponer did caſt the Gantlet in the Pantrie, and cauſed his Boy take his ſteil Bonnet to his owne Houſe; and he followed my Lord to the *Inſhe*, and returning backe with his Maieſtie to the Lodging, beeing directed to get Drinke. And the Maiſter came to the Deponer, and did bid him cauſe Maiſter *William Rynd* ſend him vp the Key of the Gallerie Chamber, who paſt vp and deliuered the Key to the Maiſter; and immediatlie my Lord followed vp, and did ſpeak with the Maiſter, and came downe againe, and directed Maiſter *Thomas Cranſtoun* to the Deponer to come to his Lordſhip in his Majeſties Chamber. And that my Lord directed him to go vp to the Gallerie to his Brother; and immediatlie my Lord followed vp, and commanded the Deponer to byde there with his Brother, and to doe anie Thing that hee bade him. The Deponer enquyred at the Maiſter, What haue yee to do, Sir? The Maiſter anſwered, Yee muſt goe in heere, and tarry vntill I come backe, for I will take the Key with mee. So he lokked the Deponer in the Rounde within the Chamber, and took the Key with him. Shortly therafter, the Maiſter returned, and the Kings Maieſtie with him, to the ſaide Cabinet in the Rounde; and the Maiſter, opening the Dore, entered with the King into the ſaid Rounde; and at his verie Entrie, couering his Head, pulled out the Deponers Dagger, and held the ſame to his Maieſties Breaſt, ſaying, Remember you of my Fathers Murther? Yee ſhall now die for it; and minting to his Hienes Heart with the Dagger, the Deponer threw the ſame out of the Maiſters Hand, and ſwore, that, as God ſhall iudge his Soule, if the Maiſter had retained the Dagger in his Hand the Space that a Man may go ſix Steppes, he would haue ſtriken the King to the Hilts with it: But wanting the Dagger, and the Kings Maieſtie giuing him a gentle Anſwere, hee ſaide to the Kings Maieſtie with abhominable Oathes, That, if hee would keep Silence, no Thing ſhould aile him, if hee woulde make ſuch Promiſe to his Brother as they would craue of him; and the Kings Maieſtie enquyring what Promiſe they would craue? He anſwered, that he would bring his Brother. So he goes forth, and lokkes the Dore of the Rounde vppon his Maieſtie and the Deponer, hauing firſt taken the King ſworne that hee ſhould not cry, nor open the Windoe.

And his Maieſtie enquyring at the Deponer what he was? He anſwered, A Seruant of my Lords. And his Maieſtie aſking at the Deponer, If my Lord woulde doe anie Euill to him? The Deponer anſwered, As God ſhall iudge my Soule, I ſhall die firſt. And, the Deponer preiſing to haue opened the Windoe, the Maiſter entered, and ſaid, Sir, there is no Remedie, by God, you muſt die; and, hauing a looſe Garter in his Hand, preiſſed to haue bound his Maieſties Hands, and the Deponer pulled the Garter out of Maiſter *Alexanders* Hand. And then the Maiſter did put one of his Hands in his Maieſties Mouth, to haue ſtaied him to ſpeak, and held his other Arme about his Hienes Neck: And that this Deponer pulled the Maiſters Hand from his Hieneſſe Mouth, and opened the Windoe: And then his Maieſtie cried out therat, wherupon his Hienes Seruant came in at the Gate, and this Deponer did ru[illegible] and open the Dore of the Turn-pyke Heade, whereat *John Ramſay* entered; and the D[illegible]oner ſtoode in the Chamber

Chamber vntil he did ſee *Iohn Ramſay* giue the Maiſter ane Stroke, and thereafter priuilie conuoyed him ſelfe downe the Turnpyke to his owne Houſe; and the Deponers Wife enquyring of him what the Fraie meaned? The Deponer anſwered, that the Kings Maieſtie would haue been twiſe ſtikked, were not he releeued him.

*Sic ſubſcribitur*,
*Andrew Henderſoun, with my Hand.*

Further, the ſaide *Andrew Henderſoun* depones, That, after his Returning from *Falkland* upon the Fifth of this Inſtant, Maiſter *Iohn Montcrief* enquyring of him where he had beene? He anſwered, That he had bene beyond the Bridge of *Erne*; and ſayes, that he gaue that Anſwere to Maiſter *Iohn*, becauſe my Lord commanded him to let no Man knowe that he was to ride to *Falkland*; and that my Lords Direction to him was to come backe with his Brother Maiſter *Alexanders* Anſwere, and to leave *Andrew Ruthwen* to await upon the Maiſter.

*Sic ſubſcribitur*,
*Andrew Henderſoun, with my Hand.*

Further, the ſaide *Andrew Henderſoun* depones, that, when hee had taken the Maiſters Hand out of the Kings Maieſties Mouth, and was opening the Windoe, Maiſter *Alexander* ſaid to him, Will thou not helpe? Wo betyde thee, thow will make vs all die.

*Sic ſubſcribitur*,
*Andrew Henderſoun, with my Hand.*

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A Letter to a Member of Parliament; with two Diſcourſes incloſed in it: 1. The One ſhewing the Reaſon why a Law ſhould paſs to puniſh Adultery with Death. 2. The Other ſhewing the Reaſons why the Writ, *de Hæretico comburendo*, ſhould be aboliſhed.

*Non partis ſtudiis agimur, ſed ſumſimus arma*
*Conſiliis inimica tuis, ignavia fallax.*

Printed *Anno* 1675. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

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## *The* PUBLISHER'S ADVERTISEMENT.

THeſe Papers are made publick, not in Preſumption to inform the Parliament, but only to give them an Occaſion to think of the Subjects they treat of, it being wholly unimaginable but that the united Wiſdom of the Nation will find out better and other Reaſons for the Eſtabliſhment of the Things they propoſe.

*The following ſhort Letter contains two Propoſals for the Improvement of our Laws, of which, that, for the Aboliſhing the Writ* de Hæretico comburendo, *was ſoon after complied with.*

*Among the Arguments for puniſhing Adultery with Death, he omits the Authority of* Cromwell, *and his Parliament, who paſſed the ſame Law, which he ſo warmly recommends. As this Writer, whoever he was, could not be probably much a Favourer of the Court-Principles of that Time, it is probable that he forgot this Precedent rather than contemned it, or perhaps he might think, that the Introduction of a Name, ſo odious as that of* Cromwell, *would make his Arguments leſs regarded.* J—— *.

*My dear Friend,*

WHen I review alone the grand Entertainments of Learning, I uſed to meet with in your Converſation, the Wit of the Poets, the Reaſon of the Philoſophers, your excellent Obſervations upon the Actions of Perſons illuſtrious in Arms, who have lived in the ſeveral Ages of the World, my Affliction is almoſt unimaginable to be ſeparated from you: When you went up to the Parliament, there was nothing could have ſtaid me (who can ſcarce be happy a Moment of my Life without you) behind you in the Country, but my Infirmity of Health, and a certain Deſire of enjoying the Comfort and Pleaſures of the *Spring*. You know, when we parted, how I conjured you always to bear in Mind that grand Rule, *Inter pericula libertatis, aut veritatis, ſilent amicitiæ et inimicitiæ*, and then the Light of your own Mind will diſpel and overcome the Darkneſs of others without Noiſe or Tumult: This World is governed by particular Hatreds and Friendſhips, not by the Reaſons of Things; and there is nothing can keep you conſtant in your Integrity, but the having a perpetual Eye to that Rule. I alſo then told you, you ſhould look Abroad as well as at Home, keeping your Eye on foreign Affairs; for, although *Hannibal* be not yet *ad portas*, *Philip* is at *Olynthus*. I have herein incloſed the Papers I promiſed you, in which I claim no Property againſt your abſolute Power over them, do what you will with them: You know, the one contains a Diſcourſe ſhewing the Reaſons why Adultery ſhould be puniſhed with Death; the other, why the Writ, *de Hæretico comburendo*, ſhould be aboliſhed. Adultery is the greateſt of all Thefts, a Theft of which no Reſtitution can be made:

——— *Nulla reparabilis arte,*
*Læſa pudicitia eſt, deperit illa ſemel.*

Marriage of late hath been looked upon as an Engine, a Toil to catch Mankind in; the Magiſtrate had Need to encourage it, to prevent Depopulations; and to be always ſecure and certain of our Wives, is, in my Judgment, the beſt of Encouragements. As to the Aboliſhing the Writ *de Hæretico comburendo*, you know, I ever have had a Pity and Charity for Mankind, acknowledging in all a Communion of Minds and Morality, and particularly for thoſe that diſſent from me in Religion, *Omnis animus veritate invitus privatur:* No Beauty is ſo pleaſant, ſo agreeable to the Eye, as Truth is to the Soul; and all would love it, if they could diſcover it: As there is but one certain Exiſtence of Things, ſo there is but one determinate Truth of them, the ſame to all Underſtandings, God's and Man's both. If, after all my Search and Labour in Knowledge, I cannot diſcover a Beam of Truth to guide and lead me into an Unity of Mind with God, am I to be made a Criminal, and dealt with as a Malefactor? He is infinite, and knows all Things; but my poor Underſtanding knows one Thing, and doubts of a Thouſand: We are here in the Body, *triſti et obſcuro domicilio*; and the inſpired Apoſtle himſelf ſaith, *We ſee darkly, and but through a Glaſs*. God hath unfolded himſelf in as great Variety in the Minds of Men, as he hath done in the material World: The Seed of Religion ſprings up variouſly in human Souls, as we ſee the ſeminal Forms do out of the Earth; and would it not be Madneſs or Folly to deſtroy and cut up all Trees and Plants but the Oak? I am not without all Jealouſy, that it is poſſible, we in *England* may return back to the Church of *Rome*, not only becauſe I ſee in Hiſtory Monarchies more ſubject to Changes than Common-wealths in Matters of Religion, and obſerve how indefatigable that infallible Church (in its own Judgment) is to revenge our Schiſm from it upon us, and ſo may weary us out at laſt, and how unſafe they apprehend themſelves at *Rome*, while the Power of the Sea is in the Hands of the Hæreticks; but chiefly from

from the wild Philoſophy and Atheiſm of the preſent Age, Atheiſm being a Preparation to receive any Colour or Tincture in Religion. I would have the Law of burning of Hereticks repealed, leſt we ſhould ſee that Day. It is a Law ſanguinary with a Witneſs, written like *Draco*'s in Characters of Blood, as barbarous as that of *Ordeal*, or *Tryal by Battail*, built upon no Reaſon, but upon a Self-opinion every Sect hath, that it hath a Monopoly of God to itſelf, and upon no Scripture I know of, but the Monkiſh Gloſs, *Hæreticos de vita.*

My dear Friend, although Gentlemen of fine Parts are ſooner debauched in popular Aſſemblies under a Monarchy, than Men of plainer Wiſdom; as native Beauty is leſs ſubject to be tempted by others, than Beauty accompanied with the Ornaments of Art: I doubt not at all your Integrity in this Parliament, you are not a Man of fluttering Principles betwixt Knavery and Honeſty, you will herd in your Vote with no Cabal, but go with the Squadron *volante*, as Reaſon upon every Debate appears to you; I know you account a Liberty of Judgment in an unintereſted Indifference of Mind, without Fears or Hopes, a Grandeur and Excellence above the Rewards of Wealth from the Court, or of Fame from the People; nor am I afraid that, amidſt the Pleaſure or Buſineſs of the City, you will depart from the Contemplative Life, but be alone with your own Mind, and drink of the Spring of Truth there, which overflowed ſo conſtantly your Converſations with me in the Country:

*Non Venus, aut vinum ſublimia pectora fregit,*
*Officiumve fori* ——

And as for our Friendſhip, which has been a Communion of Minds and Fortunes for ſeveral Years, I have no Cloud, no Umbrage of Jealouſy towards you. Friends in this World are not like Satyrs or Centaurs, without real Exiſtence, as *Cardan* under a Melancholy complains they are; I am ſure I have found one, which, as he ſays, he never was ſo happy in his Life to do. I will detain you no longer from the Care of the publick Affairs. I am,

*Deareſt Sir,*

*April* 17, 1675. *Your moſt ſincerely affectionate Friend.*

## A ſhort Diſcourſe why a Law ſhould paſs in *England*, to puniſh Adultery with Death.

*Publicus aſſertor, vitiis ſuppreſſa levabo*
*Pectora, vindictæ quiſq; favete ſuæ.* Ovid.

IT will be neceſſary, before I give my Reaſons why ſuch a Law ſhould paſs, that I do explain what Adultery is, the Notion of it being ordinarily miſtaken.

Adultery is the Lying of a ſingle or married Man with another Man's Wife, and not the Lying of a married Man with a ſingle Woman. Thus it was conſtantly apprehended among the *Jews*, to whom God gave the Law, *Thou ſhalt not commit Adultery*. And *David*'s Sin was the Taking the poor Man's Ewe-lamb from him, which lay in his Boſom, when he had Flocks enough of his own. I preſume, there is none doubts the *Chriſtian* Magiſtrate's Power to make ſuch a Law; Death is already amongſt us the Penalty for leſs Crimes: We puniſh boldly with Death a Horſe-ſtealer, or a Cut-purſe, without any Scruple at all; and is not my Property in my Wife of dearer and nearer Concern to me, than my Horſe, or a little Pocket-money?

The primary Law of Nature is the Obſervance of our Contracts; for indeed, without this, there could be no Government; the State of Nature would ſtill have continued; this Crime intrenches highly on this Law, diſſolving the Family-Government; it is a Breach of the ſolemneſt Contract (entered into *pro bono publico*, Marriage being *Seminarium Reipublicæ*) imaginable: That is the Nature of the Crime, but the Magiſtrate is chiefly to concern himſelf in the Conſequences of it; and they are more miſchievous where the Woman breaks the Contract on her Part; for thereby a ſpurious Iſſue, that robs the Huſband by Wholeſale of his Eſtate, of all his own and his

Anceſtors Acquiſitions, is brought into his Family. The Crime is then a Complication of all the Wickedneſs in Luſt, Breach of Faith, and Robbery; and therefore I may juſtly infer, that, ſeeing Men equally concur with Women to tranſact it, they are juſtly equally puniſhable.

If a Man ſhall violate the Companion of the King, or the Companion of the eldeſt Son and Heir of the King, it is *High-Treaſon*: By this we ſee the Care of the Law, no ſpurious Iſſue ſhould inherit the Crown; Should we not take ſome proportionable Care of our own Eſtates?

We may do well to reflect upon the Example of other Nations, as of the *Jews* (for many Ages the only known People of God) amongſt whom Adultery was puniſhed with Death; upon the Example of the *Gentes moratiores* among the *Heathens*; of the *Athenians*, who upon *Solon*'s Law puniſhed this Crime capitally; of the *Romans*, who, in Imitation of *Solon*'s Law, ſet down for their Law in the Twelve Tables, *Mœchum in adulterio deprehenſum necato*. Afterwards in the *Roman* State it was lawful for the Huſband, until the *Lex Julia* in his *Auguſtus*'s Time, *Uxores in adulterio deprehenſas ſine judicio impune necare*.

We may alſo conſider what the *Chriſtian* Church has done for the Suppreſſion of this Sin: In the firſt and beſt Times of *Chriſtianity* they did all they could, having not *jus vitæ & necis* againſt it. The Penance then for it was perpetual to the Hour of Death. *Zepherinus*, Biſhop of *Rome*, *Anno* 216, moderated the Penance, but the *African* Churches, and particularly the grand *Tertullian*, oppoſed it as an Innovation.

The *Ancyran* Council, *Anno* 315, ordains ſeven Years Penance for it. And the Council of *Eliberis* ordains, that he, that commits Adultery again after Penance for the firſt Fault, ſhould not be taken into Communion at the Hour of Death.

In after Ages, when the *Roman Church* was reſolved upon a Celibacy in her Clergy, it was neceſſary the Sin ſhould be looked on with a gentle Eye, and now it is dwindled down into a *Peccadillo*, but is, in Truth, like the *Peccadillo* of not believing in God at all; for, if ever he gave a Law to Man, it is one to prohibit Adultery. Several of the Reformed Countries, who have recovered themſelves from under the Empire of Wit and Fraud over their Conſciences by that Church, puniſh the Crime at this Day with Death.

As for us in *England*, our preſent Law is not without the Infuſions of the *Roman* Church upon it in this Caſe; all the Remedy, the injured Huſband hath by our Law, is to ſue a Divorce in the Spiritual Court, and to be couſened with a Sentence of Separation *a menſa & thoro*, a crafty Invention againſt the plain Goſpel.

If the Huſband kill the Adulterer, or his Wife, found by him *in ipſo actu*, the Law excuſeth him in this Caſe from Murder, but condemns him of Man-ſlaughter, and hangs him, if he cannot read; What a poor Remedy hath the injured Man? If he kill the Adulterer deliberately, not provoked by ocular Demonſtration, it is Murder. Beſides all this, the preſent Law being ſo defective, the Crime grows upon it; it is common, and this Age gives it the ſoft and gentle *French* Names of *Gallantry* and *Diverti ſement*, in Apology for it: What ought the Magiſtrate to do in this Caſe, but to purſue this Crime as far as his Hand can reach, to the Grave itſelf, and then *expectet Deum ultorem?*

## A ſhort Diſcourſe, ſhewing why the Writ, *de Hæretico comburendo*, ſhould be aboliſhed.

*Chryſippus non dicit idem, nec mite Thaletis*
*Ingenium, dulciq; ſenex vicinus Hymetto.* Juvenal.

*Pœna errantis eſt doceri.* Plato, *cited by* Grotius.

BEfore I give my Reaſons, it will be neceſſary to ſhew the State of the Law at preſent upon this Writ: Before the Statute, 2 *Henry the Fourth*, *cap.* 15, 'No Perſon could be convicted of Hereſy, but by 'the Archbiſhop, and all the Clergy of the 'Province; but, by that Statute, any parti-'cular Biſhop might in his Dioceſe convict of 'Hereſy,

'Hereſy, and iſſue forth his Precept to the 'Sheriff, to burn the Perſon he had convict-'ed:' A Law whereby the Clergy had gained a Dominion over the Lives of the Subjects independent upon the Crown. It was repealed by the Statute, 25 *Henry the Eighth*, *cap.* 14. 'But ſo as particular Biſhops may ſtill convict; 'but without the King's Writ, *de Hæretico* '*comburendo*, firſt obtained, no Perſon con-'vict can be put to Death;' and ſo the Law ſtands at this Day.

My REASONS are theſe:

I. The Continuance of this Writ in Force amongſt us, is a ſtanding Reproach to the *Chriſtian* Religion we profeſs (a Religion of Love and Peace.) If it be not to be propagated in the Whole by Force and Blood-ſhed, certainly a Part of it, as a particular Point of Faith in it, is not. In the Goſpel of Chriſt all the Puniſhment of Hereſy, and of Infidelity itſelf, are adjourned over, and left to the other World.

II. If an Act paſs to aboliſh this Writ, it will be an Act of Indulgence in Part, and give an Aſſurance to all Perſons of a different Judgment from the preſent eſtabliſhed Church, that they are ſecure as to their Lives under the Government.

III. If *Popery* ſhould ever return back into *England*, there muſt a Parliament ſit to repeal ſuch an Act, before any *Proteſtant* for his Opinion could be put to Death.

IV. Such an Act would leave the Power of the preſent Church to convict, excommunicate, and impriſon untouched, only would take away their barbarous Execution of her Sentence.

If it be objected, 'The Writ is grown ob-'ſolete and diſuſed, and ſo need not be taken 'away.' The Anſwer is obvious; Not ſo obſolete neither: It was uſed in King *James*'s Time; however, it is fit it ſhould not remain as a Snare among our Law, for the Caſe concerns Life or Death; and the *Papiſts* uſe the Writ conſtantly againſt the *Proteſtants*, but they never againſt them.

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Declaration of great Troubles pretended againſt the Realme, by a Number of *Seminarie* Prieſts and Ieſuits, ſent, and very ſecretly diſperſed in the ſame, to worke great Treaſons vnder a falſe Pretence of Religion. With a Prouiſion very neceſſarie for Remedie thereof. Publiſhed by this her Maieſties Proclamation. Imprinted at *London*, by the Deputies of *Chriſtopher Barker*, Printer to the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie, MDXCI. *Quarto*, containing fourteen Pages.

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*The following Proclamation, which I do not remember in any Hiſtory, exhibits a juſt Repreſentation of the inceſſant Malice of the* Papiſts, *againſt Queen* Eliſabeth, *and of the Vigilance which was neceſſary to ſecure her from their Attempts, and therefore contributes to illuſtrate other Accounts, which this Collection will afford.*

*It is likewiſe valuable, if we regard the Study of Policy, as well as Hiſtory, ſince perhaps there cannot be any Method of ſecuring Peace more efficacious, than that of obliging*

*thoſe*

*thoſe, who are innocent, to be likewiſe vigilant, by condemning them, to anſwer in ſome Degree for the Faults of thoſe, whom they might have detected or reſtrained.* J——*.

ALTHOUGH we haue had probable Cauſe to haue thought, that now towards the End of thirty-three Yeeres, being the Time wherein Almighty God hath continually preſerved vs in a peaceable Poſſeſſion of our Kingdomes, the former Violence and Rigour of the Malice of our Enemies (ſpecially of the King of *Spaine*) woulde, after his Continuance in ſeeking to trouble our Eſtate, without any iuſt Cauſe ſo many Yeeres, haue waxed faint and decayed in him, and all others depending on him, and bene altered into ſome peaceable Humor, meete to haue diſpoſed him to liue in Concord with vs, and other Chriſtian Princes his Neighbors, and by ſuch good Meanes to eſtabliſh an vniverſal Peace in Chriſtendome, nowe by his Warres onely, and no otherwiſe diſturbed: Yet to the Contrary wee finde it, by his preſent mightie Actions, ſo great as hee neuer before this Time attempted the like. Whereby it ſo pleaſeth the Almightie God of Hoſtes (as wee are perſwaded) to ſuffer the Ruine or Correction of ſuch as will not be content to liue in Peace with their owne: And to that Ende, to permit the ſaide King, now in this his declined Yeeres meeteſt for Peace, and when he ought to be ſatisfied, without ſeeking of more Kingdomes, by Violence and Armes (ſeeing hee poſſeſſeth, at this Day, more Crownes, Kingdomes, and Countries, and more earthly Wealth then any of his Progenitours, or any other Prince Chriſtian euer had) nowe to beginne a moſt vniuſt and a daungerous Warre for al Chriſtendome againſt the preſent *French* King. As in like Manner appeared hee meant, two Yeeres paſt, to haue doone the like againſt vs, by inuading of our Kingdomes, in the very Time of a Treatie of Peace with vs. Whereof God gaue him, and his whole Army, a iuſt Cauſe of Repentance.

2. And therefore ſeeing wee doe now manifeſtly vnderſtand, that hee hath of late (to fortifie theſe his ſtrange violent Attempts with ſome newe Coulour) procured a *Milanois* a Vaſſaile of his owne, to bee exalted into the *Papacie* of *Rome*, and hath ſeduced him, without Conſent of the College of Cardinals to exhauſt the Treaſures of the Church, and therewith to leuie Forces in *Italie* (which had no Sounde of Warre in it theſe many Yeeres) and in many other Places, to be guyded by his Nephewe, and ſent to inuade *France*, a Kingdome that hath bene alwayes a Maintainer of that Church in al their Oppreſſions. And for that this Warre, ſo generally, and mightily againſt *France*, concerneth our Eſtate very greatly, and cannot but be directly very daungerous to our Dominions: And that it is alſo knowen to vs, that by ſundry Meanes, beſides the Preparation of other great Forces for the Seas, againſt our Crowne and Dominions, the ſame bee greater for this Yeere to come, than euer hee had before. And, for Furtherance thereof, hath alſo lately by Coulour of this his peculiar *Popes* Authoritie, which hee hath now hanging at his Girdle, practiſed with certaine principall ſeditious Heades, being vnnaturall Subiects of our Kingdome (but yet very baſe of Birth) to gather together, with great Labours vpon his Charges, a Multitude of diſſolute yong Men, who haue partly for Lacke of liuing, partly for Crimes committed, become Fugitiues, Rebelles, and Traitours, and for whome there are in *Rome*, and *Spaine*, and other Places certaine Receptacles made to liue in, and there to bee inſtructed in Schoole Pointes of Sedition, and from thence to bee ſecretly and by Stealth conueyed into our Dominions, with ample Authoritie from *Rome*, to mooue, ſtirre vp, and perſwade as many of our Subiectes, as they dare deal withall, to renounce their naturall Allegeance due to vs and our Crowne, and vpon Hope by a *Spaniſh* Inuaſion to bee enriched and endowed with the Poſſeſſions and Dignities of our other good Subiectes: For which Purpoſe, they do binde our Subiects (with whome they practiſe) by Othes, yea by Sacramentes to forſweare their naturall Alleageance to vs, and yeelde their Obedience wyth all their Powers to this King of *Spaine*, and to aſſiſte his Forces. And, for the more forcible Attraction of theſe vnnaturall People (being weake of Vnderſtanding) to this their Bend, theſe Seedemen of Treaſon bring certaine Bulles from the *Pope*, ſome of Indulgences pretending to promiſe Heauen to ſuch as will yeelde, and ſome of

Curſinges,

Curſinges, threatning Damnation and Hell, to ſuch as ſhall not yeelde to their Perſwaſions. And, though theſe Manner of *Popiſh* Attempts haue bene of long Time vſed, yet in ſome Sort alſo they haue bene impeached, by direct Execution of Lawes againſt ſuch Traitours for meere Treaſons, and not for any Pointes of Religion, as their Fautours woulde coulour falſely their Actions; which are moſt manifeſtly ſeene and heard at their Atraignements, howe they are neither executed, condemned, nor endited, but for High Treaſons, affirming, that, amongeſt other Things, they will take Parte wyth anie Armie ſent by the *Pope* againſt vs and our Realme. And of this, that none doe ſuffer Death for Matter of Religion, there is manifeſt Proofe, in that a Number of Men of Wealth in our Realme, profeſſing contrary Religion, are knowen not to bee impeached for the ſame, eyther in their Liues, Landes, or Goods, or in their Liberties, but onely by Payment of a peculiar Summe, as a Penaltie for the Time that they doe refuſe to come to Church, which is a moſt manifeſt Courſe to falſifie the ſlaunderous Speeches and Libelles of the Fugitiues abroade. Yet now it is certainly vnderſtoode, that theſe Heades of theſe Dennes and Receptacles, which are by the Traitours called Seminaries, and Colleges of Ieſuits, haue very lately aſſured the King of *Spaine*, that, though heretofore hee had no good Succeſſe with his great Forces, againſt our Realme, yet, if now hee will once againe renewe his Warre this next Yeere, there ſhall bee found ready ſecretly, within our Dominions, many Thouſands (as they make their Accompt for their Purpoſe) of able People that will bee ready to aſſiſt ſuch Power as hee ſhall ſet on Land, and, by their Vaunting, they doe tempt the King hereto, who otherwiſe ought in Wiſedome, and by his late Experience, conceiue no Hope of any ſafe Landing here: Shewing to him in *Spaine*, by the ſpeciall Information of a Schooleman, named *Parſons*, arrogating to himſelfe the Name of the King Catholikes Confeſſour, and to the *Pope* at *Rome*, by another Scholler called *Allen*, now for his Treaſons honoured with a Cardinalles Hatte, certayne Skroles or Beadrolles of Names, of Men dwelling in ſundry Partes of our Countries, as they haue imagined them, but ſpecially in the Maritimes, with Aſſurance, that theſe their Seedmen, named Seminaries, Prieſtes, and Ieſuites, are, in the ſundry Partes of the Realme, ſecretly harboured, hauing a great Part of them beene ſent within theſe x or xii Moneths, and ſhall bee ready to continue their reconciled People in their lewde Conſtancie to ſerue their Purpoſe both with their Forces, and with their trayterous Enterpriſes, when the *Spaniſh* Power ſhall be ready to land, vpon which their impudent Aſſertions to the *Pope*, and to the King of *Spaine* (though they knowe a great Part thereof to bee falſe) they haue nowe very lately aduertiſed into diuers Partes by their ſecret Meſſengers, whereof ſome are alſo very lately taken, and haue confeſſed the ſame, that the King vpon their Informations and Requeſtes hath promiſed to imploy all his Forces that he can, by Sea this next Yeere, to attempt once againe the Inuaſion of this Realme: Wherewith becauſe ſome of his wiſeſt Counſellers doubt that hee ſhall not preuaile, therefore hee is otherwiſe perſwaded, that, if that his Purpoſe ſhall not take Place here, yet the ſame may bee well employed againſt *France*, or the *Lowe Countries*, or againſt ſome Parte of *Scotland*, into which Realme there hath alſo ſome Number of the like Broode beene lately ſent.

3. Wherefore conſidering that theſe the Intentions of the King of *Spaine* are to vs in this Sort made very manifeſt; and although we doubt not, but Almightie God, the Defender of all iuſt Cauſes, will (as alwaye hitherto hee hath) make the ſame voyde: Yet it is our Duetie, as being the ſupreme Gouernor vnder his Almightie Hand, to vſe all ſuch iuſt and reaſonable Meanes as are giuen to vs, and therewith to concurre or rather attend vpon his moſt gracious Fauour, by the Helpe of our faythfull Subiectes, both to increaſe our Forces to the vttermoſt of their Powers, and by Execution of Lawes, and by all other politike Ordinaunces to impeach the foreſayde Practiſes of theſe Seditions and Treaſons.

4. And, before all other Things, wee doe *firſt* require of the Eccleſiaſticall State, that the like Diligence bee vſed by the godly Miniſters of the Church, by their diligent Teaching and Example of Life, to retaine our People ſtedfaſtly in the Profeſſion of the Goſpell, and in their Dueties to Almightie God and vs, as it is ſeene a fewe Capitall Heades of Treaſons are continually occupyed with their Seminaries, in withdrawing of a Multitude of Ignorants to their Enchantments.

5. And *ſecondly*, for hauing of ſufficient Forces in Readineſſe by Sea, we hope by Gods Good-

Goodneſſe, and with the Helpe of our good Subiects, to haue as great, or greater Strength on the Seas, then at any Time wee haue had, to withſtand theſe puffed Vaunts from *Spaine:* And, for our Forces by Land, our Truſt is, that ſeeing we haue diſtributed our whole Realme into ſeuerall Charges of Lieutenancies, that they, by themſelues where they may bee perſonally preſent, and otherwiſe by their Deputies and Aſſiſtants of other our Miniſters, will now, after the generall Muſters which haue bene by our ſpeciall Order lately taken, conſider of all Things requiſite to performe, and make perfect al Defects that ſhall appeare neceſſarie, to make all the Bandes both of Horſemen and Footemen fully furniſhed with Armour, Weapons, and Munition, and with all other Things requiſite for their Conduction to the Places of Seruice, and there alſo to continue as Time ſhall require to defend their Countrey. And ſo we doe moſt earneſtly require and charge all Manner of our Subiectes, with their Hands, Purſes, and Aduiſes, yea all and euery Perſon of euery Eſtate, with their Prayers to God, to moue him to aſſiſt this ſo naturall, honourable, and profitable a Seruice, being onely for Defence of their naturall Countrey, their Wiues, Families, Children, Lands, Goods, Liberties, and their Poſterities againſt rauening Strangers, wilfull Deſtroyers of their Natiue Countrey, and monſtrous Traytours.

6. And *laſtly*, to withſtand and prouide ſpeedy Remedy againſt other fraudulent Attempts of the Seminaries, Ieſuits, and Traitors, without the which (as it appeareth) the Forces ſhould not be now vſed, the ſame being wrought onely by Falſehoode, by Hypocriſie, and by Vnderminings of our good Subiectes vnder a falſe Colour and Face of Holineſſe, to make Breaches in Mens and Womens Conſciences, and ſo traine them to their Treaſons, and that with ſuch a Secrecie by the harboring of the ſaide traiterous Meſſengers in obſcure Places, as without very diligent and continuall Search to be made, and ſeuere Orders executed, the ſame will remaine and ſpred it ſelfe as a ſecret Infection of Treaſons in the Bowels of our Realme, moſt daungerous, yea, moſt reprochfull to be ſuffered in any well ordered Common Weale: Therefore wee haue determined, by Aduiſe of our Counſel, to haue ſpeedily certaine Commiſſioners, Men of Honeſty, Fidelitie, and good Reputation, to be appointed in euery Shire, Citie, and Port Townes within our Realme, to inquire by al good Meanes, what Perſons are by their Behauiours or otherwiſe worthy to be ſuſpected to be any ſuch Perſons, as haue bene ſent, or that are imployed in any ſuch Perſwading of our People, or of any reſiding within our Realme, to Treaſon, or to moue any to relinquiſh their Allegeance to vs, or to acknowledge any Kind of Obedience to the *Pope*, or to the King of *Spaine*, and alſo of other Perſons that haue bene thereto induced, and that haue thereto yeelded. And further to proceede in the Execution of ſuch their Commiſſion, as they ſhall bee more particularlie directed by Inſtructions annexed to their ſaide Commiſſion.

7. And furthermore, becauſe it is certainelie knowen and prooued by common Experience, vpon the Apprehenſion of ſundry of the ſayde traiterous Perſons ſent into the Realme, that they doe come into the ſame by ſecret Creekes, and Landing Places, diſguiſed, both in their Names and Perſons: Some in Apparell, as Souldiers, Mariners, or Merchants, pretending that they haue bene heretofore taken Priſoners, and put into Gallies, and deliuered: Some come in as Gentlemen with contrary Names, in comely Apparell, as though they had trauelled into forreine Countries for Knowledge: And generally al, or the moſt Part, as ſoone as they are crept in, are cloathed like Gentlemen in Apparell, and many as Gallants, yea in all Colours, and wyth Feathers, and ſuch like Diſguiſing themſelues, and many of them in their Behauiour as Ruffians, farre off to be thought, or ſuſpected to be Friars, Prieſtes, Ieſuits, or *Popiſh* Schollers. And of theſe many do attempt to reſorte into the Vniuerſities and Houſes of Lawe from whence in former Times they departed; many into Seruices of Noblemen, Ladies, and Gentlemen, with ſuch like fraudulent Deuiſes to cover themſelues from all Apprehenſion, or Suſpicion; and yet, in Proceſſe of Time, they doe at length ſo inſinuate themſelues to get themſelues Credite wyth Hypocriſies, as they infect both the Maſters and Families, and conſequentlie aduenture alſo, yea ſecretly to vſe their Offices of Prieſthoode and Reconcilements; whereby all ſuch as doe retaine them are woorthie to bee ſuſpected, and may bee charged by Lawe to their great Daunger.

8. For Auoyding whereof, and eyther to diſcouer theſe venemous Vipers, or to chaſe them awaie out of the Realme from the infecting of many

many more, we do order and ſtraightly charge and commaund al Maner of Perſons of what Degree ſoeuer they bee without any Exception, Spirituall, or Temporall, Nobleman, Gentleman, Lorde, Lady, Maſter or Miſtreſſe, or Owner whatſoeuer of any Houſe, Familie, Lodging, yea the very Officers of our owne Houſholde, and Gouernours of any Societies, to make a preſent, due, and particular Inquiſition of all Maner of Perſons that haue bene admitted, or ſuffered to haue vſual Reſort, Diet, Lodging, Reſidence in their Houſes, or in any Place by their Appointment, at any Time within the Space of one whole Yeere now paſt, and ended at *Michaelmas* laſt: Or that from thencefoorth haue, or ſhall be admitted, or ſuffered ſo to reſort, eate, lodge, reſide or attend: And, by ſuch Inquiſition and Examination, to bee duely and particularly informed of what Condition and Countrey any ſuch Perſon is, and by what Kind of Meanes he hath heretofore liued, and where he hath ſpent his Time for the Space of one whole Yeere before. And likewiſe to know whether he hath vſed, and doth vſe to repaire to the Church at vſuall Times to Diuine Seruice, according to the Lawes of the Realme. And to cauſe thoſe Inquiſitions, with their Anſweres, to be put into Writing particularly, and the ſame to keepe in a Maner of a Regiſter or Kalender to be ſhewed when they ſhall be demaunded, that, vpon Cauſe of Suſpition of any ſuch Perſon, the ſame may bee further tried by the Commiſſioners of thoſe Places, whether the ſame Perſons ſo examined bee loyall Subiects or no. And if any ſuch ſhal be found vnwilling to anſwere to ſuch Inquiſition, or ſhal be found by his doubtful Anſwere not likely to be an obedient Subiect, the ſame Perſon ſhal be ſtayed by the Houſholder, or him that ought to haue examined him, and ſhal be ſent to any of the Commiſſioners aboue mentioned next adioyning. And if any Perſon hauing Gouernement or Commaundement ouer anie ſuch Seruaunt, or Reſiant, ſhal be founde not to haue performed the Pointes of the foreſaide Inquiſition as is aboue limitted, the ſame ſhall be called to appeare before the ſaide Commiſſioners, or before our priuie Counſell, if the Qualitie of the Perſon ſhal ſo require, and ſhal be further vſed and ordered for ſuch Default, as the ſaide Commiſſioners, or our Counſell, ſhal haue iuſt Cauſe to deale with ſuch a Perſon. And finally, wee doe admoniſhe and ſtraightly charge and commaund al Perſons that haue had anie Intelligence, with any ſuch ſo ſent or come from beyond the Seas to ſuch Purpoſes, to detect them to the Commiſſioners in that Behalfe to bee aſſigned as aforeſaide, within twentie Dayes after the Publication hereof, in the Shire, Towne, or Citie, or Porte, wythin the Precinctes of the ſame Commiſſion, vpon Paine that the Offenders therein ſhall be puniſhed as Abettours and Mainteiners of Traytours. Wherein wee are reſolutely determined to ſuffer no Fauour to bee vſed for anie Reſpect of any Perſons, Qualities, or Degrees, nor ſhal allowe, or ſuffer to be allowed any Excuſe of Negligence for not Detection, or for not due Examination of the Qualities of ſuch dangerous Perſons according to the Order here afore preſcribed, being no wiſe contrary, but agreeable to the moſt ancient Laws and good Vſages of our Realme, deuiſed for the good Order of al Maner of Subiects in euery Precinct of any Leete to be foorth comming to anſwere for their Behauior towards the Dignitie of our Crowne, and the common Peace of our Realme.

*Giuen at our Mannour of* Richmond *the* xviii. *Day of* October, 1591, *in this* xxxiii. *Yeere of our Raigne.*

A Declaration of the Lyfe and Death of *Iohn Story*, late a Romiſh Canonicall Doctor, by Profeſſyon. 1571. Imprinted at *London*, by *Thomas Colwell*. *Octavo*, containing thirty-two Pages.

John Story, *whoſe Life and Death are related in the following Tract, and related by a Proteſtant, perhaps without that Candour and Impartiality, which the Proteſtant Religion preſcribes, was a Man of great Eminence and Authority in the Reign of Queen* Mary, *and contributed very much to kindle the Flames of Perſecution in that cruel Reign; and, with whatever Deteſtation, he may be mentioned by this Writer, he is by ſome of the Romaniſts celebrated as a Saint.*

*Of the Juſtice of the Proceedings againſt him, it is not neceſſary here to diſpute. It is certain, that he had given great Provocation in the Reigns of* Edward *and* Mary, *firſt, by his Oppoſition, and afterwards by his Cruelty; in the Reign of Queen* Eliſabeth, *he renewed his Struggles againſt the Eſtabliſhment of the Reformation.*

*When a Parliament met*, Jan. 25, $155\frac{8}{9}$, (*ſays* Heylin) 'Many of the Members eagerly oppoſed all Oppoſitions, which ſeemed to tend unto the Prejudice of the Church of *Rome*; of which Number none ſo violent as Dr. *Story*, Doctor of Laws, and a great Inſtrument of *Bonner*'s Butcheries in the former Reign, who, being queſtioned for the Cruelty of his Executions, appeared ſo far from being ſenſible of any Error which he then committed, as to declare himſelf to be ſorry for nothing more than, that inſtead of lopping off ſome few Boughs and Branches, he did not lay his Ax to the Root of the Tree; yet paſſed unpuniſhed for the preſent, though divine Vengeance brought him in Concluſion to his juſt Reward.

*The Author, who has recounted* Story's *Cruelties with ſo much Acrimony, has forgotten to inform his Reader, that Part of his Severity was repaid; for he was cut down ſo ſoon from the Gallows, that, when the Executioner began to quarter him, he roſe up and gave him a Blow on the Ear; but, notwithſtanding his Senſibility, they proceeded to diſmember him.* J.——O.

## The ſpeciall Contents of this Declaration.

FIRST, *wherfore* Iohn Story *was impriſoned in the Queenes Benche.*
*His Breaking of that Priſon, and Flyeng into* Flaunders.
*His trayterous and naughtie Delyng there.*
*The Cauſe and Maner of his Conueyance from thence into* England.
*The Maner of his Arainement and Iudgement.*
*The Maner of his Death and Execution.*
*An Epilogue or ſhort Concluſion of his Lyfe.*

Gentle

GEntle Reader, in this ſhort Declaration, I purpoſe briefely to note vnto thee Part of the Lyfe, and the Maner of Death of *Iohn Story*, late a Romiſh and Canonicall Doctor by Profeſſyon. If I ſhould diſcourſe the common Places of Diſcription of Perſones, hys Parentes, hys Educatyon and Bringyng vp, hys ſundrie outragious Doinges executed by him, in the Perſecutynge of the Membres of *Chriſt*, and the Maner of hys Life, from Tyme to Tyme, namely in the Tyme of King *Henry the Eight*, when the Statute of ſixe Articles was firſt ſet foorth, and all hys Cruelty uſed ſithens, to the Daye of hys Death, it would aſk a Volume as greate as the Booke of Martyrs; a great Part of which Booke is ſtuffed with hys tyrannous and cruell Tragedies, executed againſt God and hys poor Membres.

As for the wilfull and wicked Courſe of hys yonger Yeres, a great Parte wherof he ſpent in the Uniuerſitie of *Oxforde*, to reporte all the Partes, it would require a longer Story.

One Pranke may ſtand inſtead of many. And although Chriſtian Charitie requyre vs alwaye, and of all Men, to reporte the beſt, ſpecially of them that be departed: Yet no Charytie forbyddeth a Man with Sobryetie and Modeſtye to reporte the Truthe, for the Benefite of good Example to other: Or els all Writyng of Hiſtories after the Parties Death (when they be moſt truely written) ſhould bee condemned, and the Bridle of iuſt Infamy perilouſly taken away from wicked Men.

About the Yere of our Lord, 1529, *Story*, being a Student of the Ciuill Law in *Hinkſete*-Hall in *Oxforde*, and on a Tyme, lodging Abroade alone, as often Tymes his Maner was to do, in the Company of a Woman, whome hee had at his Commaundement, was ſet Home from thence late in the Night, and caried alofte through the open Streetes with a ſolemne Proceſſion of the whole Companie of his Houſe, euery Man caryenge a Candell burninge before hym, as a Token of hys Virginytye, and ſyngyng merelye together,

*Qui pius, prudens, humilis, pudicus,*
*Sobrius, caſtus fuit, & quietus,*
*Vita dum preſens*, &c.

as if they had been S. *Nicholas* Clerkes.

After that, about the Yere of our Lord, 1538, the ſayde *Story*, beyng then Doctour and Pryncypall of *Broadgates* in the ſayde Uniuerſitie of *Oxforde*, and miſtruſtinge a yonge Gentleman for over familiar Reſorting to hys Acquaintaunce in the Towne, gaue him earneſt Charge, with terrible Threates, as he loued his Life, to come there no more, for Loue and Lordſhip can brooke no Fellowſhipp.

Therfore on a certayne Tyme for hys good chaſte Purpoſe, takynge Occaſion to walke Abroade, and hauing his Man with his Sworde wayting vpon him, and paſſing through the the Church-yarde of St. *Olaues*, he met the ſayde yonge Gentleman retorning Home from the Towne, beeyng vtterly without Weapon, and hauing onlie his ſtudy Gowne caſt vpon him. And he imagining that he cam from ſuch Places, as he had ſo often forbidden him, in great Furie and Heate of Minde, beeyng alſo fired with Ieloſie towards his Loue, he raught backe ſodenlye vnto hys Man, and drewe hys Sworde, and, hauing the Gentleman at Advantage in the Corner of two Walles, ran him thorowe both Sydes, and lefte him for dead.

Imediatly a Cry was rayſed, the People aſſembled, Doctor *Story* was apprehended by the Officers, and layd in *Bocardo*, wher he continued vntill it was perfectly knowen, that the yonge Gentleman ſo wounded was paſt all Danger. For God, by hys gracyous Provydence, ſo dyrected the Sworde, that, notwithſtanding it pearced through both Sides, yet it periſhed not one Parte of all the Entrailes.

He that writeth theſe Wordes is a Witnes hereof, and ſawe the Partye dreſſed, and the Towells drawen through his Bodie.

The Partie ſo wounded is named *N. Brierton*, and is yet aliue.

Theſe are the fyrſt Fruites of Doctour *Stories* good Doctorly Doinges, agreable with his Lyfe that folowed afterwarde.

*A kyndly Beaſte wyll bite by Tyme.*

Now I wyll begyn the reſt of this Declaration at the Begynning of the Reigne of the moſt vertuous, godly, learned, and hopeful Prince, King *Edward the Sixt*, who, after the Death of the moſt noble and famous Prince, Kinge *Henry the Eight*, his Father, tooke vp-

on him, as of Right appertayned vnto him, the regall State and Gouernment of this Realme. And firſt, and before all other Things, he, ſeekynge the high Aduauncement of Goddes Honour, reſtored vnto vs the ſincere Doctrine of the Goſpel of our Sauiour *Ieſus Chriſt*, and made moſt godly Lawes, for the Abbolyſhynge of all Superſtycion and Idolatry. At whiche Tyme, *John Storye* being then of the Parliament Houſe, and a great Enemye to the glorious Light of *Chriſtes* Goſpel, did vehemently inueigh againſt the godly Doynges of that vertuous Prince, namely, for Settynge foorth the Book of Common-Prayer and Adminiſtracion of the Sacraments in *Engliſh*, where he did not only ſlaunderouſlye ſpeake of the Doctrine, but alſo malyciouſlye and ſedicioulye ſpake of that godly Prince, alleging the Sentence of *Eccleſiaſtes: That Wo is to that Realme, whoſe Kynge is but a Childe*, wreſtynge the ſame Text againſt that noble Prince, euen to the ſame Sence that gave cheefe Occaſion to the Rebellion in the ſame Kinges Tyme, and meaning that both the Prince, and the Realme, did they wyſt not what.

And ſhortly after, that he had thus declared hys rebellious Hart, and canckred Iudgement, he then fledde this Realme into the Partes beyond the Seas, and there abode all the Lyfe of that vertuous Prince.

After his Death, as ſone as the late Queen *Mary* poſſeſſed the Crowne, the aforſayd *Story* retorned again from beyond the Seas, and obtayned of Queene *Mary* by the Help of Biſhop *Boner*, that he became a Commiſſioner, and a cruel Perſecutor of *Chriſtes* Members, wherin he trauelled with ſuch Vehemency and in ſuch a tyrannous Maner, as neuer was there any before him did, and in that State he contynued al the Dayes of Queene *Maryes* Lyfe.

After the Death of Queene *Mary*, ſo ſone as our moſt dere Soueraigne Lady came to the Poſſeſſion of the Crowne, and that ſhe had called a Parliament, chieflye for the Reſtitucyon of Gods bleſſed Worde, and the true Adminiſtracion of the Sacramentes to Goddes high Honor, and alſo for the Amendment of the decayed State of this Realme: The ſaid *Story*, beyng of the Parliament-houſe who was an Enemy to al godly Reformations, did wyth great Vehemency ſpeake againſt the Bill that was ther exhibited for the Reſtytucyon of the Book of Common-Prayer, and ſayd theſe Wordes: 'I did often Tymes, in Queene *Maries* Tyme, ſaye to the Biſhops that they 'were to buſie with *Pecora campi* (for ſo it 'pleaſed him to terme the poor Commons 'of *England*) chopping at Twiges; but I 'wiſhed to haue chopped at the Roote. [illegible] 'if they had done, this Gere had [illegible] 'now in Queſtion, and here in moſt traite- 'rouſly he ment the Diſtruccion of our dere 'and Soueraigne Lady Queene *Elizabeth*.' For the which Wordes, ſpoken in ſuch an Audience and in ſuch vehement Maner, there was no honeſt nor true Hart, that hard him, but did uttterly abhorre him.

And ſone after, that he had declared his trayterous Hart to the Queenes Highnes, and hys Conſcience accuſing him, he fled and lurked about in ſondry Corners, as did *Cain*, when he had murdered his Brother *Abell*. But, at the laſt, he was taken in the Weſt Countrye, rydyng before a Male, in a friſe Coate lyke a ſeruing Man, and was apprehended in the Highwaie, by one Maſter *Ayleworth* a Gentleman, one of the Queenes Seruauntes, and brought before the Counſaill, and after ſent to Priſon to the *Queenes-Bench* (for more than Suſpicion of Treaſon) in the fyrſt Yere of her Highnes Reigne.

And after the ſayd *Story* had remained there a Whyle, he eſpyenge hys Tyme, and by the Helpe of hys Frendes (as commonly ſuch lewde Papiſtes lacke none) he brake the ſayd Priſon and fled againe beyond the Seas, namely, into *Flaundyrs*, and there not only practiſed diuerſe wicked and treyterous Enterprices towards our Soueraigne Lady, the Quenes Majeſtie, and the State of this Realme, by ſondry Conferences that he had, with ſuch ſuch as haue of late rebelled and conſpired the Deſtruccion of the ſame: But alſo he became an open and comon Enemi to euery good Subiect of this Realme of *England*, and obteyned in *Flaundyrs*, of the Duke of *Alua*, a Commiſſion and Auctoritie to practiſe his old Crueltie, and to areſt and aprehend al ſuch *Engliſhmens* Goods, as ſhold arriue in thoſe Countries, or that did traffique out of *England*, into thoſe Partes, or from thence into *England*, and to confiſcat the ſame; by Reaſon of which Auctoritie, he vſed there ſuch Extremytie, that he was the Spoiler and Vndoer of dyuerſe Merchauntes, and of more would haue bene, if he had longer continued; wherfore the ſayd Merchauntes were inforced to

ſtudy

ſtudy and deuyſe ſome Remeady, and to practiſe ſome Waye or Meane howe to remoue this comberſome Man from them.

And among other Deuiſes they, hauing Experience of hym to be a gredy and rauenous Wolfe, put into hys Head (by ſuch as he ſuſpected) that ther was a Praye for hym of *Englyſh* Goodes, in a Ship that lay in a certein Place, which was named vnto him, where he ſhould fynd ſuch a Treaſure of Goods to be confiſcate, as would be ſufficient for him, during his Lyfe. The Wolfe, beynge hongry and deſyrous of this great Praye, ſet forward, and came into a Shyp that promyſed to brynge hym to the Place, where the Praye was. But, to be ſhorte, aſſone, as he was entered the Shyp, the ſame brought hym cleane awaye out of *Flaundyrs* into *England*, and landed him at *Harwyche*, in the Moneth of *Auguſte* laſt paſte.

And ſone after, Knowlege being geven to the Queenes honorable Counſaill of his Landynge, he was brought to *London*, and there he was committed to Priſon to the *Lollardes* Tower in *Powles*, where he continued a Whyle that he myght well peruſe that Place, wherin he had moſt cruelly tormented many a good Chriſtyan. But he lacked there one Thing, which was the monſtrous and houge Stockes, that hee and *Boner*, his old faithfull Frend, had vſed to turmoyle and perſecute the poore and innocent Chriſtians in, hanging ſum therin by the Heles ſo high, that only theyr Heades laye on the Ground. Some wer ſtocked in both Feet and Armes, ſome alſo wer ſtocked by both thir Feet and by both thir Thombes, and ſo did hang in the Stockes. And ſome alſo were ſtocked by both theyr Fete, and cheyned by the Necke wyth Collars of Iron made faſt behynde theim to a Poſt in the Wall, and ſuche other deueliſhe and tyrannus Engynes and Deuyſes by hym practiſed; theſe at his being in the *Lollardes* Tower he myſſed, and great Pitie it was, that he had not taſted of theim: But alack, the good Biſhop *Gryndall*, late Biſhop of *London*, had brent and conſumed theim with Fire.

But to returne where I left, after that *Story* had contynued a certaine of Tyme, in the *Lollardes* Tower, and had ben diuers Tymes examined, he was from thence remoued to the *Tower* of *London*, wher he remayned vntill the xxvi. Day of *Maye*, 1571. And then was hee brought from thence into *Weſtminſter-hall*, before the Judges of the *Queenes-Benche*, and there arayned. And after the Indictment had ben read vnto hym, the Effect wherof was, that wher as *Rychard Norton*, *Thomas Markenfelde*, *Chriſtopher Neuyll*, *Frances Norton*, and *Thomas Jenny*, alias *Jennings*, with other Traytors, after their Offences committed in the North, and being thereof indicted in the xii. Yere of the Queenes Highnes Raigne before the right honorable *Thomas* Erle of *Suſſex*, Lorde Preſident of the Queenes Counſaill in the North Partes, *John* Lorde *Darcye*, &c. they, after their Indictment, did the xxiii. of *June*, in the Yere aforſayd, embarke theimſelves in ſundry Shyppes, and fled this Realme unto *Antwarpe* in *Brabant*, whych is vnder the Gouernment of Kyng *Phylip*, and ther contrarye to theyr Allegiaunce did lead their Liues, and the aforſayd *John Story*. D. *W*. *P*. and *J*. *P*, being borne in *England*, and the Queenes Subiectes, did with theim conſpire, compaſſe, and imagin the Queenes Death, and her Highnes to depoſe and depryue.

And by diuers Perſwaſions and Letters, did alſo procure Straungiers to inuade this Realme of *England*, and to leuy Warre againſt the Queene, and her Hyghnes to depoſe. And, that the aforſayd *John Story*, &c. knowing the aboueſaid *Norton*, and others, to haue committed theyr Treaſons here in *England*, did receaue, comfort, and helpe theim at *Antwarp* aforſaid, agaynſt theyr Allegeaunce, *&c.*

And after the Indictment read, he being called vpon by the Courte to anſwere to the ſame, pleaded, that he was not the Queenes Subiect nor had not bene theſe vii. Yeres, but was the Subject of the moſt Catholicke and mighty Prince, Kyng *Philip*, Kyng of *Spaine*, to whome he was ſworne, and had in Fee of him one-hundred Pound by the Yere; therfore ſaid he I am not bound to anſwere vnto that Indictment, neyther will I anſwere unto it.

And here he vſed many pretie Tauntes as well to the Iudges, as alſo pleaſyng himſelfe with giuinge of pretie Nippes and Girdes.

And verye ſtowtlye he maintayned his former Plea, affirming alſo, that they were not his lawfull Judges, neither that they had Law to procede againſt him, being none of the Queenes Subiectes.

And then, beyng demaunded where he was borne; he anſwered in *England*.

Then

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Then ſayd they it followeth that you are Subiect to the Lawes of thys Realme, and ſhould be ſo to our Queene.

Whereunto he replyed and ſayd, 'That 'God commaunded *Abraham* to go foorth 'from the Lande and Countrey where he was 'borne, from his Friendes and Kynsfolke, in-'to another Countrey.' And ſo he followynge his Example, for Conſcience Sake in Religion, did forſake his Countrye, and the Lawes of this Realme, and the Prince alſo, and had wholy geuen hymſelfe to the Seruice of a foreyne Gouernour Kyng *Philip*, Kyng of *Spayne*.

And herevpon he ſtood very ſtoutlye, but to ſmall Purpoſe.

Then, when he perceaved that they would proceed in Iudgement againſt him, he ſayde, they had no Lawe ſo to do. And with that he turned him about to the People, and ſayd: Good People, I truſt ye ſee, howe violently I am vſed, and howe vniuſtly and contrary to al Iuſtice and Equitie they vſe mee.

And he added, that he had good Hope, that he was not deſtitute of ſome Friendes there, that would geue Notice and Knowlege to the moſt Catholycke Prynce hys Maiſter how cruelly they dealt with him.

And then, again beyng called upon to anſwere, one ſaid vnto him, Maiſter *Storye*, becauſe you thynke it Violence that is ſhewed vnto you inſtead of Lawe and Juſtice, you ſhall knowe that we do nothyng but that wee maye do doth by Lawe and Equitie.

And then one of the Judges ſaid: This is *Scarborowes* Caſe. Nay, ſaid *Story*, my Caſe is not *Scarborowes* Caſe; but indeede I had *Scarborowes* Warnynge to come to this Arraigne-ment, for I knew nothynge therof vntyll vij. of the Clocke in the Mornynge.

Then there was a Booke delyuered hym to read, wherin he might ſee what they might doo by Lawe; and, after he had read it, the Iudge demaunded of him how he liked it? And he anſwered, God haue Mercie vpon mee. Then the Lorde Chief Juſtice gaue him Iudgement to be drawen, hanged, and quartred, and ſo was he agayne ſent vnto the *Tower*.

And as he went, by the Way, certayne Perſons in ſeuerall Places met with him, and one ſaid: Oh *Story*, *Story*, thou art a ſtrange *Story*: Remember Mayſter *Bradford* that godly Man, his Blood aſketh Vengeaunce on thee, *Story*, repent in Tyme. Another cryed on hym and ſaid, *Story*, call to Mynde the Rigour that thou ſhewedeſt vpon Maiſter *Reed*, a Gentleman, whom thou diddeſt vtterly deſtroy, aſke God Forgeueneſſe, *Story*, for that wicked Deede.

Another cryed unto hym and ſaide: Bleſſed be God, *Story*, that hath made thee Partaker of ſuche Breade, as thou waſt wont to deale to the innocent Membres of *Ieſus Chriſte*.

Another alſo cryed out vpon him, and ſaide: *Story*, *Story*, the abhominable Cup of Fornication and Filthynes, that thou haſt giuen other to Drinke, be heaped vp topfull, that thy Plagues maye be the greater at the terrible Daye of Gods Wrath and Vengeaunce, vnleſſe thou aſke Mercy for thy filthy, corrupte, and ſtinkyng Lyfe. And yet again, another cryed out vnto hym and ſaid: I pray God that thy Hart be not hardened, as was *Pharaos*, and made harder then the Adamant Stone, or the Steele, that, when he woulde, he could not repent and call for Grace.

And, among al the reſt, one came to him at *London* Stone, and ſaluted him with this Meeter, ſaying,

*Maiſter Doctor* Story,
*For you they are right ſory*
*The Court of* Louaine *and* Rome.
*Your holy Father, the Pope,*
*Cannot ſaue you from the Rope,*
*The Hangman muſt haue your Gowne.*

To which he anſwered not one Word.

THE firſt Daye of *June*, the ſaide *Story* was drawn upon an Herdell from the *Tower* of *London* vnto *Tiborn*, wher was prepared for him a newe payre of Gallowes made in triangular Maner. And, by the Way as he went, many People ſpake vnto hym, and called vpon hym to repent his Tirrannie and Wickednes, and wylled him to call vpon God for Mercy: But he lay as though he had ben aſleepe, and woulde not ſpeake to any Perſon.

And, when he was taken from the Herdell and ſet in a Carte, he made there a ſolempne Proteſtation, and ſaid:

I am come hither to die; and truely, if this Death were ten Times more fierce and ſharp then it is, I haue deſerued it.

I haue lyved the Space of threeſcore and vij. Yeres, and now my Body muſt abyde this temporall

temporall Payne and Puniſhment prouyded for mee here in this Lyfe, by Meane whereof, my Daies ſhall be cut off. But, where at the firſt I ſtoode in Feare of Death, I thanke God, this Night paſſed I haue ben comforted with good and godly Men, that the Feare of Death is taken from my Sight. And now I appeale to God the Father, truſtyng in the Paſſion of his Sonne *Chriſt Ieſus*, and hopynge, by the Shedyng of his Blood only, to be ſaued. And althoughe of a long Tyme I could not applie the Vertue of his Paſſion and Death to the Vſe and Benefite of my Soule, becauſe of my longe Houerynge in Feare; yet nowe, I thanke God, I know how to applye this Medicyne, as for Example:

A Pothecarye maye haue a Medicine liyng in his Shop vij. Yeres, that maye helpe a ſicke or diſeaſed Man by the Counſayle of a Phyſicion; but, if this Medicyne be not applyed to the Pacient, but ſtyl remaineth in the Pothecaries Shop, it profiteth nothyng; no more (ſaid he) coulde the Benefite of *Chriſtes* Death healpe mee; becauſe, though I knew the Medicyne good, I did not applie it vnto my Soules Helth; but now that it hath pleaſeth Almightye God to call mee to Accompt of my lxvij. Yeres, which now muſt haue an End, and this corrupt Body muſt feele a temporall Puniſhement, for my Sinnes haue deſerued it (as I ſayd before) I am now come to the Proofe of this Medicine.

*Dauid*, when he had committed Adulterie with *Barſabe*, the Wife of *Urias* (whoſe Huſband alſo he cauſed to be put in the Front of the Battell, and ſo was he murthered) he for that Treſpaſſe felt a temporall Puniſhment by the Loſſe of the Lyfe of his Son, whiche he loued tenderly.

Alſo, when he nombred his People, he greatly diſpleaſed God; and, for his Offence and Tranſgreſſion, he felt a temporall Payne; and Choyce was geuen vnto him from aboue, to chooſe one of theſe iij temporall and bodily Puniſhments: That is to ſaye, Three Daies Peſtilence; the Sworde, that is to ſay, bloodie Battel vij Yeres; or Famyne vij Yeres.

And he thought to chooſe the leaſt; and he choſe three Daies Peſtilence. But this Scourge tooke away an infinite Nombre of his Subiectes. So nowe as my Sinnes deſerue a temporall Payne, whiche here haue an Ende, euen in this Fleſh; I am of the ſame Minde that the Prophet *Dauid* was; and with him I agree ſaying: *Inuoco te Domine, &c. Lord, I call vpon thee in this Day of my Trouble, heare mee, O Lorde, out of thy Dwelling-place*, &c.

But nowe to ſpeake a little of my Arraignment; when I was at *Weſtminſter*, I alleaged in my Plea that I was no Subiect of this Realme, as I did likewiſe before the Queenes Commiſſioners, Sir *Thomas Wrath*, Maiſter *Thomas Wilbraham*, late Recorder of the Citie of *London*, Maiſter *Peter Oſborne*, Maiſter *Marſhe*, and Maiſter Doctor *Wattes*; where the Recorder of *London* made lyke Demaunde as was demaunded of me at *Weſtminſter*; and that was, Whether I was borne in *Englande*, or no? Whervnto I aunſwered, I was.

Then ſayde he, it followeth that you are and ought to continue the Queenes faithfull Subiect. Wherunto I replied then as I do nowe, ſaying, I am ſworne to the noble Kyng, Defendour of the auncient Catholique Faith, Kyng *Philip*, Kyng of *Spaine*; and he is ſworne again by a ſolempne and corporall Othe, to maintayne and defende the Uniuerſitie of *Louaine*, wherof I am a Member, and therfore no Subiect of this Realme, ne yet ſubiect to any Lawes therof.

For it is well knowen, that I departed this Realme beynge freelye licenſed therunto by the Queene, who accompted me an Abiect and Caſtawaye, and I came not hether agayne of myne owne Accorde; but I was betrayed.

And although I had an Inckelyng given mee before of ſuch a Thing pretended towardes mee, yet I coulde not ſhun nor eſcape it. For ſure it was God that made dym myne Vnderſtandyng, and blynded myne Eyes, ſo that I could not perceyve it. But holye Writ commandeth mee to loue my Enemies, and here I forgeue them freely with all my Hart, beſeechyng God that they take no Harme for me in another Countrey; I would be right forye they ſhould, although they betrayed me.

I trauayled with them from Shyp to Shyp, by the Space of eight Daies, and miſtruſted no Perill to be at Hand, vntyll I was clapt faſt vnder the Hatches.

But ſure, ſure, it was God that wrought it; yea, and although I was accompted a Poller of the *Englyſhemen* of your Countrey; I ſtand nowe here before God, and by the Death I ſhall die, I had neuer out of any Shyp more then two Peeces of Golde, and fortie Dallers that was laid in my Hand.

But

But once agayne, to my Arraignment, where there were certain Letters laid to my Charge, wherin I ſhould go about to prouoke the *Nortons*, the *Neuilles*, and others to rebell, I neuer meant it; yet will I diſcharge my Conſcience freely and frankly and tell you Trueth. There was a Commiſſion for a lyke Matter ſent into *Scotland*, which I wrote with myne owne Hande; but it conteyned a Prouiſo, wherin the Queene of *England* and her Dominions were excepted.

There are yet two Thinges that I purpoſe to talke of; namely, for that ther are here preſent a great Nombre of Youth; and I would to God I might ſaye or ſpeke that which might bring all Men to the Vnitie of the Church; for there is but one Church, one Flocke, and one Shepherde; if I could this do, I would think myſelfe to haue wrought a good Worke.

The *firſt* Poynct toucheth my Crueltie, wherwith I am ſore burdened; and the *ſecond* conceerneth my Religion.

As touchyng the *Firſt*, there were three in Commiſſion, of the whiche I was one that might do leaſt, for I was the laſt of the three. And thoughe I might by Perſwaſion aſſaye to cauſe them to reuoke the Articles that they had maintayned, and to confeſſe the Preſence, wherin I ſtande; ye know that he, that chydeth, is not worthy to be condemned for Fighting; no more am I worthy to be counted cruell for Chydynge; it was the Biſhop that pronounced the Sentence *Excommunicamus*, and againſt that I could not do, for I was one of the Layetie.

Yet oftentimes the Biſhop, to whom I was Servant, was bold with mee when he had ſo many Priſoners that he could not well beſtow them. For at one Tyme the Lorde *Riche* ſent him out of *Eſſex* xxviij, and at another Tyme xxiiij, alſo at another Tyme xvi, and xiiij. and ſome of them were ſent to mee, whiche I kepte in my Houſe with ſuche Fare as I had prouided for myſelfe and my Famylie, at myne owne Coſt and Charge.

And, to proue that I was not ſo cruell as I am reported to bee, let this one Tale ſuffice; there were at one Tyme xxviij condempned to the Fire, and I moued the Deane of *Paules* to tender and pitie their Eſtate, whiche after was Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, a very pitiful minded Man; I thincke the moſte Parte of you know him, it is Mr. *Fecknam*, and we went up and perſwaded with them, and we found them very tractable. And Mr. *Fecknam* and I laboured to the Lorde Cardinal *Poole*, ſhewyng that they were

*Neſcientes quid fecerunt.*

The Cardinall and we did ſue together to the Queene, and layd both the Swordes together, and ſo we obteyned Pardon for them al, ſauynge an olde Woman that dwelt aboute *Paules* Churchyard; ſhee would not conuert, and therfore ſhe was burned. The reſt of them receyved Abſolution, and that with al Reuerence; ſerch the Regiſter, and you ſhall finde it.

Yea, and it was my Procurement that there ſhould be no more burnt in *London*, for I ſaw well that it woulde not preuaile, and therfore we ſent them into odde Corners into the Countrey.

Wherfore I pray you, name me not cruell, I would be loth to haue any ſuche Slaunder to ron on mee. But, ſith I dye in Charitie, I pray you al of Charitie to pray for mee, that God maye ſtrengthen mee with Patience to ſuffer my Death; to the whiche I yelde moſt wyllyngly.

And here I make a Petition to you my Frendes that woulde haue beſtowed any Thyng on mee, I beſeeche you, for Charitie Sake, beſtow it yerely on my Wife, who hath foure ſmall Children, and God hath nowe taken mee away, that was her Staffe and Stay; and nowe my Doughter *Weſton* and her three Chyldren are gone ouer vnto her, and I know not how they ſhal do for Foode, vnleſſe they go a beggynge from Door to Door for it; although indede no *Engliſh* Perſons do begge but of *Engliſh*, beyng helped by the Lady *Dorm.* and Sir *Franciſco*; I haue good Hope that you wyll be good vnto her, for ſhe is the faythfulleſt Wife, the louyngeſt and conſtanteſt that euer Man had. And twiſe we haue loſt all that euer we had, and nowe ſhe hath loſt mee to her great Griefe I knowe.

The *ſecond* Poynct, that I thought to ſpeke of, is concerning my Religion, for that I know manie are deſirous to know what Faith I will dye in, the whiche I will briefely touch; I ſaye with Sainct *Iherome*, that auncient Father and Piller of the old auncient, catholique, and apoſtolicke Churche, grounded vpon the Partriarkes,

Patriarkes, Prophetes, and Apoſtles, that, in the ſame Faith that I was borne in, I purpoſe to liue. And as the Arcke, that *Noe* and his Family did poſſeſſe, figured the Ship of *Chriſtes* Church, out of which Ship whoſoeuer is cannot be ſaued. In that Ship am I; Example: A Ship, that is toſſed on the Floods, is often in Daunger of Loſſe on the Sandes, and ſometimes on the Rocke. But, when the Men that are in the Ship eſpye preſent Peryll at Hande, there is a Cockboat, at the Tayle of the Ship, wherunto they flye for Succour: So likewiſe, I, beynge in the Ship of *Chriſt*, once fell out of the ſame Ship, and was in preſent Peryl and great Danger. But then I, followynge the Example of a good Maryner, tooke the Cockboat, thinkynge to driue to Lande, and at the laſt, beynge in the Boat, I eſpied three Oares, that is to wit, Contricion, Confeſſion, and Abſolution; and I held al theſe faſt, and euer ſence I haue continued in the Ship of *Chriſt*, of whiche, the Apoſtle *Peter* is the Guide and Principall, and in the Faith Catholike of my Kynge I dye.

Then ſayde the Earle of *Bedford*, Are you not the Queenes Subiect? No, ſayde *Story*, and yet I do not exclude the Queene, but I pray for her, her Counſaile, and the Nobilitie of this Realme longe to continue.

Then ſayde the Lorde *Honſdon*: Are you not the Queenes Subject, you were borne in *England?* Then ſayde *Story*, Euery Man is is free borne, and he hath the whole Face of the Earth before him to dwell and abyde in, where he liketh beſt; and, if he can not lyue here, he may go els where. Then was there (as I thinke one of the Miniſters) hearyng him to make ſo light of our noble Queene and Countrey, demaunded of him, Whether ſhe were not, next and immediatelye vnder God, ſupreme Head of the Churches of *Englande* and *Irelande?* Whereunto he anſwered: I come not hither to diſpute, but, if ſhee bee, ſhee is; my Nay wyll not preuayle to proue it otherwiſe.

And then they cryed, Awaye with the Carte; and ſo he was hanged according to his Iudgement.

## *An* Epilogue, *or a briefe Concluſion, of the Lyfe of the aforeſaid* Iohn Story.

THE aforeſaid *Iohn Story*, beſide that he was an obſtinat Papiſt and a rancke Traitour, he was alſo, in Queene *Maryes* Time, the cruelleſt Tirant and Perſecutor of the innocent Membres and bleſſed Profeſſors of *Chriſt*, that euer was to his Power, ſithen that cruell Tirant *Nero*. For his whole Delectacion and Pleaſure was, in Rackyng, Stockyng, Whippyng, Manaklyng, and Burnyng of Innocents, without Reſpect either of Age, Vertue, Learnyng, Weakenes of Wyt, or of a ſimple Boy, or childiſh Wenche; and all was Fiſh that came to the Net.

And he often and openlie ſayde (in the Heryng of manie) in the Time of Queene *Mary*, that the Burnynge of Heretiques (as he termed them) was to gentle a Death, for they had too muche Scope to prate and talke what they luſt; but, ſayde he, if I lyue, I wyll haue a cloſe Cage of Iron made for them, with a Doore in the Side, lyke to the Braſen Bull of *Perillus*, where they ſhall be encloſed, and the Doore made faſt, and the Fire to be made vnder them. And then (ſayde he) they ſhall know what Frying is, and their Mouthes ſhall be ſtopped from blowying out their peſtilent Doctrine. So that, by the Premiſſes, it maye manifeſtly appeere, that there hath not ben a wickeder Man towarde God, his Prince and Countrey, then he hath ben.

*God ſaue the Queene, and confound her Enemies.*

Seen and allowed, *&c.*

True and Wonderfull. A Diſcourſe relating a ſtrange and monſtrous Serpent (or Dragon) lately diſcovered, and yet living, to the great Annoyance and divers Slaughters both of Men and Cattell, by his ſtrong and violent Poyſon:
In *Suſſex*, two Miles from *Horſam*, in a Woode called St. *Leonards* Forreſt, and thirtie Miles from *London*, this preſent Month of *Auguſt*, 1614. With the true Generation of Serpents. Printed at *London*, by *John Trundle*, 1614.

*This Relation breathes ſuch a Spirit of Sincerity, ſeems ſo well atteſted, and tallies ſo well with what has been advanced on the ſame Head by the beſt antient and modern Hiſtorians, that we cannot well doubt of its Truth. Since, therefore, this ſmall Piece is become now ſo extremely ſcarce, as not to be met with in the Libraries, or even Cabinets of the Curious, and the Subject of it is uncommon and entertaining, we flatter ourſelves, that a Republication of it will not prove unacceptable to our Readers. The Style, indeed, is rude and unpoliſhed, agreeable to the Genius of the Age wherein it was wrote: Notwithſtanding which, we could not prevail upon ourſelves to moderniſe it, as believing this would not intitle it to ſo favourable a Reception, amongſt all true Lovers of Hiſtory and Antiquity.*

## *To the* READER.

THE juſt Rewarde of him that is accuſtomed to lie, is, not be believed when he ſpeaketh the Truth: So juſt an Occaſion may ſometime bee impoſed upon the Pamphleting Preſſers; and therefore, if we receive the ſame Rewarde, we cannot much blame our Accuſers, which often fals out either by our forward Credulity to but-ſeeming true Reports, or by falſe Coppies tranſlated from other Languages, which (though we beget not) we foſter, and our Shame is little the leſſe. But, paſſing by what's paſt, let not our preſent Truth bluſh for any former Falſhood Sake: The Countrie is near us, *Suſſex*; the Time preſent, *Auguſt*; The Subject, a *Serpent*; ſtrange, yet now a Neighbour to us; and it were more than Impudence to forge a Lie ſo near Home, that every Man might turn in our Throates; believe it, or reade it not, or reade it (doubting) for I believe e're thou haſt read this little All, thou wilt not doubt of one, but believe there are many Serpents in *England*. Farewell.

By *A. R.*

*He that would ſend better Newes, if he had it.*

There

THere is nothing more miraculous in Nature to the ſhalow Search of humane Apprehenſion, than the Works of the Divinitie ſpecified in the Creation, being a Worke beautified with Diſtinction, Order and Meaſure, and ſifted from all Confuſion; yet if we more narrowly unrip the Natures and Qualities of the Creatures, leaving the unſearchable Depth of God's Eſſence beyond the Shoomaker's Laſt of Capacitie to Himſelfe, we ſhall find that there is ſufficient Cauſe for our weake Admirations: And though all Things were at the firſt created good and ſerviceable to Man, becauſe God is not the Author of any Evill; yet, ſince Evill ſprung from the Ill of *Eve*, many Miſeries have (as his Curſſe) falne to Man, even by thoſe Creatures which were his Companions in *Paradice*, and made to his great Bleſſing and Benefit; inſomuch that the Serpent which firſt was familiar with *Eve*, and ſerviceable to Man's Uſe, is now turned a deadly and fatall Enemie to all his Poſteritie, frighting the Earth with monſtrous and prodigious Shapes; and no Doubt, in theſe new and preſaging Formes, are ſent to puniſh our new Inventions of Sinne, according to the Saying of a Reverend Father: *Quia deliquimus in multis, punimur in multis.* AUGUST. *Becauſe we have offended in many Things, we are puniſhed in many.*

But, to omit the Sanctuarie of unfurniſht Wits, we will apply our briefe Abſtract to the Cauſes and Originall of theſe hideous Creatures, for the Underſtanding and Capacitie of the Simple; ſeeing, that as a learned Man ſaith, that *Scire eſt per Cauſas ſcire. The beſt Way of Knowledge is to know by the Cauſes:* And firſt of their Originall.

*Firſt*, it is oraculous and plaine in *Geneſis*, that God by his Word created all Things ſenſible and inſenſible: Fiſhes, Foules, Beaſts, and creeping Things, and among them Serpents: But, ſince the great Worke of the Creation, they are ingendred either Naturally or Prodigiouſly: Naturally, as ſaith *Macrobius*, as in *Egypt* Frogs and Mice are ingendred, by Raine and Showres, ſo alſo are Serpents: But I am of *Ariſtotle*'s Opinion, which alſo *Pliny* confirmeth, that Serpents ariſe not from Putrefaction, but by the naturall Act of Generation. It is a general Rule, that all Beaſts wanting Feet, and having long Bodies, performe their carnall Copulation, by the mutuall Imbracing of one another, as Lampries and Serpents: And it is certaine, that two Serpents, in this Action, ſeeme to be one Body and two Heads: For they are ſo indiviſibly united together, and the Frame of their Bodies unapt for any other Manner of Copulation. And although, like to Fiſhes, they want Floure to elaborate the Sperme, yet have they two open Paſſages, wherein lyeth their generative Seed; which, being ſpread, procureth their Veneriall Luſts; which Seed being ejaculated from the Male, into Cels and Receptacles of the Female, it is turned into an Egge, which ſhe hydeth in the Earth, a Hundred in a Cluſter, about the Quantitie of a Bird's Egge: And this is the naturall Proceeding of all Serpents, except Vipers, who lay no Egges, but hatch their young ones in their Wombe; but for their prodigious Generation, as it is rare, ſo is it alſo horrible to our Nature. It is reported, that, when *Lucius Scipio* and *Caius Norbanus* were Conſuls, the Mother of *Claudius*, in *Hetruria*, brought forth a Serpent inſteade of a Childe.

And *Fauſtina* the Empreſſe dreamed, when ſhe was with Childe, but very prodigiouſly, that ſhe brought forth two Serpents, and one of them ſeemed to be more fiercer than the other, which proved Allegorically true; for *Commodus* afterwards her youngeſt Sonne was ſo tirannicall and barbarous, that he ſeemed to be borne a Prodigy to the Deſtruction of Mankinde: And thus much for their Originall, Natural and Prodigious.

The *Iriſh* Ground is moſt happie, and it ſeemeth leſſe ſinfull, ſince it is free from Contagion of theſe venomous Creatures: But, *Non omnis fert omnia Tellus, Every Ground brings not forth all Kind of Fruites:* This Land were happie if it were leſs fertile in theſe contagious Kinds of Serpents, which I aſcribe not to the Nature of the Earth, but to the ſinfull Nature of Men.

In *Phrygia* and *Ethiopia* are many Dragons, and Serpents, and theſe were, as *Auguſtine* affirmeth, in the hollow Places of the Earth, and not only in forraine and farre remote Countries, but alſo in neighbouring and nere adjoyning Nations: And firſt of all there was a Serpent or winged Dragon brought unto *Francis* the *French* King, when he lay at *Sancton*, by a Country-man, who had ſlain it with a

Spade: *Chiſuen* alſo ſaith, that, in the Yeare of our Lord 1543, there came many Serpents with Feete, and Winges, into *Stiria*, who wounded the Inhabitants incurably.

*Cardan* writeth, that, at *Paris* in *France*, he himſelf ſaw certain Serpents with Winges. When the River *Tiber* overflowed its Bankes, many Serpents were diſcovered.

As alſo, in the Time of *Mauritius* the Emperor, a Dragon came into the City, after which Prodigy, inſued a great Peſtilence. Now as theſe hideous Creatures are hurtfull to Man, ſo alſo they are moſt inamoured of Man; and, if there be any Truth or Veritie to be aſcribed to Hiſtorie, they have been moſt paſſionately affected to Man, Woman, and Childe: Which ſhowes, that it is a Worke of Divinitie, as a juſt Puniſhment of our Sins, to turne their affable Natures to a moſt ravenous and devouring Crueltie.

And to inſtance this with Examples, *Ælian* reports, that there was one *Iliava*, a *Theſſalian* Neatherd, that kept Oxen in *Oſſa*, hard by the Fountaine *Hemonius*, that a Dragon fell in Love with, for his yellow Haire, which ſeemed in its amiable Colour to reſemble Gold; and often came creeping unto him like an amorous Lover, licking his Haire and Face ſo gentlie, as the Man profeſſed he never felt the like.

[*Many other Examples are produced by our Author, which it is unneceſſary to touch upon here. It will be ſufficient to refer our curious Readers to the learned and ingenious Authors of the* Univerſal Hiſtory, *Vol.* VI. *p.* 837, 838. *So that we ſhall immediately proceed to the Relation mentioned in the Title-Page; which is as follows.*]

In *Suſſex*, there is a pretty Market-Towne, called *Horſam*, neare unto it a Forreſt, called St. *Leonards* Forreſt, and there, in a vaſt and unfrequented Place, heathie, vaultie, full of unwholeſome Shades, and over-growne Hollowes, where this Serpent is thought to be bred; but, whereſoever bred, certaine and too true it is that there it yet lives. Within three or four Miles Compaſſe, are its uſual Haunts, oftentimes at a Place called *Faygate*, and it hath been ſeene within Halfe a Mile of *Horſam*, a Wonder, no Doubt, moſt terrible and noiſome to the Inhabitants thereabouts. There is always in his Tracke or Path left a glutinous and ſlimie Matter (as by a ſmall Similitude we may perceive in a Snailes) which is very corrupt and offenſive to the Scent, inſomuch that they perceive the Air to be putrified withall, which muſt needes be very dangerous. For though the Corruption of it cannot ſtrike the outward Part of a Man, unleſs heated into his Blood, yet by receiving it in at any of our Breathing Organs (the Mouth or Noſe) it is by Authoritie of all Authors, writing in that Kinde, mortall and deadlie, as one thus ſaith:

*Noxia Serpentum eſt admixto Sanguine Peſtis.*
LUCAN.

This Serpent, or Dragon, as ſome call it, is reputed to be nine Feete, or rather more, in Length, and ſhaped almoſt in the Forme of an Axel-tree of a Cart, a Quantitie of Thickneſs in the Middeſt, and ſomewhat ſmaller at both Endes. The former Part, which he ſhootes forth as a Necke, is ſuppoſed to be an Elle long, with a white Ring, as it were, of Scales about it. The Scales along his Backe ſeem to be blackiſh, and ſo much as is diſcovered under his Bellie appeareth to be red; for I ſpeake of no nearer Deſcription than of a reaſonable ocular Diſtance. For coming too neare it hath already beene too dearely payd for, as you ſhall heare hereafter.

It is likewiſe diſcovered to have large Feete, but the Eye may be there deceived; for ſome ſuppoſe that Serpents have no Feete, but glide upon certain Ribbes and Scales, which both defend them from the upper Part of their Throat unto the lower Part of their Bellie, and alſo cauſe them to move much the faſter. For ſo this doth, and rids Way, as we call it, as faſt as a Man can run. He is of Countenance very proud, and, at the Sight or Hearing of Men or Cattell, will raiſe his Necke upright, and ſeem to liſten and looke about, with great Arrogancy. There are likewiſe on either Side of him diſcovered two great Bunches ſo big as a large Foote-Ball, and, as ſome thinke, will in Time grow to Wings; but God, I hope, will to defend the poor People in the Neighbourhood, that he ſhall be deſtroyed before he growe ſo fledge.

He will caſt his Venome about four Rodde from him, as by woefull Experience it was proved on the Bodies of a Man and a Woman comming that Way, who afterwards were found

found dead, being poyſoned and very much ſwelled, but not prayed upon. Likewiſe a Man going to chaſe it, and as he imagined, to deſtroy it with two Maſtive Dogs, as yet not knowing the great Danger of it, his Dogs were both killed, and he himſelfe glad to returne with haſt to preſerve his own Life. Yet this is to be noted, that the Dogs were not prayed upon, but ſlaine and left whole; for his Food is thought to be, for the moſt Part, in a Conie-Warren, which he much frequents, and it is found much ſcanted and impaired in the Encreaſe it had woont to afford.

Theſe Perſons, whoſe Names are hereunder printed, have ſeene this Serpent, beſide divers others, as the Carrier of *Horſam*, who lieth at the *White Horſe* in *Southwarke*, and who can certifie the Truth of all that has been here related.

*John Steele.*
*Chriſtopher Holder.*
*And a Widow Woman dwelling nere* Faygate.

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## An Epiſtle of the Ladye *Iane*, a righte vertuous Woman, to a learned Man of late falne from the Truth of Gods moſt holy Word, for Fear of the Worlde.

*Read it, to thy Conſolacion.*

Whereunto is added the Communication that ſhe had with Maſter *Feckenham*, vpon her Faith, and Belefe of the Sacraments. Alſo, another Epiſtle whiche ſhe wrote to her Siſter; with the Words ſhe ſpake vpon the Scaffold before ſhe ſuffered. Printed *Anno* M.D.LIV. *Duodecimo*, containing Thirty-one Pages.

SO oft as I cal to Mind the dreadful and feareful Sayings of God, *That he whiche laieth hold vpon the Plough, and looketh back again, is not meete for the Kyngdome of Heauen:* And, on the other Syde, to remember the comfortable Words of our Sauiour *Chriſt* to all thoſe that, forſaking them ſelues, do folowe him, I cannot but maruel at thee, and lament thy Caſe; that thou, which ſometyme waſt the liuely Member of *Chriſt*, but now the defourmed Impe of the Diuel; ſometyme the beautiful Temple of God, but now the ſtincking and filthy Kenell of *Sathan*; ſometyme the vnſpotted Spouſe of *Chriſt*, but now the unſhamefaſt Paramour of *Antichriſt*; ſometyme my faithful Brother, but now a Straunger and *Apoſtata*; yea ſometyme a ſtout Chriſten Souldier, but now a cowardly Runawaye. So ofte as I conſider the Threatninges, and Promiſes of God to al thoſe that loue him: I cannot but ſpeak to the, yea, rather cry out vpon the, thou Sede of *Sathan*, and not of *Iuda*, whom the Diuel hathe deceiued, the Worlde hath begiled, and Deſire of Life hath ſubuerted, and made the, of a Chriſtian, an Infidel. Wherefore haſt thou taken vpon the the Teſtament of the Lord in thi Mouth? Wherefore haſt thou hitherto yelded thi Body to the Fire, and blodi Handes of cruel Tirauntes? Wherefore haſt thou inſtructed other to be ſtrong in Chriſt, when thou thy ſelfe doſt nowe ſo horribly abuſe the Teſtament and Law of the Lord? When thou thy ſelfe preachedſt (not to ſteale) yet moſt abhominably ſtealeſt (not from Men) but from God, and as a moſt

moſt hainous Sacreleger, robbeſt Chriſt, thi Lorde, of his Right of his Members, of thi Body, and thi Soule: When thou thy ſelfe doſt rather choſe to liue miſerably, with Shame, to the World, then to dye, and glorioufly, with Honour, to raigne with Chriſt; in whom, euen in Death, there is Life. And, when I ſay thou thy ſelfe art moſt weke, thou oughteſt to ſhew thy ſelfe mooſt ſtronge; for the Strength of a Forte is not knowne before the Aſſaulte, but thou yeldeſt thy Holde, before any Battry be made.

Oh wretched and vnhappi Man, What art thou but Duſt and Aſhes? And wilte thou reſiſt thy Maker that formed the, and faſhioned the? Wilt thou nowe forſake him that called the from Coſtome-gathering, among the *Romiſh Antichriſtians* to be an Imbaſſadour and Meſſenger of his eternall Worde, he that firſt framed the, and ſince thi Creation, and Birth, preſerued the, noriſhed the, and kept the, yea, and inſpired the with the Spirit of Knowledge (I cannot ſay of Grace) ſhal he not poſſeſſe the? Dareſt thou deliuer vp thy ſelfe to another, being not thine owne, but his? How canſt thou, hauing Knowledge, or how dareſt thou neglect the Law of the Lord, and folow the vaine Tradicions of Men? And, whereas thou haſt been a publicke Profeſſour of his Name, become now a Defacer of his Glorye? I will thou refuſe the true God, and worſhippe the Invencion of Manne, the golden Calfe, the Whoore of *Babilon*, the *Romiſh* Religion, the abhominable Idol, the moſt wicked Maſſe? Wilt thou torment againe, rent and teare the moſt precious Bodi of our Sauiour Chriſt, with thi bodily and fleſhly Feeth? without the Breaking wherof vpon the Croſſe, our ſinful Sinnes could els nowaies be redemed? Wilt thou take vpon the to offer vp ani Sacrifice vnto God for our Synnes? Conſydering that Chriſt offred vp him ſelfe (as *Paul* ſaith) vpon the Croſſe a lyuely Sacrifice once for al.

Can neyther the Puniſment of the *Iſraelites*, whiche for their Idolatrye ſo oft they receaued, moue the? Neyther the terrible Threateninges of the auncient Prophetes ſtirre thee, nor the Curſſes of Gods own Mouth feare the to honour any other God than hym? Wilt thou ſo regarde him, that ſpared not his deare and only Sonne for the? So deminiſhing, yea, vtterlye extinguiſhing his Glorye, that thou wilt attribute the Praiſe and Honour to Idols, whiche haue Mouthes, and ſpeake not, Eyes, and ſe not, Eares, and yet heare not; which ſhal periſh with them that made them? Wh[illegible] ſaith the Prophet *Barucke*, wher he recite[illegible] the Epiſtel of *Ieremie*, written to the Captiue *Iewes?* Did he not forewarne them, that in *Babilon* thei ſhould ſe Gods of Gold, Siluer, Wood, and Stone, borne vpon Mens ſhoulders, to caſt a Fear before the *Heathen*; but be not ye afraide of them (ſaith *Ieremie*) nor do as other do; but, when you ſe other worſhip them, ſaye you in your Hartes: It is thou, O Lord, that oughteſt only to be worſhipped; for, as for the Timber of theſe Gods, the Carpenter framed them, and polyſhed them, yea, gylded be they, and laid ouer with Siluer, and vayne Thynges, and cannot ſpeake. He ſheweth, moreouer, the Abuſe of their Deckings, how the Prieſts toke of their Ornaments, and appareled their Women withall: Howe one holdeth a Septer, another a Sworde in hys Hande, and yet can they iudge in no Matter, nor defend them ſelues, much leſſe any other, from either Battel, or Murther, nor yet from Gnawing of Woormes, nor anye other euill Thyng. Theſe, and ſuch lyke Words, ſpeaketh *Ieremie* vnto them, wherby he proueth them but vain Thinges, and no Gods. And, at laſt, he concludeth thus: Confounded be thei that worſhip them. They wer warned by *Ieremie*, and thou, as *Ieremie*, haſt warned other, and art warned thy ſelfe, by many Scriptures, in many Places.

God ſaieth, he is a gelious God, which wil haue al Honour, Glorye, and Worſhip giuen to him onlye. And Chriſt ſaith in the Fourth of *Luke* to *Iathan*, whiche tempted him, euen to the ſame *Iathan*, the ſame *Belzabub*, the ſame Dyueil, whyche hath preuayled againſte thee, *It is written*, ſaieth he, *thou ſhalt honour the Lorde thy God, and him onelye ſhalt thou ſerue.* Theſe, and ſuch like, do prohibite thee and al Chriſtians to worſhip anie other God then whiche was before all Worldes, and laied the Foundations bothe of Heauen and Earth. And wilt thou honour a deteſtable Idol, inuented by *Romiſh* Popes, and the abhominable Colledge of craftie Cardinals? Chriſt offered him ſelfe vponce for al, and wilt thou offer him vp againe dayly at thy Pleaſure? But thou wilt ſaye, thou doſt it for a good Intent. Oh Sincke of Sinne, Oh Child of Perdition! Doeſt thou dreame therein a good Intent, wher thy Conſcience beareth the Witnes the Promis of Gods Wrath toward the? How did *Saule*, who, for that he dyſobeied the Word of

of God for a good Entent, was throwen from his worldli and temporal Kingdome? Shalt thou then, that doſt ſo deface Gods Honor, and robbe him of his Right, inherit the eternal and heauenly Kingdome? Wilt thou for a good Entent pluk Chriſt oute of Heauen, and make hys Deathe voyde, and deface the Tryumphe of hys Croſſe, offeryng hym vp daylye? Wilt thou, eyther for Feare of Death, or Hope of Life, deny and refuſe thi God, who enriched thi Pouerti, healed thine Infirmitie, and yelded to this Victori, if thou couldeſt have kept it? Doſt thou not conſider that the Thryde of Lyfe hangeth vpon hym that made the, who can, as his Wyll is, either twine it hard, to laſt the longer, or vntwine it againe, to breake it the ſooner? Doeſt thou not remember the Saying of *Dauid*, a notable King, whiche teacheth thee, a myſerable Wretche, hys ciiii Pſalme, where he ſayth, 'When thou takeſt away thy Spirit, 'O Lord, from Men, they dye, and ar turned 'againe to their Duſt; but, when thou letteſt 'thy Breath go fourth, they ſhal be made, 'and thou ſhalt renew the Face of the Earth.'

Remember the Saying of Chriſt in his Goſpel, 'Whoſoeuer ſeeketh to ſaue hys Lyfe, 'ſhal leſe it; but whoſoeuer wil leſe it for 'mi Sake, ſhal find it.' And in another 'Place, 'Whoſoeuer loueth Father or Mo-'ther aboue me, is not mete for me: For he 'that wyll be my Dyſciple, muſt forſake Fa-'ther and Mother, and him ſelfe, and take vp 'his Croſſe and folow me.' What Croſſe? the Croſſe of Infamy, and Shame of Miſery and Pouerty, of Affliction and Perſecution, for hys Names Sake.

Let the oft Falling of thoſe heauenly Showres pearce thy ſtonye Hart. Let the two edged Sword of Gods holy Word, ſhere a ſonder the ſewed together Sinowes of worldly Reſpectes, euen to the very Mari of thy carnal Hart, that thou maieſt once againe forſake thy ſelf, and embrace Chriſt; and like as good Subjectes wil not refuſe to haſard al in the Defence of hys earthly and temporal Gouernour: So flye not lyke a white hewred Milkſoppe from thy Standynge, wherein thy chief Captaine, Chriſt, hath ſet the in a rai of this Life, *Viriliter age, confortetur cor tuum, & ſuſtine Dominum.* Fight manfullye, come Lyfe, come Death, the Quarel is Gods, and vndoubtedly the Victorye is ours. But thou wilt ſay, I wil not break Vnitie. What, not the Vnitie of *Sathan* and his Members? Not the Vnitie of Darknes, the Agrement of *Antichriſt*, and hys Adhearentes? Nay, thou deceiueſt thy ſelfe with fond Imaginations of ſuch an Vnitie as is among the Enemyes of Chriſt. Were not the falſe Prophetes in an Vnitie? Were not *Ioſephs* Brethren and *Iacobs* Sonnes in an Vnitie? Were not the *Heathen*, as the *Amelechites*, the *Fereſites*, and *Iebuſites*, in an Vnitie? I kepe no Order, but rather looke to mi Matter. Were not the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* in an Vnitie? Doth not King *David* teſtifie, *Conuenerunt in vnum aduerſus Dominum?* Yea, Theeues and Murderers, Conſpyratours, haue theyr Vnitie.

But marke, my Frende (ye Frende) if thou be not Gods Enemy: Ther is no Vnitie but wher Chriſt knitteth the Knotte among ſuch as be hys. Yea, be you wel aſſured, that, where his Truthe is reſident, there it is verefyed that he ſayeth, *Non veni mittere pacem in terram, ſed gladium.* That is, Chriſt came to ſet one againſt another; the Sonne againſt the Father, the Daughter againſt the Mother. Deceiue not thi ſelfe therfore with the glyſteryng and gloryous Name of Vnitie; for *Antichriſt* hath his Vnitie, yet not in Deede, but in Name. The Agreement of euery Man is not an Unitie, but a Conſpiracie.

Thou haſt heard ſome Threateninges, ſome Curſes, and ſome Admoniſhions oute of the Scripture, to thoſe that loue themſelues aboue Chriſt; thou haſt heard alſo the ſharpe and byting Wordes, to thoſe that denye him for Loue of Life. Saieth he not, that 'he that 'denieth me before Men, I wyl denye hym 'before my Father in Heauen? And to the ſame Effecte wryteth Sainte *Paule*, *Hebru.* vi. 'It is impoſſible (ſaieth he) that they, which 'be once lightned, and haue taſted of the 'heauenly Gyfte, and be Partakers of the 'Holy Goſt, and haue taſted of the good 'Worde of God, if they fal and ſlide away, 'it is impoſſible that they ſhuld be renewed 'againe by Repentaunce, crucifyinge againe 'to themſelues the Sonne of God, and mak-'ing him a Mocking-ſtocke.' And again, ſaieth he, 'If we ſhal willinglie ſinne, after 'we haue receiued the Knowledge of the 'Truthe, there is no Oblation left for Sinne, 'but the terrible Expectation of Iudgement, 'and Fire, which ſhall deuour the Aduerſa-'ries.' Thus S. *Paule* writeth, and this thou readeſt, and doſt thou not quake and tremble? Well, yf theſe terrible and thundring Threatninges

ninges cannot ſtur thee, to cleaue vnto Chriſt, and forſake the World, yet let the ſwete Conſolacions and Promiſes of the Scriptures, let the Example of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, holi Martirs and Confeſſours, encourage the to take faſter Hold by Chriſt. Harken what he ſaith, 'Bleſſed are you when Men reuile 'you, and perſecute you for my Sake; re-'ioyce, and be glad, for great is your Re-'ward in Heauen: For ſo perſecuted thei the 'Prophets before you.' Heare what *Eſay* ſaith, 'Feare not the Curſſe of Men, be not afraid of 'their Blaſphemies and Reuylynges; for 'Wormes and Mothes ſhal eate them vp like 'Clothe and Wol, but my Righteouſnes ſhal en-'dure for euer, and my Sauing-health from Ge-'neration to Generation. What art thou 'then, ſaith he, that feareſt a mortal Man, 'the Child of a Man, that fadeth away as 'doth the Flower, and forgetteſt the Lord 'that made the, that ſpread out the Heauens, 'and laid the Foundations of the Earth. I 'am the Lord thy God that maketh the Sea 'to rage, and to be ſtyl, who is the Lord of 'Hoſts. I ſhal put my Word in thy Mouth, 'and defend the with the Turning of a Hand.' And our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith to his Diſciples, 'They ſhall accuſe you, and brynge you be-'fore the Princes and Rulers, for mi Names 'Sake. And ſome of you thei ſhal perſecute 'and kil, but feare you not, ſaith he, neither 'care you not what you ſhal ſay, for it is mi 'Spirit that ſpeaketh in you, the Hand of the 'Higheſt ſhal defend you, for the Heares of 'your Head are nombred, and none of them 'ſhall periſh. I have layed vp Treaſure for 'you, ſaith he, where no Theefe can ſteale, 'nor Moth corrupt, and happye are you, if 'you endure to the End. Feare not them, 'ſaith Chriſt, that haue Power ouer the Bodi 'only, but feare him that hath Power both 'ouer the Bodi and Soul. The World loueth 'her owne, and, if ye wer of the World, the 'the World wold loue you; but you are 'mine, therfore the Worlde doth hate you.' Lette theſe, and ſuch like Conſolacions, out of the Scriptures, ſtrengthen you to Godward. Let not the Enſamples of holy Men and Wo-men go out of your Mind, as *Daniel*, and the reſt of the Prophetes, of the three Chil-dren, of *Eleazarus*, that conſtant Father, of the vii. of the *Machabes* Children, of *Peter*, *Paule*, *Steuen*, and other Apoſtles and holi Martirs in the Beginning of the Church. As of good *Simeon* Archbiſhop of *Selon*, and *Zetrophone*, with infynite other vnder *Saporet* the King of the *Perſians* and *Indians*, who contempned al Tormentes deuyſed by the Ti-raunts, for theyr Sauiours Sake. Returne, returne, againe into Chriſtes Warre, and, as becommeth a faithful Warriour, put on that Armour that S. *Paule* teacheth to be moſte neceſſarye for a Chriſtian Man. And, aboue al Thynges, take to you the Sheylde of Faythe.

And be ye prouoked, by Chriſtes owne Ex-ample, to withſtande the Deuil, to forſake the World, and to becomme a true and faithful Member of his Miſtical Body, who ſpared not his own Body for our Sins. Throwe doune thy ſelfe with the Feare of his thretned Ven-geaunce for this ſo great and heinous Offence of Apoſtacy, and comfort your ſelfe on the other Part with the Mercy, Bloud, and Promi-ſes of him that is ready to tourne to you, when-ſoeuer thou tourne to him. Diſdaine not to come again with the loſt Son, ſeinge you haue ſo wandred with him. Be not aſhamed to tourne again with him from the Swil of Straungers, to the Delicates of the moſte benign and louing Father, acknoledginge, that you haue ſinned againſt Heauen and Earth. Againſt Heauen, by ſtainynge his glorious Name, and cauſed his moſt cinſere and pure Worde to be euil ſpoken of, through you. Againſt Earth, by offending your ſo many weak Brethren, to whom you haue bene a Stombling-blocke throughe your ſodaine Slidinge.

Be not aſhamed to come againe with *Marye*, and to wepe bitterly with *Peter*, not only with Sheding of Teares out of your bodely Eyes: But alſo powring out the Streames of your Heart, to waſh awaye out of the Sight of God the Filth and Mire of your offenſive Fal. Be not aſhamed to ſaye with the *Publi-cane: Lord be merciful to me a Sinner*. Re-member the horrible Hiſtory of *Iulien* of old, and the lamentable Caſe of *Fraunces Spira* of late, whoſe Caſe (me thyncketh) ſhould be yet ſo grene in your Remembraunce, that, be-ing a Thing of our Time, you ſhould fear the like Inconuenience, ſeinge that you are fallen into the like Offence. Laſt of al, let the liuely Remembraunce of the laſt Day be al-waies afore your Eyes, remembring the Ter-rour that ſuche ſhal be in it that Time, with the Runnagates and Fugetiues from Chriſt, whiche ſetting more by the Worlde, then by Hea-

Heaue, more by their Life, then bi him, that gaue them their Life, did ſhrink, yea did clean al away from him that neuer forſoke them. And contrary wiſe the ineſtimable Ioyes prepard for them that feared no Parel, nor, dreading Death, haue manfully fought, and victoriouſlye triumphed ouer al Power of Darknes, ouer Hel, Death, and Damnation, through their moſt redoubted Captain *Chriſt*, who now ſtretcheth out his Armes to receiue you, ready to fal vpon your Necke and kiſſe you, and laſt of al to feaſt you with the Deinties and Delicates of his own precious Bloud, which vndoutedly, if it might ſtand wyth his determinate Purpoſe, he wold not let to ſhed againe rather then you ſhould be loſt. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, be Honoure, Prayſe, and Glorye euerlaſtingly. *Amen.*

*Be conſtant, be conſtant, feare not for Payne:*
Chriſt *hath redemed the, and Heauen is thy Gayne.*

## A certayne Commvnycation, betwene the Ladye *Iane*, and Maſter *Feckenham*, iiii Dayes before her Death, euen Word for Word, her own Hand being put therto.

*Feckenham* firſt ſpeaketh.

WHat Thing is required in a Chriſtian.

*Iane.* To beleue in God the Father, in God the Sonne, in God the Holi Goſt, thre Perſons and one God.

*Fecken.* Is ther Nothing els required in a Chriſtian, but to beleue in God?

*Iane.* Yes, we muſt beleue in hym, we muſt loue hym, with al our Hart, with al our Soule, and al our Minde, and our Neyghbour as our ſelfe.

*Fecken.* Why then Faith iuſtifieth not, nor ſaueth not.

*Iane.* Yes verely, Faith (as St. *Paule* ſaith) only iuſtifieth.

*Fecken.* Whi S. *Paule* ſaith: If I haue al Faith without Loue, it is Nothing.

*Iane.* True it is, for howe can I loue hym, in whom I truſt not? Or howe can I truſt in hym, whom I loue not? Faith and Loue agreeth both together, and yet Loue is comprehended in Faith.

*Fecken.* Howe ſhall we loue oure Neyghbour?

*Iane.* To loue oure Neyghbour, is to feede the Hungri, clothe the Naked, and geue Drinke to the Thirſty, and to do to hym, as we wold do to our ſelues.

*Fecken.* Why then it is neceſſary to Saluation to do good Workes, and it is not ſufficient to beleue?

*Iane.* I deny that, and I affirme that Faith onlye ſaueth. But it is mete for Chriſtians, in Token that thei folow their Maſter Chriſt, to do good Workes, yet may we not ſay that thei profit to Saluacion. For, although we haue al don al that we can, yet we be vnprofitable Seruauntes, and the Faith onelye in Chriſtes Bloude ſaueth.

*Fecken.* Howe many Sacramentes be there?

*Iane.* Two, the one the Sacrament of Baptiſme, and the other the Sacrament of oure Lordes Supper.

*Fecken.* No, ther be vii.

*Iane.* By what Scripture find you that?

*Fecken.* Well, we will talke ther of hereafter. But what is ſignifyed by youre two Sacramentes?

*Iane.* Bi the Sacrament of Baptiſme, I am waſhed with Water, and regenerated bi the Spirite; and that Waſhing is a Token to me, that I am the Child of God. The Sacrament of the Lordes Supper is offred vnto me as a ſure Seale and Teſtimoni, that I am by the Bloud of Chriſte, whiche he ſhedde for me on the Croſſe, made Partaker of the euerlaſting Kyngdome.

*Fecken.* Why, what do you receiue in that Bread? Do you not receiue the very Body and Bloude of Chriſt?

*Iane.* No ſurelye, I do not beleue ſo. I thinck that at that Supper I receiue neither Fleſh, nor Bloud, but only Bread and Wine. The which Breade when it is broken, and the Wine when it is dronke, putteth me in Minde, howe that for my Sins the Body of Chriſt was broken, and his Bloud ſhed on the Croſſe, and, with that Bread and Wine, I receyue the Benefites that cam bi Breaking of his Bodi, and bi the Sheddying of his Bloud on the Croſſe for mi Sins.

*Fecken.* Why, doth not Chriſt ſpeake theſe Wordes: Take, eate, this is my Bodi? Require we ani plainer Wordes? Doth not he ſay, that it is hys Body?

*Iane.* I graunt he ſaieth ſo, and ſo he ſaieth: I am the Vine, I am the Doore, but yet he is neuer the more the Vine nor Doore. Doth not S. *Paule* ſay, that he calleth thoſe Things that are not, as though thei were? God forbid that I ſhuld ſay that I eate the very natural Bodi and Bloud of Chriſt, for then eyther I ſhuld pluk awai my Redemtion, either els ther wer ii. Bodies, or ii. Chriſtes or els ii. Bodies; the one Bodi was tormented on the Croſſe, and then, if thei did eate another Bodi, then either he had ii. Bodies, either els, if his Bodi were eaten, it was not broken vpon the Croſſe; or els, if it wer broken vpon the Croſſe, it was not eaten of his Diſciples.

*Fecken.* Whi is it not as poſſible, that Chriſt by his Power coulde make his Bodi both to be eaten and broken, as to be borne of a Woman, without the Sede of Man, and as to walke on the Sea, hauing a Bodi, and other ſuch like Miracles as he wrought by his Power onlye?

*Iane.* Yes vereli if God wold haue done at his Supper a Miracle, he might haue don ſo; but I ſay he minded no Worke, or Miracle, but only to breake his Bodi, and ſhed his Bloud on the Croſſe for our Sins. But I pray you anſwer me to thys one Queſtion, Wher was Chriſt when he ſayd: Take, eate, this is my Bodi? Was not he at the Table when he ſaid ſo? He was at that Time aliue, and ſuffred not, til the next Daye. Well, what tooke he, but Breade? And what brake he, but Breade? And what gaue he, but Breade? Looke what he toke, he brake, and looke what he brake, he gaue, and looke what he gaue, that did they eate, and yet al this while he hym ſelfe was at Supper before his Diſciples, or els they were deceiued.

*Fecken.* You ground your Faith vpon ſuche Authors as ſay and vnſay, both with a Breathe, and not vpon the Churche, to whom you ought to geue Credyt.

*Iane.* No, I ground my Faith vpon Gods Word, and not vpon the Churche. For if the Churche be a good Churche, the Faith of the Churche muſt be tried by Gods Word, and not Gods Word by the Churche, neither yet mi Faith. Shall I beleue the Churche, becauſe of Antiquitie? Or ſhall I geue Credit to that Churche, that taketh awai from me the half Parte of the Lordes Supper, and wyl let no lai Man receiue it in both Kyndes, but them ſelues? Which Thing if they denye to vs, thei denie vs Parte of our Saluation; and I ſay that is an euyl Church, and not the Spouſe of Chriſt, but the Spouſe of the Diuel, that altreth the Lordes Supper, and both taketh from it, and addeth to it. To that Churche I ſaye, God wyl adde Plages, and from that Churche wyl he take their Parte out of the Booke of Lyfe. Do you not learne that of S. *Paule*, when he miniſtred it to the *Corinthians*, in both Kyndes? Shall I beleue that Churche? God forbid.

*Fecken.* That was done of a good Intent of the Churche to auoide an Hereſi that ſprong on it.

*Iane.* Whi, ſhal the Churche alter Gods Wyl and Ordinaunces, for a good Intent? How did King *Saul* the Lord define? With theſe and ſuch like Perſwaſions, he wolde haue had me to haue leaned to the Churche, but it would not be. Ther wer many mo Thinges, whereof we reaſoned, but theſe wer the chief.

Be me *Iane Dudley.*

Theſe Woordes were ſpoken openlye. After this Maſter *Feckenham* tooke his Leaue ſayinge, that he was ſorie for her. For, ſaid he, I am ſure we two ſhal neuer mete. Trothe it is, quoth ſhe, that we ſhall neuer mete, vnleſſe God turne your Hart. For I am ſure, vnleſſe you repent and turne to God, you ar in an euyl Caſe, and I pray to God, in the Bowels of his Mercie, to ſende you his holy Spirite. For he hath geuen you his great Gift of Vtteraunce, if it pleaſe him to open the Eyes of your Hart to his Truth. And ſo ſhe departed.

## *An Exhortation, written by the Lady* Iane, *the Night before ſhe ſuffered, in the Ende of the* New Teſtament, *in* Greke, *which ſhe ſent to her Siſter, Lady* Katerine.

I haue here ſent you, good Siſter *Katerine*, a Boke, which although it be not outwardly trimmed with Gold, yet inwardli it is more worth then precious Stones. It is the Boke (deare Siſter) of the Lawe of the Lorde. It is his Teſtament and laſt Wil, whiche he bequethed vnto vs Wretches, whiche ſhal leade you to the Path of eternall Ioye. And if you with a good Mynde read it, and with an erneſt Deſire folowe it, it ſhal bring you an immortal and euerlaſting Life. It will teache you to *liue* and learne you to dye. It ſhal winne you more, then you ſhould haue gained by the Poſſeſſion of your woful Fathers Landes. For, as if God had proſpered him you ſhould haue inherited his Landes; ſo, if you appli diligently this Boke, ſeking to direct your Life after it, you ſhal be an Inheritour of ſutche Riches, as neither the Couetous ſhal withdraw from you, neither the Theiſe ſhall ſteale, neither yet the Mothes corrupte. Deſire with *Dauid* (good Siſter) to vnderſtand the Lawe of the Lord your God. *Liue ſtil* to dye, that you by Death maye purchaſe eternall Life. And truſt not that the Tendernes of your Age ſhal lengthen your Life; for aſſone (if God cal) goth the Yong as the Olde. And laboure alwaye to learne to dye. Deny the World, defie the Deuil, and diſpiſe the Fleſh, and delight your ſelfe only in the Lord. Be penitent for your Sinnes, and yet diſpaire not: Be ſtrong in Faith, and yet preſume not; and deſire with S. *Paule* to bee diſſolued, and to be with Chriſte, with whom, euen in Death ther is Life.

Be like the good Seruaunt, and euen at Midnight be waking: Leaſt, when Death commeth and ſteale vpon you, like a Theiſe in the Nighte, you be with the Deuils Seruaunt found ſleping; and leaſt for Lacke of Oyle ye bee founde like the fiue fooliſhe Wemen, and like him that had not on the Wedding Garment; and then you be caſt out from the Mariage. Reioyce in Chriſt, as I truſt ye do. And ſeinge ye haue the Name of a Chriſtian, as nere as ye can, folow the Steppes of your Maſter Chriſt, and take vp your Croſſe, lay your Sinnes on his Backe, and alwaies imbrace him. And, as touching my Death, reioyce as I do (good Siſter) that I ſhal be deliuered of this Corruption, and put on Vncorruption. For I am aſſured, that I ſhal, for Loſing of a mortal Life, winne an immortal Life. The whiche I praye God graunt you, ſende you of his Grace to liue in his Feare, and to dye in the true Chriſtian Faith. From the whiche, in Gods Name, I exhorte you that ye neuer ſwarue, neither for Hope of Life, nor Fear of Death. For if ye wil deny his Truth, to lengthen your Life: God wil deny you, and yet ſhorten your Daies. And, if ye wil cleaue to him, he wil prolonge your Daies, to your Comforte, and his Glory. To the which Glory, God bringe me howe, and you hereafter, whan it ſhal pleaſe God to cal you. Far well, good Siſter, and put your onlye Truſt in God, who onely muſt helpe you. *Amen.*

*Your louing Siſter,*

Iane Dudley.

## *The Lady* Ianes *Wordes vpon the Scaffold.*

'GOod Chriſten People, I am vnder a Lawe, and by a Lawe I am condemned to dye, not for ani Thing I haue offended the Quenes Maieſti, for I wil waſh my Hands giltles therof, but only for that I conſented to the Thing whiche I was inforced vnto. Notwithſtanding I haue offended Almyghtie God, for that I haue folowed ouer much the Luſt of mi Fleſh, and the Pleaſure of this wretched World, and I haue not liued according to the Knowledge that God hath geuen me; wherfore God hath plaged me nowe wyth thys Kinde of Death, and that worthelye accordyng to my Deſertes. Howebeit I thancke him hartelie that he hath geuen me Time to repent my Syns here in

this World. Wherfor, good Chriſtian People, I ſhall deſyre you al to pray with me, and for me, while I am now aliue, that God of his Goodnes will forgeue me my Sinnes. And I pray you al to beare me Witneſſe, that I here dye a true Chriſtian Woman, and that I truſte to be ſaued by the Bloud of Ieſus Chriſt, and bi none other Meanes; and now I pray you al, 'pray for me, and with me, and ſo ſayed the 'Pſalm of *Miſerere mei*; that don, ſhe ſaied, 'Lorde ſaue my Soule, whyche now I com-'mend into thy Handes, and ſo prepared her 'ſelfe meekelie to the Blocke.

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# The Hiſtory of the *Gunpowder-Treaſon*: Collected from approved Authors, as well *Popiſh* as *Proteſtant* *.

*Sæpe Divinitatis opera hæc ſunt, & furias in ipſo jam ſucceſſu ſecuras ſubita ultio excipiat; ne vel unquam improbis timor, vel ſpes abſit calamitoſæ virtuti.*

Jo. Barclaii Conſpiratio Anglicana.

Printed at *London*, in 1678. *Quarto*, containing thirty-two Pages.

THERE are no Conſpiracies and Inſurrections more dangerous to States and Governments, than thoſe, that the Name of Religion is made to patroniſe; for, when that doth head and manage the Party, as it makes it look ſomewhat conſiderable in itſelf, ſo it doth inſpire thoſe, that are concerned, with a certain furious and intemperate Zeal, and an ungovernable Violence: They then rebel with Authority, and kill with a ſafe Conſcience, and think they cannot do amiſs, as long as it is to do God Service. *The Brother will then deliver up the Brother to Death, and the Father the Child; and the Children will riſe up againſt their Parents, and cauſe them to be put to Death*; and the Laws of Nature, which are of themſelves ſacred and inviolable, ſhall, in ſuch a Caſe, be deſpiſed, and loſe their Authority. This, this is it, which, in theſe latter Ages more eſpecially, hath diſturbed Governments, diſpoſed of the Crowns of Princes, and troubled the Peace of the World: From hence ſpring all thoſe Miſchiefs, that threatened and perpetually alarmed this Nation, during the long and fortunate Reign of Queen *Eliſabeth*: From hence proceeded that barbarous and bloody Deſign of the *Gun-powder Treaſon*, in 1605: Such a Deſign, as the World before never heard of, and which Poſterity will hardly believe, for the Horror of it, ſay the ſoberer of their own † Authors: Such a Deſign, as even ſome of the Jeſuits, after it miſcarried, and they ſaw how ill it was reſented by the reſt of Mankind, profeſſed their Deteſtation of ‡; but how little to

* The Authors, from whence this Narrative hath been collected, are, *Thuanus*; *Jo. Barclaii Conſpiratio Anglicana*. Proceedings againſt the Traitors, printed in 1606; *Hiſtoria Miſſionis Anglicanæ, Societatis Jeſu, Collectore Henrico Moro*, printed at St. *Omers*, 1660. *Andreæ Eudæmon-Joannis Apologia pro Garnetto. Rob. Abboti Antilogia adverſus Apologiam Andreæ Eudæmon-Joannis. Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jeſu.*

† *Thuanus. Barclay. Rog. Widdrington*, in his Apolog. *pro Jure Principum*, pag. 1.

‡ *Mori* Hiſtoria Miſſionis Anglicanæ Præfat.

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their own Vindication, and the Satisfaction of the World, will eaſily appear to any one, that doth impartially inquire into the Hiſtory and the Proceſs of it. For this Deſign was not taken up of a ſudden, and what a ſmall Company of raſh and hot-headed Perſons did without Conſideration attempt, but what proceeded from the ſame Original, and was carried on by the ſame Counſels and Endeavours, that were in Being in the Time of Queen *Eliſabeth*; the Principals in which, for their Time, were, *Garnet*, the Provincial of the Jeſuits in *England*, *Baldwin* in *Flanders*, and *Creſwel* in *Spain*: Theſe were the great Projectors and Encouragers of that which was called the *Spaniſh Treaſon*, in the laſt Year of Queen *Eliſabeth*; and which when defeated in by her Death, and the Peace that iſſued upon it betwixt the Crowns of *England* and *Spain*, they were put upon new Counſels, and forced to take other Meaſures for the Proſecution of it.

It was in *December*, in the Year 1601, that *Thomas Winter* was ſent into *Spain*, by the joint Advice of *Henry Garnet* and *Oſwald Teſmond*, Jeſuits, and of *Robert Catesby* and *Francis Treſham*, Gentlemen of good Quality and Reputation, to try what could be done for *their* Aſſiſtance, that were ready to ſacrifice their Lives and Fortunes for the Catholick Cauſe; and to aſſure the King of *Spain*, that, could they but prevail with him to ſend over an Army, they would have in Readineſs Fifteen-hundred, or Two-thouſand Horſes for the Service. With *Winter* was ſent over *Oſwald Teſmond*, and by them a Letter to *Creſwel*, the Jeſuit, then reſiding there; by whoſe Mediation the Motion was readily hearkened to, and *Don Pedro Franceſa*, ſecond Secretary of State, and the Duke of *Lerma* did aſſure them of the King's Furtherance and Help; and, in the Concluſion, the Count of *Miranda* particularly told them, that his Maſter had reſolved to beſtow 200,000 Crowns to that Uſe, Half to be paid that Year, and the reſt the next following; and that, at *Spring*, he would, without Fail, ſet Footing in *England*.

About the latter End of the Year, *Thomas Winter* returns with this joyful News, and they were now buſy in preparing for it, and almoſt every Day expecting the Arrival of theſe Forces, when of a ſudden all was daſhed by the Death of Queen *Eliſabeth*, which was *March* the Twenty-fourth, 1602. Upon this, one of the *Wrights* is immediately diſpatched into *Spain*, to give the King Notice of it; and about the ſame Time was *Guy Fawkes* ſent, with Letters and Commiſſion, from Sir *William Stanley*, *Hugh Owen*, and *Baldwin* the Jeſuit (who were then in *Flanders*, and ready to attend and to proſecute the ſame Deſign) but that King told them, that he was now otherwiſe reſolved, and it became him not to hearken to ſuch Propoſals, after he had ſent Ambaſſadors to the new King of *England* to treat of a Peace. It was now, therefore, fit either to let their Deſign fall, or to betake themſelves to ſome other Courſe to effect it: But the former their Temper and their Principles would not permit; and therefore, ſince they could not promiſe themſelves Succeſs therein by Force, they did contrive how, without any Noiſe, or viſible and open Preparations, it might be obtained.

That a King or Queen, who is an Heretick, may be depoſed or killed, was current Doctrine amongſt them, in the Time of Queen *Eliſabeth*, and what they had been taught from Father *Creſwel*, or whoever was the Author of the Book called *Philopater*, and by *Treſham*, in his Book, *De Officio hominis Chriſtiani*, found with them about this Time. And, though the King was not formally declared and proceeded againſt, as ſuch, yet it was thought ſufficient, by them, that the Pope, on *Maunday-Thurſday*, did cenſure and condemn all Hereticks in the General, as *Guy Fawkes* and others of them did confeſs; and therefore the Queſtion was not ſo much about the Lawfulneſs of it, as about the Order that was to be obſerved, and the Way that was fit to be taken in it. *Cateſby*, who was no Novice in theſe Affairs, and that, from his Acquaintance with *Parſons*, when in *England*, and *Garnet*, and the other Jeſuits (to whoſe Order he and his Family, from *Campian* down to this Time, were particularly devoted) had learned great Skill and Subtlety, quickly contrived this for them; and, when *Percy*, who was of the Houſe of *Northumberland*, and at that Time one of the King's Penſioners, according to the Bluntneſs of his Temper, did offer himſelf for the Service, and that he would, without any more Ado, undertake to aſſaſſinate the King, this wary Gentleman replied: That would be too dear a Purchaſe, when his own Life would be hazarded in it; and it was unneceſſary, when

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it might as well be accompliſhed without it; and ſo acquaints him, in Part, with what was intended.

Before this was fit to be fully communicated, he thought it neceſſary, that there ſhould be ſome Care taken to oblige all to Secrecy; for which Purpoſe, an Oath was deviſed, that every one ſhould take, and which was accordingly adminiſtered to them by *Gerard* the Jeſuit. The Oath was:

"You ſhall ſwear by the bleſſed Trinity, "and by the Sacrament, you now purpoſe to "receive, never to diſcloſe, directly nor in- "directly, by Word or Circumſtance, the "Matter that ſhall be propoſed to you to keep "ſecret; nor deſiſt from the Execution there- "of, until the reſt ſhall give you Leave."

This was taken, and the Sacrament upon it received by *Catesby*, *Percy*, *Chriſtopher Wright*, *Thomas Winter*, and *Fawkes*, in *May* 1604.

Upon which, *Catesby* communicated the Whole, and told them, that, at the Meeting of the Parliament, which now drew on, they would have a fair Opportunity to conſummate all their Wiſhes, and without being obſerved or diſcovered, by one fatal Blow to deſtroy the King, the Prince, the Duke, and the Parliament at once; for, as long as there were thoſe Branches of the Royal Family remaining, to what Purpoſe would it be to make away the King? And, as long as there was a Parliament in Being, what ſhould they get, if they could not as well deſtroy the Branches, as the Root? Therefore his Deſign was to extirpate at once all the Seeds of Hereſy, and, by a Train of Powder conveniently laid under the Houſe, in which at that Time they ſhould all be aſſembled, to blow them up, and their Cauſe together. This was what the Confederates very well approved of, and now they united Counſels and Endeavours to carry it on.

The firſt Thing to be conſidered was the Hiring of the Houſe, and this *Percy* undertook, and, having, not without ſome Difficulty, perſuaded the preſent Tenant, *Ferris*, to quit it, he became immediate Tenant to *Whinyard*, Keeper of the Wardrobe; at whoſe Diſpoſal it was, in the Intervals of Parliament. The Houſe was committed to the Care of *Fawkes*, as being leaſt known; who, the better to conceal himſelf, changed his Name to *Johnſon*, and gave himſelf out to be *Percy's* Servant. Whilſt they were thus buſy in contriving and carrying on their Plot, the Parliament was prorogued till *February* the Seventh, upon which they diſperſed themſelves in ſeveral Countries; but, to loſe no Time, did think of taking in ſome other Perſons, whom they might confide in, and expect ſome Help from. *Catesby* was ſenſible, that he had given *Thomas Bates*, a Servant of his, that attended him, too great Cauſe of Suſpicion, and upon Examination found him to have obſerved ſomewhat from his Proceedings, and therefore invited him into the Undertaking; but he, ſomewhat ſurpriſed at the Horror of it, began to decline it, till his Maſter referred him for Advice to *Teſmond*; unto whom imparting it in Confeſſion, the ſubtle Prieſt both invited him to it, as a Work of great Merit, and obliged him to Secrecy and Fidelity therein. Then were *Robert Keyes*, and the other *Wright*, Gentlemen, and *Ambroſe Rockwood*, and *John Grant*, and *Robert Winter*, Eſquires, admitted into the Number. In *Michaelmas*-Term they met again, and then they thought fit to provide a Storehouſe for the Timber which they ſhould uſe in the Mine that they intended to make, and for the Powder and other Materials; from whence they might fetch it, as Occaſion ſerved. And ſuch a Place they found and took at *Lambeth*. *December* the Eleventh, they began to work; but, what from the Difficulty of the Work (the Wall, that they were to make their Way through, being three Ells thick) what from their Want of Skill in it, and of being uſed to ſuch Kind of Labour, they found that their Time would be too ſhort for their Enterpriſe, and they began to deſpair of Succeſs in it. But, when under this Irreſolution and Diſcouragement, their Hopes were revived by two unexpected Accidents: For, *firſt*, the Parliament was adjourned to the Fifth of *October* following; by which Means they ſhould have Time before them. And, then, they had an Opportunity of hiring a Vault much more for their Turn, than the Mine which they had ſo long employed themſelves in. This they came to the Knowledge of, upon this Occaſion: As they were one Day buſy at their Work, they were not a little frighted by an unuſual Noiſe on the other Side of the Wall, which made them think that they were betrayed, and

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to betake themſelves to their Weapons, with a Reſolution of dying upon the Place. But *Fawkes*, who was ſent out to make Diſcovery, returns with Joy to tell them, that it was only the Removing of Coals, that were laid in the adjoining Vault or Cellar, which was now to be let. This they preſently hire; thither they brought their Stores. By this Means they gained a double Advantage: *Firſt*, that their Buſineſs was brought into a leſs Room, which was more for their Eaſe and Safety; and, *then*, that they were rid of their hard, and, but upon ſuch a Cauſe, to them intolerable Labour; for this was a Mine, as it were, already, and what was ſo well ſituated by its being almoſt under the Royal Throne, that they could not have choſe any Thing more commodious. And now they were at Leiſure, not ſo much to think of this Deſign (for that was brought to its Head, and what they reckoned themſelves ſure of) as how to carry on the other Part of it. The King and Prince *Henry*, they did not doubt, would fall in this common Calamity; but the Duke, being but four Years old, they thought, would be abſent; of him, therefore, *Percy* took the Charge, and ſaid, he would attend about the Chamber till the Blow was given, and then in a Trice conveigh him away, with the Help of two or three, that ſhould be ready on Horſeback: Which they might the more eaſily do, as many of the Court would be that Day upon Attendance, and periſh with the reſt; and the others would by it be put into Confuſion, and unprovided to make any Oppoſition. As for the Lady *Eliſabeth*, ſhe might be reſerved, and her Name made Uſe of by them in ſtilling and compoſing the Minds of the People, and for making good whatever they thought fit to uſe her Authority in; and her they might the more eaſily gain into their Hands, as ſhe was now at the Lord *Harrington*'s, at *Comb-Abbey* in *Warwickſhire*, whereabouts they might ſecurely be, under the Pretence of an Hunting-match, and with the firſt News there ſurpriſe her.

In the mean Time, was Care taken to give Notice to thoſe Abroad, whom they might truſt; and, in *March* 1605, is *Fawkes* ſent over to Sir *William Stanley* and *Hugh Owen*, and with Letters from *Garnet* to *Baldwin*, the Legier Jeſuit in *Flanders*. Sir *William* was abſent, but, having firſt adminiſtered the Oath of Secrecy to *Owen*, he acquaints him with the Plot; who promiſed to give his utmoſt Aſſiſtance, and to diſpoſe Sir *William* to it (whom he thought it not fit, for the Preſent, to communicate it to, for Fear he might be diſcovered, and fail in a Deſign, that he was then about, in the Court of *England.*)

To the twenty Barrels of Powder, laid in at firſt, they added, in *July*, twenty more with Bars of Iron and maſſy Stones, and at the laſt made up the Number thirty-ſix; over which they laid a thouſand Billets and five-hundred Faggots. And, at a Meeting at the *Bath* of *Percy* and *Cateſby*, it was agreed, that *Cateſby* ſhould take in whom he thought fit; who thereupon engaged Sir *Everard Digby*, that promiſed to advance fifteen-hundred Pounds towards it; and Mr. *Francis Treſham*, that gave him Aſſurance of two-thouſand Pounds.

All Things thus being in a Readineſs, the Parliament was again prorogued till the Fifth of *November*; upon which they retired, with a Promiſe of meeting about ten Days before: At which Time, *Cateſby* being informed by *Winter*, at a Houſe by *Enfield-chace*, that the Prince was not likely to be preſent with the King, there was another Plot laid to ſurpriſe him, if it ſhould ſo happen.

The Time drew very near, and they, that had paſt ſo long without Diſcovery, ſeemed now to be above the Fear of it. All Things had ſo happily concurred to further their Deſign, and they had all approved themſelves to be ſo truſty in it, that they were more concerned how to manage their Succeſs, than to fear it. But God, that had a Reſerve of Favour for us, and that doth delight in Catching the Wiſe in their own Craftineſs, ſuffered them to proceed thus far in it, that the Detection and Overthrow of it might appear to be more from his, than Man's Providence. When *Catesby* firſt thought of this, the great Difficulty, with him, was about the Lawfulneſs of deſtroying the Innocent with the Guilty: For the Blow would know no Difference betwixt a Catholick and an Heretick, betwixt a Friend or Foe. When the Nobles and the Commons, thoſe that were a Part of that Aſſembly, and thoſe that came to be Auditors and Spectators only; thoſe that were within, and thoſe that were without the Houſe; when no leſs than Thirty-thouſand muſt periſh at once by it (as *Barclay* ſaith it was computed) it muſt needs be, that many,

whom

whom they wiſhed well to, and that alſo (if they knew it) would wiſh well to their Cauſe, muſt be Part of the Sacrifice. What an Havock would thirty-ſix Barrels, or nine or ten-thouſand Pounds, of Powder make, loaded thus with Bars of Iron, maſſy Stones, and great Pieces of Timber? How would it tear the Foundations of the ſtrongeſt Buildings, throw down all the Tops of the neighbouring Houſes, and bury all within the Ruins of both? What would become of their Friends and Allies, thoſe that they had received much Kindneſs from; and others, who neither did, nor knew how to do them an Injury? How many Families muſt they undo, by the Loſs of Relations, Eſtates, and Records which were there depoſited? This, and much more, was what they well foreſaw, and what they could not foreſee without ſome Kind of Horror, if they had but one Spark of Humanity left untouched by their unnatural Religion. What muſt therefore be done? To whom ſhould he reſort for Counſel, but to his faſt Friend, Father *Garnet?* To him he opens the Caſe (as far as it was fit, and as far as the other was willing to know of it) after this Manner:

"Whether, for the Good and Promotion "of the Catholick Cauſe (the Neceſſity of "Time and Occaſion ſo requiring) it be law-"ful, or not, amongſt many Nocents, to "deſtroy and take away ſome Innocents alſo?

To which the Jeſuit replies: "That, if "the Advantage was greater, on the Side of "the Catholicks, by the Deſtruction of the "Innocent with the Nocent, than by the "Preſervation of both, it was doubtleſs law-"ful;" further explaining himſelf by this Compariſon: "That if, at the Taking of a "Town poſſeſſed by the Enemy, there hap-"pen to be ſeen Friends, they muſt undergo "the Fortune of War, and the general and "common Deſtruction of the Enemy."

With this Anſwer *Catesby* was ſatisfied, and with this Anſwer he ſatisfied others; telling them, that it was the Reſolution of the Caſe given by the Provincial.

But yet, though this did thus compoſe their Minds, and what they were generally ſatisfied with, yet there wanted not one that, having a Kindneſs for the Lord *Monteagle*, eldeſt Son to the Lord *Morley*, ſent this Note to him, by the Hands of one of his Foot-boys, that was abroad in the Evening of the *Saturday* was Se'nnight before the appointed Time for the Meeting of the Parliament.

*My Lord,*

"Out of the Love, I bear to ſome of your "Friends, I have a Care of your Preſerva-"tion: Therefore I would adviſe you, as "you tender your Life, to deviſe ſome Ex-"cuſe to ſhift off your Attendance at this Par-"liament; for God and Man have concur-"red to puniſh the Wickedneſs of this Time. "And think not ſlightly of this Advertiſe-"ment, but retire yourſelf into your own "Country, where you may expect the Event "in Safety: For, though there be no Ap-"pearance of any Stir, yet, I ſay, they ſhall "receive a terrible Blow this Parliament, and "yet they ſhall not ſee who hurt them. This "Counſel is not to be contemned, becauſe "it may do you Good, and can do you no "Harm; for the Danger is paſt, as ſoon as "you ſhall have burned this Letter; and I "hope God will give you the Grace to make "good Uſe of it; to whoſe holy Protection "I commend you."

The Letter was without Date or Subſcription; and the Hand, in which it was writ, was hardly legible, and the Contents of it ſo perplexed, that the Lord knew as little what to make of it, as whence it came: But yet, however, ſince it reſpected more than himſelf, he thought not fit to conceal it, and preſently repaired to *Whitehall*, and put it into the Hands of the Earl of *Salisbury*, principal Secretary of State. The Earl commended the Lord for his Care and Fidelity, and told him, that, though there ſeemed to be little in it, yet, becauſe of the Reports that he had received from Abroad, that the *Papiſts*, this Seſſion of Parliament, would be very buſy and inſolent in their Demands for Toleration, upon ſome Proſpect they had of being in a Condition to command it; and alſo that, becauſe nothing, that concerned the Safety of his Majeſty, and Peace of his Government, ought to be ſlighted, he would adviſe with others of his Majeſty's Council about it. Accordingly, he ſhewed it to the Lord Chamberlain (to whom it particularly belonged to viſit all Places, where his Majeſty either lived, or to which he did reſort) to the Lord High-Admiral, the Earls of *Worceſter* and *Northamp-*

*ton*;

*ton*; who all were of the ſame Mind with the Secretary, and concluded it fit to deliver it to the King at his Return from *Royſton*, when he came from Hunting, and from whence he was expected, the *Thurſday* following.

On the next Day after his Return, the Earl preſented him with it, and told him how it came to his Hands. After the Reading of it, the King made a Pauſe, and then, reading it again, ſaid, That there ſeemed ſomewhat in it *extraordinary*, and what was by no Means to be neglected. The Earl replied, That it ſeemed to him to be written by a Fool, or a Madman; for who elſe could be guilty of ſaying, "The Danger is paſt, as ſoon as you "have burned the Letter?" For what Danger could there be in that, which the Burning of the Letter would put an End to? But the King, conſidering the Smartneſs of the Stile, and, withal, what was ſaid before, "That "they ſhould receive a terrible Blow, and yet "ſhould not ſee who hurt them," did conclude, as he was walking and muſing in the Gallery, that the Danger muſt be ſudden, and like the Blowing up by Gunpowder; for what elſe could the Parliament be in Danger of? Or, what Rebellion and Inſurrection could there be, and yet there be no Appearance of Stir therein? Or, how could they be otherwiſe hurt, and not ſee who hurt them? And, as for the Phraſe, which the Secretary particularly offered at, he ſaid, To him it ſeemed to be of a quite different Signification, and that thereby was to be underſtood the Suddenneſs and Quickneſs of it, which ſhould as ſoon, or as quickly, be done, as that Paper might be burnt. Doubtleſs this was the Senſe of it, and what he that wrote it did intend, who was no Fool, as appears by the other Parts of the Letter; and yet the Diſcovery of it was extraordinary, being againſt the common Conſtruction, far from what any other did apprehend by it; and therefore it is what even ſome of the adverſe Party have looked upon, as God's Inſpiration. So *John Barclay* intitles his little Book, that he wrote about it, *Series patefacti divinitus Parricidii*, &c. And *Spondanus*, Ann. 1605. §. 8. ſaith of the King, that *divinitus evaſit*.

The Secretary admired the King's great Sagacity; and, though he ſeemed to differ from him, whilſt in his Preſence, yet preſently conferred with the Lords about it, and on *Saturday* it was reſolved, that the Houſes and Rooms thereabouts ſhould be ſearched. The Care of this was committed to the Lord Chamberlain, who was appointed on *Monday* to make the Search; which he accordingly did, that Evening, being accompanied with the Lord *Monteagle*, that was very deſirous of ſeeing the Event. Having viewed this Houſe, they found, in a Vault under Ground, great Store of Billets, Faggots, and Coal, brought thither (as Mr. *Whinyard* told them) for the Uſe of Mr. *Percy*, and eſpied *Fawkes* ſtanding in a Corner of the Cellar, who ſaid, that he was Mr. *Percy*'s Servant, and left there by him for the Keeping of his Houſe. Upon the Naming of *Percy*, the Lord *Monteagle* told the Chamberlain, that he now vehemently ſuſpected Mr. *Percy* to be the Author of that Letter, both from his Inclination to the *Romiſh* Religion, and the Intimacy that had been betwixt them. How true that Lord's Conjecture was, I know not (for Biſhop *Goodman*, in his Anſwer to Sir *Anthony Weldon*'s Court of King *James*, ſaith, that *Treſham* ſent it). But that Circumſtance, with what they had diſcovered, ſo much increaſed the Suſpicion, that, when all was reported by the Lord Chamberlain to the King, in the Preſence of the Lord Admiral, Lord Treaſurer, the Earls of *Worceſter*, *Northampton*, and *Salisbury*, it was reſolved, that further Search ſhould be made, what was under that great Pile of Fewel, in ſuch a Houſe, where *Percy* had ſo little Occaſion to reſide. But, what for avoiding the Report of too much Credulity, and Eaſineſs to receive Informations of that Kind; what from the Care of doing any Thing that might redound to the Blemiſh of the Earl of *Northumberland*, whoſe near Relation and great Confident this *Thomas Percy* was, it was reſolved to do it under the Pretence of making Inquiſition for ſome of the King's Hangings, that were ſtolen out of *Whinyard*'s Cuſtody. Sir *Thomas Knevet*, one of the King's Privy-chamber, was employed in it, being a Perſon in publick Office, as a Juſtice of Peace, and of great Prudence. At Midnight he repaired thither, and found *Fawkes* ſtanding at the Door, booted and ſpurred, whom he preſently apprehended. Then, proceeding, he firſt lighted upon one of the ſmaller, and after diſcovered the reſt of the Barrels: Upon which, cauſing *Fawkes* to be ſearched, he found about him three Matches, a Tinder-box, and a dark Lanthorn.

Being thus taken in the Fact, he both confeſſed

feſſed and defended it; adding, "That, if he "had happened to be within the Houſe, as he "was without, he would, by putting Fire to "the Train, have put an End to their En-"quiry." Sir *Thomas*, having had ſuch happy Succeſs, immediately returns with Joy to the Palace, and acquaints the Lord Chamberlain and Earl of *Salisbury* with it, who went to the King's Bed-chamber; and, with as much Haſte as Joy, the Chamberlain told the King, that all was diſcovered, and the Traitor in ſafe Cuſtody. This was about Four of the Clock in the Morning. As ſoon as the Council met (who were immediately ſent for) the Priſoner was taken into Examination, and, to the Amazement of all, appeared no more daſhed by their Preſence, or the Queſtions put to him, or the Condition that he was in, than if he had been altogether innocent; declaring, "That he was not at all ſorry for what he "had deſigned, but only that he failed in the "Execution of it; and that the Devil, and "not God, was the Diſcoverer." So pertinacious and reſolute was he, that he would not own any Accomplices, but that he alone was the Contriver, and ſhould have been the ſole Executer of it; and that he was induced to this for Conſcience-Sake, as the King *(being an Heretick)* was not his lawful Sovereign, but an Uſurper. Thus ſtout and reſolute did he continue, till he was brought to the *Tower*, and ſhewed the Rack; upon the Sight of which he began to relent, and, after ſome Days Examination, diſcloſed the Whole.

The News of this Diſcovery flew like Lightning, it was what rejoiced the Heart of every good Subject, and daunted that of the Rebels; and therefore thoſe of them, that were in Town, no ſooner heard of it, but they betook themſelves to Flight.

*Catesby* was gone the Night before towards the Place appointed for their Rendezvous; and *Percy* ſet forward at Four of the Clock in the Morning, much about the Time that the Diſcovery was made. But one of the *Winters*, and the two *Wrights* that ſtaid behind, ſtaid to hear of their Defeat and Diſappointment; and ſo made all the Haſte they could to overtake and meet their Confederates, that they might conſult what was to be done in ſo great an Exigence.

In the mean Time, there was nothing wanting on their Part, who were to contribute their Endeavours in the Country. Sir *Everard Digby* came to *Dunchurch*, according to Appointment; and ſo confident were they of Succeſs above, that one *Grant*, a Gentleman in thoſe Parts, on *Monday* Night, much about the Time that *Fawkes* was apprehended, with other of his Aſſociates, broke open the Stables of one *Benock*, a Rider of great Horſes, and took away all that he found for their own Service; and with them they repaired to the reſt. But all their Hopes were ſoon blaſted by the ſad News, which they quickly received from thoſe that had made their Eſcape. Deſperation begets Reſolution; and now they are l r, as well as their Cauſe, if they do not ſpeedily find out a Remedy; and therefore, with all the Haſte they could, they diſpatched ſome to call in others to their Aſſiſtance, and to repreſent to them the Greatneſs of the Danger, that they, and their Religion is in, unleſs they appear in its Defence. This *Teſmond* (alias *Greenwel)* the Jeſuit, did particularly concern himſelf in, exhorting all to take up Arms, and to unite their Forces; and for this Purpoſe rode as far as *Lancaſhire*. This Riding to and fro made a Noiſe in the Country, and awakened the People; the Loſs of *Benock*'s Horſes came quickly to the Ears of ſome of thoſe Gentlemen, that had put them into his Hands to manage and fit them for their Service. And, for one Reaſon or another, the Country was preſently up in Arms, and upon Purſuit of them.

Some of them were taken Priſoners, and others of them purſued, by Sir *Richard Verney*, Sheriff of *Warwickſhire*, to the Borders of that County; but they kept on their Courſe, till they came to *Holbeach*, in *Staffordſhire*, the Houſe of *Stephen Littleton*; thither Sir *Richard Walſh*, Sheriff of *Worceſterſhire*, followed them, and, by his Trumpeters, commanded them, in the King's Name, to ſurrender; aſſuring them, that, upon their ſo Doing, he would intercede with the King for them, and doubted not to obtain their Pardon. But they, that were conſcious to themſelves of more than he underſtood (for the News had not yet ſpread ſo far, nor the King's Proclamations, though ſent after them, had not yet overtaken them) bid him Defiance, and ſent him Word, That he muſt have a greater Force, than what he had then the Command of, to reduce them. But, whilſt the one was preparing for the Aſſault, and the other for their Defence, God himſelf ſeemed

to

to decide the Quarrel; for, by the ſame Means, which they contrived to deſtroy others, they themſelves came to ſuffer: For, having laid ſome Powder to dry before the Fire, a Coal, upon the Mending of it, flew into the Pan, and ſet Fire to the reſt; thereby not only blowing up Part of the Roof, and a Bag of Powder of ſeventeen or eighteen Pounds, that they underſet the Pan with, which was carried unfired into the Court, but ſo wounding *Catesby*, *Percy*, *Rockwood*, and ſeveral of the Conſpirators, that they were unable to make any further Defence. By this Time alſo Fire was ſet to the Houſe, and their Caſe grew ſo deſperate, that they opened the Doors, and expoſed themſelves to the Weapons and Fury of the People. The three principal of them, *viz. Catesby*, *Percy*, and *Winter*, joined Back to Back, and the two former of them were mortally wounded with one Shot; *Catesby* dying upon the Spot, and *Percy* not outliving him above two or three Days. The two *Wrights* were ſlain at the ſame Time; *Digby*, *Rockwood*, *Thomas Winter*, *Grant*, and *Bates* were taken Priſoners, and ſent up to *London*; *Robert Winter* and *Littleton* endeavoured to conceal themſelves in the Woods, but were afterwards taken, and committed to the *Tower*. *Treſham* continued in *London*, and ſeemed ready to find out the Traitors, and by that Means thought at firſt to remain undiſcovered; but, being ſuſpected, he was afterwards ſearched for, and apprehended, and ſent to the ſame Place. Thus ſuddenly was that Deſign diſcovered, which had been ſo long concealed; thus ſuddenly was it broken, which they had been ſome Years in Contriving; therein verifying that of the Pſalmiſt: *The Ungodly are ſunk down into the Pit that they made; in the Net, which they hid, is their own Foot taken. The Lord is known by the Judgment which he executeth, the Wicked is ſnared in the Work of his own Hands.*

Theſe Perſons thus apprehended were carefully examined (in the doing of which were ſpent twenty-three Days) and from their ſeveral Confeſſions was drawn ſufficient Matter not only for their own Condemnation, but alſo for Detection of others.

The moſt conſiderable of which was *Garnet*, the Provincial of the *Jeſuits*, *Hall*, *Greenwel*, *Gerard*, and *Hammond*, Prieſts of the ſame Order. The Reſpect that *Garnet* had to the Reputation of their Society, and his own Safety, had made him to act with ſo great Caution, that he would willingly converſe with none about this Matter, but thoſe that were of his own Order; or *Catesby* his truſty Friend. And, therefore, much of the Evidence againſt him fell with that Conſpirator. But yet there appeared ſuch Preſumptions by the Acknowledgment of the reſt that were taken, and Letters that were found, that there was a Proclamation iſſued out, for the Apprehenſion of him and his Brethren, declaring it Treaſon for any to harbour and conceal them. *Garnet*, when the Time drew near, and all Things were ripe for their Deſign, took a Journey to *Coulton* in *Warwickſhire*, not far from the Place of the general Rendezvous, where he preached a Sermon, and in which he exhorted his Auditors to pray for the Succeſs of a great Action, to be undertaken in the Behalf of the Catholicks, at the Beginning of the Parliament, as is acknowledged by his Apologiſt *, and was confeſſed by *Hall*, alias *Oldcorn*. Whilſt at that Place he received a Letter, *November* the Sixth, from *Catesby*, to let him know that their Deſign had miſcarried, and to deſire him that he would uſe his Intereſt in ſtirring up the Catholicks in *Wales*, to arm and defend themſelves. But the wary *Jeſuit* provided for his own Safety, and, ſending *Greenwel* to them for their Aſſiſtance and Direction, he himſelf with *Hall* fled to Mr. *Abington*'s Houſe, at *Henlip* in *Worceſterſhire*, where *Hall* had found a ſafe Retreat for ſixteen Years together, as an Author † of theirs informs us. There they lay concealed for ſome Time, but at the laſt were diſcovered to be in that Place by *Littleton*, one of the Conſpirators, as the ſame Author relates, *pag.* 314, who further ſaith, that, though the Help of Carpenters and Bricklayers was uſed, yet they were many Days before they could find them out, being in a Vault, the Way to which was in an upper Room, through the Half-pace before the Hearth, whoſe wooden Border was made like a Trap-door, to pluck up and down, and then the Bricks were laid in their Courſes and Order again, as we are told by an Author of our own ‡.

* *Eudem. Joannis* Apologia pro *Garneto*. Pag. 265. Pag. 333.

† *Hen. Mori* Hiſtoria Miſſionis Anglicanæ.

‡ *Fouli*'s *Romiſh* Treaſons. Pag. 608.

Hence they were brought to *London*, and committed to the *Tower*.

On *January* the Twenty-ſeventh, the other Priſoners were brought to their Tryal at *Guildhall*. The Perſons arraigned were *Robert Winter*, Eſq; *Thomas Winter*, Gent. *Guy Fawkes*, Gent. *John Grant*, Eſq; *Ambroſe Rockwood*, Eſq; *Robert Keyes*, Gent. and *Thomas Bates*, Servant to *Catesby*. By another Indictment was arraigned Sir *Everard Digby*.

They generally acknowledged the Fact, and ſpake little in their own Vindication. *Rockwood* pleaded, "That it was the intire Affection he had for Mr. *Catesby*, which drew "him in; and he hoped, as it was his firſt "Fact, ſome Mercy would be ſhewed him." Sir *Everard* ſaid the ſame with Reſpect to *Catesby*, and added, "That he had undertaken it for the Zeal which he had to the "Catholick Religion, which he was ready to "ſacrifice all for; and to prevent thoſe Calamities, which he underſtood that the Parliament was prepared to bring upon them of "his Perſuaſion." *Keyes* ſaid, "That his "Fortunes were ſunk, and as good now as "at another Time, and for this Cauſe rather "than another."

They ſeemed reſolved to vindicate the *Jeſuits*, or, at leaſt, to ſay nothing againſt them; whether it were that they were not allowed to diſcourſe of the Plot with any but ſuch and ſuch particular Perſons, or whether it were that they thought it to be highly meritorious; and this laſt ſeems to be not unlikely. When *Treſham*, not above three Hours before his Death, in the *Tower*, did declare upon his Salvation, that he had not ſeen *Garnet* in ſixteen Years before; whereas it appeared, both by the Confeſſion of *Garnet*, and Mrs. *Anne Vaux*, *Garnet*'s Boſom-Friend, that they had been frequently together the two laſt Years paſt.

On the *Thurſday* following, Sir *Everard Digby*, *Robert Winter*, *John Grant*, and *Bates* were, according to Judgment, drawn, hanged, and quartered, at the Weſt-end of St. *Paul*'s Church. And on the *Friday*, the other four, viz. *Thomas Winter*, *Keyes*, *Rockwood*, and *Fawkes*, were executed in the Palace-yard at *Weſtminſter*.

Now were *Garnet* and *Hall* had in Examination, and that ſeveral Times, from the Firſt of *February* to *March* the Twenty-ſixth. In all which *Garnet* ſhewed by the Wilineſs of his Anſwers, and the Confidence he maintained them with, that he deſerved the Place of Provincial of the *Jeſuits*, being ſo well verſed in all the Practices of his Society, that few could exceed him.

The King from the firſt was reſolved to forbear the Severity of the Rack, much practiſed in other Countries, in the Examination of notorious and perverſe Criminals. We indeed are told by a late confident Author * of their own, That *Garnet* was kept waking ſix Days and Nights together to bring him by that new Kind of Torment (as he calls it) to a Confeſſion of his Crime; and that *Hall* was put to extreme Torture for fifteen Hours Space together in the *Tower*, for the ſame Reaſon. But † a greater than he, one of their ‡ own Perſuaſion, doth aſſure us, that the King, to avoid Calumny, did purpoſely forbear any Thing of that Kind of Rigour, and *Garnet* himſelf did publickly own at his Tryal, that he had been uſed, whilſt in Priſon, with great Lenity. We know not what Effect the Rack might have had upon him, for that was a Way of Tryal he had not been exerciſed in; but that Courſe which they took, by frequent and croſs Examinations, by Expoſtulations, and Arguments, he was ſo much a Maſter of, that, in all the twenty-three Days ſpent in it, they would have gained but little Information, had they not had ſome greater Advantage. Had he been alone, and could not have been confronted by others, he had been much more ſecure, and they more at a Loſs. And, therefore, to prevent any Miſunderſtanding betwixt him and others in Cuſtody, that their Anſwers might not be inconſiſtent or repugnant, he writes both to *Hall* and Mrs. *Vaux*, to let them know after what Manner he thought to excuſe or defend himſelf, and what Replies to make to ſome particular Enquiries; as if he ſhould be charged with his Prayer for the good Succeſs of a great Action, *&c.* he would ſay, It was for the Prevention of thoſe ſevere Laws, which thoſe of their Church expected would be made againſt them by that Parliament. But it happened that theſe Letters, that were writ by him, came into other Hands than thoſe he intended them for, and did him a worſe In-

* Hiſtoria Miſſionis Anglican. Pag. 315, 334. but only *Popiſh*.

† *Thuanus*, An. 1606.

‡ Not *Jeſuitical*.

jury

jury than any Account that his ſworn Friends could have likely given of the ſame Actions, though diſagreeing with his. And indeed herein his Adverſaries did outwit him, and worſteſt him at his own Weapons. For, when they perceived that he obſtinately perſiſted in the Defence of his Innocency, they took another Courſe to find him out: *Firſt*, A Perſon was employed as a Keeper, that ſhould profeſs himſelf to be a *Roman Catholick*, and that ſhould take a great Liberty to complain of the King's Severity, and of the Sufferings their Party were made to undergo. By theſe and the like crafty Inſinuations he grew to be a Familiar of *Garnet*'s, and at laſt was entruſted by him with a Letter to one and to another. Which yet he did not ſo much venture upon, but that he wrote ſparingly to one, and to the other nothing in Appearance but what any one may ſee, filling up the void Places with other more ſecret Matters, written indeed, but written with the Juice of a Lemon. By this Means they found out, that it was not ſo much his Innocency, as the Want of Proof, that made him ſo confident. By this they came to underſtand, that *Greenwel* and he had conferred together about the Plot.

There was alſo another Calamity that befell him by the ſame Contrivance; for now, thinking himſelf ſure of his Keeper, he let him know what a great Deſire he had of conferring with *Hall*. The Decoy told him, that he would endeavour to find out a Way for it. This was done, and they had that Freedom; but at the ſame Time there were placed within Hearing two Perſons of ſuch known Credit, that *Garnet*, at his Tryal, had nothing to object againſt them, who took Notice of what was ſaid, and made it known to the Council. The next Day Commiſſioners came to examine them, and in Diſcourſe charged them ſeverally with thoſe Things that paſſed betwixt them the Day before. This *Hall* did acknowledge, being convinced by the Particulars that they produced; but *Garnet* did deny it *upon the Word of a Prieſt* *, and with reiterated Proteſtations. And when they told him, that *Hall* had confeſſed it, he ſaid, "Let him accuſe himſelf falſly, if he will, I will not be "guilty of that Folly." But, at the Laſt, when he perceived that the Evidence was not to be gainſaid, begged their Pardon with no little Confuſion, and owned the Particulars they charged him with; and, a little to ſave his Reputation, told them, That as he denied all, becauſe he knew none but *Greenwel* could accuſe him; ſo he did deny what he knew to be true, by the Help of *Equivocation*.

Now they had gained good Evidence againſt him; his Letters firſt, then his Diſcourſe with *Hall*, and Laſtly, his own Confeſſion, were a ſufficient Ground for them to proceed and try him upon. And that they began to do within two Days after, *viz.* *March* the Twenty-eighth.

The great Thing charged upon him, was, That he was privy to this Conſpiracy, that he held a Correſpondence with *Catesby*, and by him and *Greenwel* with the reſt. And the chief Part of his Defence was: "That what "he did know of it was *in Confeſſion*, and "what was told him, in that Way, he was "bound to conceal, notwithſtanding any Miſ"chief that might follow it; he might diſ"ſuade Perſons from it, but, whether they "would be perſuaded by him or not, he was "obliged not to divulge it."

After a long Time ſpent in his Tryal, there was but little taken by the Jury, to give their Verdict, which was, that he was guilty of the Treaſon; and accordingly he received Sentence, and was executed the Third of *May* following, at the Weſt-end of St. *Paul*'s Church-yard.

This is the Man whom the *Jeſuits* extol to the Clouds, and who is put into the Catalogue of their Martyrs, as it is to be found at the End of *Alegambe*'s *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jeſu*. This Perſon, who was a perfect Maſter of the Art of Diſſimulation, that could by Equivocation ſwear to what he knew to be falſe, is what one † of them beſtows this Character upon, That there was in him *Morum Simplicitas, & Candor animi minime ſuſpicacis*. This Man who had not the Heart to die, and who at the Time of his Execution was ſo divided betwixt the Hopes of a Pardon, and the Fear of Death, that he could not attend to his own

* An Oath ſo ſacred in the Church of *Rome*, that, whereas the Laity are always ſworn *upon the holy Goſpels*, a Prieſt is never required to give any other Oath than *upon the Word of a Prieſt*, i. e. *In verbo Sacerdotis*. *Query*, Whether this Sort of Eccleſiaſtical Affirmation did not give a Hint for the *Quakers* Form of Affirmation inſtead of an Oath?

† Hiſt. Miſſion. Angl. p. 311.

own Devotions, but one While caſt his Eyes this Way, and another that; now at his Prayers, and anon breaking off from them to anſwer to that Diſcourſe which he overheard. This Man, I ſay, is ſaid by *Alegambe* to go to his Death *interritus & exporrecta fronte obteſtans, &c.* without any Fear, and proteſting that he exceedingly rejoiced that he was now to ſuffer that Death which would be an Entrance to an immortal Life.

The Concluſion of all which is, that no *Jeſuit* can be a Traitor, and none ſuffer for Treaſon but he muſt be a Martyr.

The Caſe of *Hall* was much the ſame with that of *Garnet*; he did confeſs, and it was alſo proved that they were both together at *Caughton*, and they were both found together afterwards. It appeared that he had afterwards defended the Treaſon to *Humphry Littleton*. The Excuſes, the Diſcourſe, the Confeſſions, were much one and the ſame, but only that *Garnet* was the more reſolved, and the more obſtinate of the two. Now, becauſe as this Treaſon was hatched, and to be executed in the Main at *London*, ſo becauſe Part of it was alſo to be done in the Country, and the Chief of the Conſpirators were there taken, therefore ſix of them were ſent to *Worceſter*, and there executed, *viz. Humphry Littleton*, *John Winter*, and this *Hall*, with three others. Thither, I ſay, he was carried with them for that Reaſon, and not becauſe his Adverſaries were aſhamed to have his Cauſe heard at *London*, as a bold Author * of theirs would have it.

It is no Wonder to find theſe Men ſo concerned to clear themſelves of it, when all the World is againſt them; though this is no more to be done, than to prove that one that kills a King is a good Subject, and one, that ſtirs up his Subjects in Rebellion againſt him, is a Friend to him.

Theſe were the Perſons that were taken and ſuffered for this bloody Treaſon. Others of them eſcaped beyond Sea; of which one, when *Dominicus Vicus*, Governor of *Calais*, "aſ-
"ſured them of the King's Favour, and, tho'
"they loſt their own Country, they might be
"received there," replied, "The Loſs of their
"Country was the leaſt Part of their Grief;
"but their Sorrow was that they could not
"bring ſo brave a Deſign to Perfection." At which the Governor could hardly forbear caſting him into the Sea, as *Thuanus* relates from *Vicus*'s own Mouth. Others there were, whom the Government had a great Suſpicion of, as *Henry*, Lord *Mordaunt*, and *Edward*, Lord *Stourton*, who, not appearing upon the Summons to the Parliament, were ſuppoſed to abſent themſelves from ſome Intelligence that they received, were fined in the *Star-chamber*, and to be impriſoned during the King's Pleaſure. The like Sentence did *Henry*, Earl of *Northumberland*, undergo, for having admitted *Thomas Percy*, his Kinſman, to be a Gentleman Penſioner, without adminiſtering to him the Oath of Supremacy, when he knew him to be a Recuſant †.

This was the End of that Plot, and of the Perſons concerned in it. And it would be happy if they had left none of their Principles or Temper behind them, a Generation whom no Favour will oblige, nor Kindneſs retain; whom nothing but Supremacy will content, and the moſt abſolute Authority can gratify. Whom nothing can ſecure againſt, but a ſufficient Power, or great Induſtry or conſtant Watchfulneſs, and ſcarcely all. And therefore it is fit, not only as a Branch of our Thankfulneſs to God, but alſo as a Caution to ourſelves, that this Deliverance ſhould be celebrated, and the Memory of it perpetuated. I ſhall end with what is ſaid of a great Perſon ‡ of our own, ſome Years ſince.

Two great Deliverances in the Memory of many of us hath God in his ſingular Mercy wrought for us of this Nation, ſuch as I think, take both together, no *Chriſtian* Age or Land can parallel. One formerly from a foreign Invaſion ‖; another, ſince then of an helliſh Conſpiracy § at Home. Both ſuch, as we would have all thought, when they were done, ſhould never be forgotten. And yet, as if this Land were turned oblivious, the Land where all Things are forgotten, how doth the Memory of them fade away, and they, by little and little, grow into Forgetfulneſs? We have lived to ſee Eighty-eight almoſt forgotten (God be bleſſed who hath graciouſly prevented what we feared therein) God grant that we nor ours ever live to ſee *November* the Fifth forgotten, or the Solemnity of it ſilenced.

* *Eudæmon-Joannis* Apologia pro *Garneto*. Pag. 272. † Or *Papiſt*. ‡ Biſhop *Sanderſon*'s Sermons, *lib.* i. *ad populum Serm.* v. p. 242. ‖ By the *Spaniards* in the Year 1588. § *Viz.* Of which this is the Hiſtory.

The

The Arraignment and Execution of the late Traitors, with a Relation of the other Traitors, which were executed at *Worceſter*, the Twenty-ſeventh of *January* laſt paſt. *London*, Printed for *Jeffrey Chorlton*, and are to be ſold at his Shop, at the great North Door of St. *Paul*'s. 1606. *Octavo*, containing twenty-eight Pages.

*The following Tract contains a ſhort Narrative of the Behaviour of theſe Men at the Gallows, who were executed for the Gun-powder Plot, of which I know not whether there is any other Proteſtant Relation, and therefore have preſerved this, though not very valuable either for its Elegance or Decency, for it is written in a Strain of Merriment and Inſult, which the Religion, profeſſed by the Author, does not teach.*

*However, as one Extreme is naturally oppoſed to another, this Pamphlet, in which the Cauſe and Sufferings of theſe Wretches are treated with Scoffs and Deriſion, may be juſtly placed in Contraſt againſt thoſe Writings of their own Church in which they are reverenced as Martyrs.* J.——*.

*A brief Diſcourſe upon the Arraignment and Execution of the eight Traitors,* Digby, *the two* Winters, Grant, Rockwood, Keyes, Bates, *and* Johnſon, *alias* Fawkes, *four of which were executed in St.* Paul's *Church-yard, in* London, *upon* Thurſday, *being the thirtieth of* January; *the other four in the old Palace in* Weſtminſter, *over-againſt the Parliament-houſe, upon* Friday *next following.*

NOT to aggravate the Sorrow of the Living in the Shame of the Dead, but to diſſuade the idolatrouſly Blinded, from ſeeking their own Deſtruction, in the Way to Damnation, I have here briefly ſet down a Diſcourſe of the Behaviour and Carriage of the eight Perſons before named, from the Time of their Impriſonment, to the Inſtant of their Death; the Nature of their Offence, the little Shew of their Sorrow, their Uſage in Priſon, and their Obſtinacy to their End. *Firſt*, for their Offence, it is ſo odious in the Ears of all human Creatures, that it could hardly be believed, that ſo many Monſters in Nature ſhould carry the Shapes of Men: Murther, oh, it is the crying Sin of the World, and ſuch an intended Murther, as, had it taken Effect, would have made a World to cry; and therefore the Horror thereof muſt needs be hateful to the whole World to hear of it.

Men, that ſaw them go to their Execution, did in a Sort grieve to ſee ſuch proper Men, in Shape, go to ſo ſhameful an End; but the End was proper to Men of ſo improper Minds, who, to ſatisfy a blinded Conceit, would forget their Duties to God and their King, and unnaturally ſeek the Ruin of their Native Country: They are ſaid to be born unhappy, that are not ſome Way profitable to their Country; and then, How accurſed are they born, that ſeek the Deſtruction of the whole Kingdom?

Papiſts will perhaps idly ſay, it was a bloody Execution; but in Reſpect of their Deſert, in the Blood they intended to have ſhed,

ſhed, it was a merciful Puniſhment: For, if *Jezabel* a Queen, for ſeeking the Murther of one private Man, was thrown out of a Window, and fed upon by Dogs: How can theſe People be thought to be cruelly uſed, that could intend and practiſe ſo horrible a Villainy, as the Death of ſo gracious a King, Queen and Prince, ſo noble Peers, and the Ruin of ſo flouriſhing a Kingdom?

But ſince my Intent is chiefly to make Report of the Manner of their Demeanors, from the Priſon to the Arraignment, and from thence to Execution: I will truly ſet down what I have gathered, touching the ſame. After their Apprehenſion in the Country, and being brought up to *London*, upon the Appearance of their foul Treaſon, before his Majeſty's moſt honourable Council, they, were, by their Commandment, committed to his Majeſty's *Tower* of *London*, where they wanted nothing, that, in the Mercy of a Chriſtian Prince, was thought fit, and, indeed, too good for ſo unchriſtian Offenders.

For in the Time of their Impriſonment they ſeemed to feel no Part of Fear, either of the Wrath of God, the Doom of Juſtice, or the Shame of Sin; but, as it were, with ſeared Conſciences, ſenſeleſs of Grace, lived as not looking to die, or not feeling the Sorrow of their Sins; and now, that no ſubtle Fox, or rather Gooſe, that would fain ſeem a Fox, ſhall have Cauſe to ſay or think, that the Juſtice of the Law hath not been truly miniſtered, according to the Rules of the Divine Will, behold here a true Report, as I ſaid before, of their Behaviour and Carriage, from their Apprehenſion, to their Impriſonment, and from Condemnation to their Execution. In the Time of their Impriſonment, they rather feaſted with their Sins, than faſted with Sorrow for them; were richly apparelled, fared deliciouſly, and took Tobacco out of Meaſure, with a ſeeming Careleſneſs of their Crime, as it were daring the Law to paſs upon them; but the Almighty, and our moſt merciful good God, firſt revealed them. His Majeſty's and his Council's careful Head apprehended them, the Law plainly did deſcipher them, Juſtice gave Judgment on them, and Death made an End of them; but to come to their Arraignment, and to deliver the Manner of their Behaviour, after they went from the *Tower* by Water, and came to *Weſtminſter*, before they came into the Hall, they made ſome half Hour's Stay, or more, in the Star-chamber, whether being brought, and remaining till the Court was all ready to hear them, and, according to the Law, to give Judgement on them, it was ſtrange to note their Carriage, even in their very Countenance. Some hanging down the Head, as if their Hearts were full of Doggedneſs, and others forcing a ſtern Look, as if they would * fear Death, with a Frown, never ſeeming to pray, except it were by the Dozen, upon their Beads, and taking Tobacco, as if that Hanging were no Trouble to them; ſaying little but in Commendation of their conceited Religion, craving Mercy of neither God nor the King for their Offences, and making their Conſciences, as it were, as wide as the World; and, to the very Gates of Hell, to be the Cauſe of their helliſh Courſes, to make a Work meritorious.

Now being come into the Hall, and upon the Scaffold at the Bar, ſtanding to anſwer to their Indictments, they all pleaded not Guilty, but were all found Guilty. *Digby*, without craving Mercy, or Favour, of either God, or the King, made only five wordly Requeſts, that his Wife might have her Jointure, his Children the Lands intailed by his Father, his Siſters their Legacies in his Hand unpaid, his Debts paid, and for his Death, to be beheaded, and not hanged.

*Robert Winter*, in like Manner thinking himſelf already half a Saint for his whole Villainy, ſaid little to any Purpoſe, that either made Shew of Sorrow, or ſought Mercy, but only made a Requeſt to the King for Mercy towards his Brother, in Regard of his Offence, as he ſaid, through his only Perſuaſion.

His Brother ſaid little, but, with a guilty Conſcience, ſwallowed up a concealed Grief, with little Shew of Sorrow for that Time.

*Grant*, ſtubborn in his Idolatry, ſeemed nothing penitent for his Villainy, aſked little Mercy, but, as it were careleſs of Grace, received the Doom of his Deſert.

The younger *Winter* ſaid little, but, to excuſe the Foulneſs of his Fact, in being drawn in by his Brother, and not of his own Plotting, with little Talk to little Purpoſe troubled the Time the leſſer While.

* That is, *fight*.

*Rock-*

*Rockwood*, out of a ſtudied Speech, would fain have made his Bringing up, and Breeding in Idolatry, to have been ſome Excuſe to his Villainy; but a fair Talk could not help a foul Deed, and therefore, being found guilty of the Treaſon, had his Judgment with the reſt of the Traitors.

Now, after their Condemnation and Judgment, being ſent back to the *Tower*, there they remained till the *Thurſday* following; upon Sledges and Hurdles they were drawn into St. *Paul*'s Church-yard, four of them, *viz.* *Everard Digby*, the elder *Winter*, *Grant*, and *Bates*, of whom I forgot to ſpeak, having no great Matter to ſpeak of, but only that, being a Villain, and hoping for Advancement by the ſame, he had the Reward of a Traitor.

Now theſe Four being drawn to the Scaffold, made on Purpoſe for their Execution: Firſt went up *Digby*, a Man of a goodly Perſonage, and a manly Aſpect, yet might a wary Eye, in the Change of his Countenance, behold an inward Fear of Death, for his Colour grew pale and his Eye heavy; notwithſtanding that he inforced himſelf to ſpeak, as ſtoutly as he could, his Speech was not long, and to little good Purpoſe, only, that his belied Conſcience, being, but indeed, a blinded Conceit, had led him into this Offence, which, in Reſpect of his Religion, *alias*, indeed Idolatry, he held no Offence, but, in Reſpect of the Law, he held an Offence, for which, he aſked Forgiveneſs of God, of the King, and the whole Kingdom; and ſo, with vain and ſuperſtitious Croſſing of himſelf, betook him to his *Latin* Prayers, mumbling to himſelf, refuſing to have any Prayers of any, but of the *Romiſh* Catholicks; went up the Ladder, and, with the Help of the Hangman, made an End of his wicked Days in this World.

After him went *Winter* up to the Scaffold, where he uſed few Words to any good Effect, without aſking Mercy of either God, or the King, for his Offence; went up the Ladder, and, making a few Prayers to himſelf, ſtaid not long for his Execution.

After him went *Grant*, who abominably blinded with his horrible Idolatry, though he confeſſed his Offence to be heinous, yet would fain have excuſed it by his Conſcience for Religion; a bloody Religion, to make ſo bloody a Conſcience; but better that his Blood, and all ſuch as he was, ſhould be ſhed by the Juſtice of Law, than the Blood of many Thouſands to have been ſhed by his Villainy, without Law or Juſtice; but to the Purpoſe, having uſed a few idle Words to ill Effect, he was, as his Fellows before him, led the Way to the Halter; and ſo, after his Croſſing of himſelf, to the laſt Part of his Tragedy.

Laſt of them came *Bates*, who ſeemed ſorry for his Offence, and aſked Forgiveneſs of God, and the King, and of the whole Kingdom; prayed to God for the Preſervation of them all, and as he ſaid, only for his Love to his Maſter, drawn to forget his Duty to God, his King and Country, and therefore was now drawn from the *Tower* to St. *Paul*'s Churchyard, and there hanged and quartered for his Treachery. Thus ended that Day's Buſineſs.

The next Day, being *Friday*, were drawn from the *Tower* to the *Old Palace* in *Weſtminſter*, over-againſt the Parliament-houſe, *Thomas Winter* the younger Brother, *Rockwood*, *Keyes*, and *Fawkes* the Minor, juſtly called, *the Devil of the Vault*; for, had he not been a Devil incarnate, he had never conceived ſo villainous a Thought, nor been employed in ſo damnable an Action.

The ſame Day, being *Friday*, were drawn from the *Tower*, to the *Old Palace* in *Weſtminſter*, *Thomas Winter*, *Rockwood*, *Keyes*, and *Fawkes*, where *Winter*, firſt being brought to the Scaffold, made little Speech, but ſeeming, after a Sort, as it were ſorry for his Offence, and yet croſſing himſelf, as though thoſe were Wards to put by the Devil's Stoccadoes, having already made a Wound in his Soul, of which he had not yet a full Feeling, proteſting to die a true Catholick, as he ſaid; with a very pale and dead Colour, went up the Ladder, and, after a Swing or two with a Halter, to the Quartering-block was drawn, and there quickly diſpatched.

Next him came *Rockwood*, who made a Speech of ſome longer Time, confeſſing his Offence to God, in ſeeking to ſhed Blood, and aſking therefore Mercy of his Divine Majeſty; his Offence to the King, of whoſe Majeſty he likewiſe humbly aſked Forgiveneſs; his Offence to the whole State, of whom in general he aſked Forgiveneſs, beſeeching God to bleſs the King, the Queen, and all his Royal Progeny, and that they might long live to reign in Peace and Happineſs over this Kingdom. But laſt of all, to mar all the Pottage, with one filthy Weed, to mar this good Prayer with an ill Concluſion, he prayed God to

make the King a Catholick, otherwiſe a Papiſt, which God for his Mercy ever forbid; and ſo, beſeeching the King to be good to his Wife and Children, proteſting to die in his Idolatry, a Romiſh Catholick, he went up the Ladder, and, hanging till he was almoſt dead, was drawn to the Block, where he gave his laſt Gaſp.

After him came *Keys*, who, like a deſperate Villain, uſing little Speech, with ſmall or no Shew of Repentance, went ſtoutly up the Ladder; where, not ſtaying the Hangman's Turn, he turned himſelf off with ſuch a Leap, that with the Swing he brake the Halter, but, after his Fall, was quickly drawn to the Block, and there was quickly divided into four Parts.

Laſt of all came the great Devil of all, *Fawkes*, alias *Johnſon*, who ſhould have put Fire to the Powder. His Body being weak with Torture and Sickneſs, he was ſcarce able to go up the Ladder, but yet with much Ado, by the Help of the Hangman, went high enough to break his Neck with the Fall: Who made no long Speech, but, after a Sort, ſeeming to be ſorry for his Offence, asked a Kind of Forgiveneſs of the King and the State for his bloody Intent; and, with his Croſſes and his idle Ceremonies, made his End upon the Gallows and the Block, to the great Joy of the Beholders, that the Land was ended of ſo wicked a Villainy.

Thus have I ended my Diſcourſe upon the Arraignment and Execution of theſe eight Traitors, executed upon *Thurſday* and *Friday* laſt paſt, in *St. Paul's Church-yard*, and the *Old Palace* at *Weſtminſter*.

Now there is certain Report of the Execution done on *Monday*, being the Twenty-ſeventh of *January*, in the City of *Worceſter*, upon one *Perkins*, and his Man, for the Receiving of Traitors. God be bleſſed for it! And continue the Juſtice of Law to be executed upon all ſuch rebellious and traitorous Wretches, as either plot ſuch Villainies, conceal ſuch Treaſons, or relieve ſuch Traitors! For, ſince the Betraying the Lord of Heaven and Earth, was there ever ſuch a helliſh Plot practiſed in the World? If the Pope were not a very Devil, and theſe Jeſuits, or rather *Jebuſites* and *Satanical Seminaries*, very Spirits of Wickedneſs, that whiſper in the Ears of *Evahs*, to bring a World of *Adams* to Deſtruction, how could Nature be ſo ſenſeleſs, or Reaſon ſo graceleſs, as to ſubject Wit ſo to *Will*, as to run all headlong to Confuſion? Is this a Rule of Religion? Or rather of a Legion? Where the *Synagogue* of *Satan* ſat in Council for the World's Deſtruction, for the Satisfaction of a louſy Humour, or bloody Devotion, or Hope of Honour, or to make Way to [illegible] mad Fury to bring the moſt flouriſhing Kingdom on the Earth to the moſt Deſolation in the World; to kill at one Blow, or with one Blaſt, King, Queen, Prince, and Peer; Biſhop, Judge, and Magiſtrate, to the Ruin of the Land, and utter Shame to the whole World; and left naked to the Invaſion of any Enemy: Is this a holy Father, that begets ſuch wicked Children? Is this Religion, where is no Touch of Charity? Or, is there any Spark of Grace in theſe Prieſts, that ſo poiſon the Souls, and break the Necks of ſo many People?

Ignorance in the Simple, and Idolatry in the Subtle, take Ceremonies for Certainties, Superſtition for Religion, Envy for Zeal, and Murder for Charity: What can that Church be, but Hell, where the Devil ſings ſuch Maſſes? *Servus Servorum*, ſays he that would be *Dominus Dominorum*; Servant of Servants, that would be Maſter of Maſters: Is not he a cunning Herdſman, that can make one painted Cow, or printed Bull, give him more Milk, than many a Herd of better Kine? Are not theſe ſweet Notes to be taken in the Nature of the Popiſh Government? Kill Princes, ſow Seditions, maintain Bawdy-houſes, blind the Simple, abuſe the Honeſt, bereave the Innocent, ſwear and forſwear, ſo it be for the Pope's Profit, the Church will abſolve you; and, if you miſs the Mark to hit the Miſchief you ſhoot at, you ſhall be a hanging Saint, till you be taken down to the Devil. Oh fine Perſuaſions! That infinite Sins by numbered Prayers, inward Curſes by outward Croſſings, an Offence againſt God by a Pardon from Man, ſhould be believed to be helped! A Child cannot conceive it, a wiſe Man cannot digeſt it, and ſurely none, but either blind Women, or Madmen, can believe it. If a Man would but a little look into their Idolatries, he ſhould ſee a World of ſuch Mockeries, as would make him both laugh at their Fooleries, and abhor their Villainies. Their Kiſſing of Babies, their Kneeling to wooden Ladies, their Calling to Saints that cannot hear them, their Praying

Praying by the Dozen, their Taking of Penance, their Pilgrimages to Idols, their Shavings and their Waſhings, their Confeſſions and their Croſſings, and their deviliſh Devices to deceive the Simple of their Comfort: Theſe, with a World of ſuch Tricks, as would make a Jackanapes a fine Juggler. He, that could ſee them with that clear Eye, that can judge betwixt Light and Darkneſs, would, if they were his Friends, be ſorry for them; if his Enemies, laugh at them; and, howſoever, or whatſoever, leave them, and ſay, as he may ſay, that *Papiſtry* is mere *Idolatry*, the *Pope* an incarnate Devil, his Church a Synagogue of *Satan*, and his Prieſts the very Locuſts of the Earth.

But let us leave them to their loathſome Puddles, and let us be thankful to Almighty God for the clear Water of Life, that, in his holy Word, we receive from the Fountain of his gracious Mercy; and let us a little look into the Difference betwixt the traitorous *Papiſt*, that dieth for his Villainy, and the faithful *Proteſtant*, that dieth for the Truth of his Conſcience in the Belief of the Word of God.

The traitorous *Papiſt* will pull down Princes, and ſubvert Kingdoms; murder and poiſon whom they cannot command: The faithful *Proteſtant* prayeth for Princes, and the Peace of the People; and will endure Baniſhment, but hate Rebellion: The proud *Papiſt* will ſhew Intemperancy in Paſſion, while the humble *Proteſtant* will embrace Affliction with Patience: The *Proteſtant* cries to GOD for Mercy for his Sins; the *Papiſt* gives Authority to Sin, when, before the Offence, the Pardon is purchaſed.

I ſay, Was it not a ſtrange Speech of *Digby*, through the Blindneſs of his bewitched Wit, "That, to bring the Kingdom into the "*Popiſh* Idolatry, he cared not to root out all "his Poſterity?"

Oh the Miſery of theſe blinded People! Who forſake the true God of Heaven and Earth, to ſubmit their Service to the Devil of the World; be Traitors to their gracious Princes, to ſerve a proud, ungracious Prelate; loſe their Lands and Goods, beggar their Wives and Children, loſe their own Lives with an open Shame, and leave an Infamy to their Name for ever, only to obey the Command of a cunning Fox, that, lying in his Den, preyeth on all the Geeſe that he can light on; and, in the proud Belief to be made Saints, will hazard their Souls to go to the Devil.

But how many Millions hath this Devil inchanted! And how many Kingdoms hath he ruinated! And how many Maſſacres hath he plotted! And how many Souls hath he ſent to Damnation! God for his Mercy cut him off, or open the Eyes of all them Chriſtian Princes, that they may agree together and pull him down: For, during his Pride, Princes, that are of his Religion, will be but as Copyholders to his Countenance; Soldiers, that fight not under his Banner, ſhall be as Shake-rags to his Army; Lawyers, except they plead in his Right, ſhall have but Curſes for their Fees; Divines, if not of his Opinion, ſhall be excommunicated out of his Church; Merchants, that bring not him Commodities, ſhall keep no Shops in his Sanctuary; nor Beggars, that pray not for his Monarchy, ſhall have any Alms in his Baſket. And therefore I hope that God will ſo wipe off the Scales from the Eyes of the Blind, that both one and other, Soldier and Lawyer, Divine and Layman, Rich and Poor, will ſo lay their Heads, their Hearts and Hands, and their Purſes together, that, whereas he hath been long in Riſing, and could not ſit faſt, when he was up, he ſhall take a Fall of a ſudden, and never riſe again, when he is down: To which Prayer, I hope, all true Chriſtians will ſay, *Amen.*

The laſt Speech and dying Words of *Thomas* (Lord, *alias* Colonel) *Pride* *; being touched in Conſcience for his inhuman Murder of the Bears in the *Bear-garden*, when he was High-Sheriff of *Surrey*. Taken in Short-hand, by *T. S.* late Clerk to his Lordſhip's Brew-houſe. *London*, printed for *C. W.* 1680. *Quarto*, containing twelve Pages.

*My good Friends and Neighbours,*

YOU are come (I thank you) to ſee me die, and let me requeſt you to take my laſt Breath; I'll make no ſet Speech; the Long-Parliament loaded you with thoſe (ſo many Speeches, as, if orderly burnt, would brew two-hundred Quarters of Malt) and had ſat ſpeaking ſtill, if his late Highneſs had not bid me unhouſe them. I ſpake none, neither in the Commons, nor in the other Houſe; and yet I muſt either now ſpeak, or elſe hereafter for ever hold my Peace.

My Conſcience! it is my Conſcience ſpeaks; and the firſt Thing that is upon my Spirits, is the Killing of the Bears; for which the People bait me, and call me all the Names in the Rain-bow. But, did not *David* kill a Bear? Did not the Lord-Deputy *Ireton* kill a Bear? Did not another Lord of ours kill five Bears, and five Fidlers? May Bears be killed in *Nottingham*, in *Leiceſter*, and not in *Surrey*? You know I was High-Sheriff of the County, and, if I might not kill a few Bears, why was I made Sheriff? I thought it our Intereſt to let nothing live that would fight; and, therefore, we made an Act againſt Cock-matches. Others have killed far greater Things with leſs Commiſſion. But, perhaps they will ſay, I ſtruck at the Prerogative; for Kings and Protectors have a Privilege, when they find a good Maſtive-Dog, to clap their Collar upon him, and uſe him for the Game; and ſo, if kill the Bears, hang the Dogs; no Bear, no Dog. But think you the Prerogative would reach to Bears? Or that *Great-Britain* were the Iſle of Dogs? Are we, like *St. Mallows*, guarded by Maſtives? The *French* have ever made us their Apes, and muſt we follow their Dogs too? If an *Engliſh* Maſtive get Whelps in *France*, they all prove Curs: (I wiſh our *Engliſh* Soldiers there may never turn *French.*)

Can we forget that horrid Accident, when Major-General *Skippon* came in a Horſe-litter wounded to *London*? When he paſſed by the Brew-houſe near St. *John's-Street*, a deviliſh Maſtive flew (as at a Bear) at one of his Horſes, and held him ſo faſt by the Stones, that the Horſe grew mad as a mad Dog: The Soldiers ſo amazed, that none had the Wit to ſhoot the Maſtive; but the Horſe-litter, borne between two Horſes, toſſed the Major-General like a Dog in a Blanket. Thus your Dogs uſe Horſe and Man. And for Women, remember how *Swaſh*, the abominable Maſtive, took a Diſpenſation with an Elder's Maid. Nay, not a Sow in the Streets, by Night, but the Watchmen's Dogs ſteal privately to her; which makes your *London* Pigs have ſuch round Heads. And when I myſelf had my firſt Brew-houſe (which was at *Pye-corner*) I heard a Pig bark, whereby I knew it was a City Pig.

Here is a ſweet Stir with Bears and Dogs, able to make a wiſe Man mad: For, firſt, they pretend to preſerve their Dogs, yet rail

* Was originally a Drayman, or Brewer's Servant; but, by the Faction in the great Rebellion, being advanced to the Degree of a Parliament-man, was at laſt thought a proper Inſtrument to ſit as a Judge againſt his Majeſty K. *Charles the Firſt.*

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at me for ſhooting the Bears that kill thoſe Dogs; and then tax me for killing the Bears, yet ſet their Dogs to tear the Bears in Pieces: Yes, and the Man, that owned the Bears, now ſues me for deſtroying his Goods.

But what the Devil are Bears good for? They brag of a *Weapon*-ſalve, made, forſooth, of the Fat of Bears killed in the Act of Generation (though Bears never generate but by Night, when none can know it:) My Sword hath made ſome Wounds, let them anoint the Blade of my Sword, and try how many *Cavaliers* it will cure. The Devil has a Hand or a Foot in this Salve, if it comes from Bears: For you know, the Beaſt with ſeven Heads, and ten Horns, had the Foot of a Bear; whence People ſay, a Bear has the Devil's Foot. You think I mean the *Bear* at the *Bridge-foot* (for God ſends Meat, and the Devil ſends Cooks;) I mean, a Limb of the Devil: And is it a Sin to deſtroy the Devil; *George* was ſainted for killing a Dragon (Saints of old, like honeſt *George*, uſed to kill Beaſts, but now Saints commonly kill Men;) the Dragon and Bear are the Pictures of the ſame; for the Devil hath divers Sutes to put on: He wears not only the Beaſt (a red Dragon, an Otter, a Bear) but a very Man, a Woman, in Silks, in Buff, in a long Mourning-Cloke, to hide his cloven Foot, and too often a Saint or Angel of new Light; yet then ſo like as one Devil to another.

An Author of ours ſaid, the Beaſt's ten Horns are the Kings of *Europe*; which may be the Reaſon why the Members, that voted againſt a King, were ſo hot for Decimation: Thoſe Members were not the major Part, but the Major-general Part. I confeſs, that Author wrote after the King was beheaded, when our Liberties ſtood committed to ſeveral Keepers; and yet I would know that Member's Name, that would not be a King: Every Creature, above and below, hath a Monarch in his Belly. The Devil would fain have been King of Heaven, and *Adam* ſcorned not to be King of the Earth; and each of his Sons would be King of all the reſt. And, to ſpeak my Conſcience, if the State ſhould vouchſafe to name me King, I think I ſhould not queſtion the Election; no, though it were, as I hear the *Perſians* once choſe a King, by the Neighing of a Horſe. But he, that hath Horſe, may ſoon be a King, and therefore I love to ſave my Horſe; but why, with a Vengeance, ſhould we ſave Bears, that feed upon Horſe-fleſh? My Phyſician ſays, that an old Fellow, one *Pliny*, told him, that a Piece of Bears-fleſh will grow bigger by Boiling; which ſhews the Devil and his Dam is in Bears; for all Things elſe will boil away to nothing: Had all my Beer had a good ſound Boiling, I had not died worth a Pound of Hops. Are theſe your Beaſts of Game? I profeſs I hate Gaming; there is an Act againſt it, though ſome of our own play deep as any; and the Gameſters made Dice of ſome of their Bones that made that Act: (O, who can tell how a Man is uſed, when once he comes to be a dry Bone!) Something there is, that Dice run now more than ever, that ſo many new Curſes follow theſe Bones. Perhaps the Bears came not within the Ring of the Act againſt Gaming; yet both Dog and Bear are within the Liſts of the Act againſt Duels. And, though they are out of the Act of Oblivion, yet ſome new Juſtices brought them within the Act for Marriages. It is confeſſed they fight, but not for us; they are no Part of the Militia, and never paid ſo much as Pole-mony. They never, with Lions, were admitted into the *Tower*, nor ſhewed at *Weſtminſter* among the fine Sights; nor ever reckoned among the Crown-Jewels. There were Propoſitions for bringing in Plate, Money, and Horſe, but not for Bears: And yet now, Muſt *England* turn *Greenland?* The War has made it *Red-land*, and Funerals make it *Black-land*, and our Miniſters make it *Blue-land*. But, if I never anſwer for killing any Thing but Bears, I ſhall do well enough.

Were I arraigned, it could not be Murther, but Bear-ſlaughter: Nay, I killed them in my own Defence, for they would have killed me; which was more than can be ſaid, for putting many a Thouſand to Death. O, but they ſay, I killed them not fairly, but ſhot them dead in cold Blood: And am I the firſt that did ſo: Have we not done it over and over? I killed them, as we killed *Lucas* and *Liſle*, two as brave Men as the King had any. What, would they have me bait them to Death. Do I look like a Bear-ward? Or ſhould I knock them in the Head like an Ox? There is a Major-General can do that better than I. I remember one, now a great Lord, who, ſpeaking againſt *Strafford*, ſaid, Beaſts of Prey ought to have no Law: Shall we grant that to Bears, which we denied to *Strafford?* A *Cavalier* told me, that this was but a Quibble upon

upon the Word *Law*; for there is, ſaid he, no Law for Beaſts, but that a Man may kill them for his Uſe; and the more ſudden, and leſs Pain, the better: And, if a Hare, or Stag, have Law, that is, Liberty to run, it is not for their, but for our Sakes, to prolong our Sport in their Deſtruction.

However, that Quibble was ſeaſonable then, and did our Work upon *Strafford* and *Canterbury*; but mark how both Sides plead for me! The one ſays, Beaſts of Prey muſt have no Law; the other ſays, There is no Law for Beaſts: So both ſay, it is lawful for me to kill the Bears. No Matter how, hang them, ſhoot them, chop off their Heads, ſend them to *Jamaica*, any Way is beſt. For can there be Beaſts more malignant than Bears? I looked but in my Almanack, and there I found two Dogs and two Bears among the Stars; and thoſe, I dare ſay, are malignant Stars, for, within two Lines, the great Bear is called *Charles-wain*.

By this you will imagine *Malignants* are in Heaven; but we and they ſhall ſcarce meet in one Place; for elſe it were Madneſs in us to kill them, becauſe thereby we ſend them to be happy: But they, as well as we, would fain live, and would have good Eſtates, as they had before, and as we have now. It is in our Power whether they ſhall live, but not whether we ourſelves ſhall die; for, though our Army be as ſtrong To-day as Yeſterday, yet our own Bodies draw near Death.

Behold it in me, and remember *Naſeby*, which made us what we are; how the King's beſt Men, when the Victory was theirs, took a bottomleſs Fancy of running all away, having done the like at *Marſton-Moor*. I have known ſix Thouſand, and no Cowards neither, fly all like *Bedlams*, when no Enemy was within ſeventeen Miles; and, if they were all examined upon Oath, they could not tell why. And they ſay, that one poor wooden Horſe at *Troy* did more than all our Army in the *Indies*. It is certain, no Woman is ſo fickle as an Army. I ſpeak not for myſelf, for it is well known I have done my Part; ſure I have killed better Things than Bears, and killed them as Men ſhould be killed, either in the Field, or in a High-Court of Juſtice; the beſt *Cavalier* among them all, the King himſelf, judged to the Block; my Lord *Hewſon* is my Witneſs, for he ſat next to me. Perhaps, they think my Lord *Hewſon* and I not fit to be Judges, becauſe of our Trades; but let them ſhew me one Text of Scripture, where Brewers and Shoemakers are forbidden to be Judges. I confeſs, in Juries of Life and Death, we except againſt a Butcher, as blooded in ſlaying of Sheep and Calves; but, if he only kill Bears and Men, he may be either a Juror or a Judge. I knew a Judge did uſe to mend Stockings, I ſpare his Name, becauſe he did a Buſineſs for me, and it is as lawful to mend Shoes as Stockings; and, if a Judge may be a Cobler, a Cobler may be a Judge.

As for me, it is true, I have borne a Sling, which made a Knave call me, Sir *Thomas Slingsby*; but I made the *Slingsby's* ſhorter for it by one, and that one ſhorter by the Head; and had done as much for young *Mordaunt*, but that, having drank White-wine that Morning, I ſtepped forth to the Wall, and, before I could return, *Mordaunt* was quit. Thus the Life of Man is but a Piſſing-while. But what if I have borne a Sling; Did not *David* ſo too? The Difference is, he laid by his Sword and took up a Sling, and I laid by my Sling, and took up a Sword.

Kings, Lords, and Gentlemen take Money for their Lands; others ſow it, and ſell the Corn to us; we advance it to good Beer and Ale, and then ſell the Drink to thoſe Kings, Lords, and Gentlemen; and thus the Cup goes round. They ſell for Money, and we ſell for Money; and, if a Shilling had a Tongue as well as a Face, it would ſay, Sir, I am but Twelve-pence, whether you meet me in the Brew-houſe or in the Exchequer. It is true, there are divers Sorts of Shillings; ſome are Braſs, impudent Rogues, who, when diſcovered, are nailed to a Poſt; ſome are Lead, heavy dull Beaſts that will not go; others are right Metal, but clipped, poor decimated Things, that would go and cannot. But Braſs is Braſs, and Silver is Silver, at Court and at *Pye-corner*. I was as warm in my Leather Jacket as in my Scarlet-Cloke.

It is ſtrange, what an Eye-ſore that Cloke was to ſome, as if the Garment itſelf could ſin. Indeed, we had a Man that uſed to hang his Cloke in my Brew-houſe, as Country-folks hang Wool over Pails of Water to make it Weight, and ſo, though not he, yet his Cloke was a Drunkard. But, Cloke and Jacket, I was the ſame Man: I never denied, but ſtill kept my Trade; and, if others had done ſo,

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a hundred-thouſand Lives had been ſaved. At laſt I got to be Brewer to the Navy, and, if each Man had drank like the Whale of *Greenwich*, I could have filled them all; for I had three Brew-houſes, one at *London*, another at *Kingſton*, and a Third at *Edinburgh*. And why might not I have three Brew-houſes, as well as Aſſembly-men three Benefices? They were my Livelihood, as theirs were their Livings.

One of thoſe Fellows at *Margaret's Weſtminſter*, who had four Preferments given him by the State, would needs teach us now to live by a Word: You will aſk, ſaid he, what Word is that; *it is* Faith; get Faith, and I will undertake you may live Gentlemanlike; but that Raſcal brake his own Word with me, and died twelve Pounds in my Debt. I grant, he was the firſt that told me my Sirname came from a King of *Rome*, called, as I remember, *Turkquinius Suparbus* (there were ſeven of thoſe Kings, but they are long ſince dead) and thence call me *, one of the ſeven deadly Sins; they may as well call me one of the ſeven Wiſemen, or one of the ſeven Planets, or ſeven Wonders of the World. But, if we credit ſuch as he, it is a very hard Thing not to be a King. They will prove, if you pay them, that *Rhombus* and *Remus*, that founded *Rome*, were of *Engliſh* Extraction; I know not whether we had the ſame Mother, but it is ſaid many of us had the ſame Nurſe; but I never cared three Pence for their Praiſe: Therefore, I pray ye vex not my Corpſe with a huge Monument, which cannot protect itſelf, nor me; and many a Man's Bones had ſlept in Quiet, if his prating Tomb had not told where he lay.

And trouble not my Ghoſt with any of their Elegies, *Latin* or *Engliſh*; they make a Man but laughed at, and are not worth a Handful of Grains. I do not mean Mr. *George Withers*, for he got the Statue-Office by Rhyming; he hath now ſold that Office, but when will he ſell his Verſes? A Statue lies upon them, ſo as Nobody will buy them. It is not a Month ſince one of the State's Poets brought me an Anagram for me and my Wife; but I hear thoſe Anagrams ſhould be all fetched into a Court of Wards; for, although they have not Wit enough for Lunaticks, they are dull enough for Idiots. But now they will all at me: What a Heap of paltry Quibbles and Clinches will they throw upon me? You will hear them cry, Now *Pride* hath a Fall; —Now there are but ſix deadly Sins. —O Sir, are you there with your Bears? They but ſaw me ſtand, holding my Crabtree-Cudgel upright, and they cried, Lo, there is the Bear and the Ragged-ſtaff! How have they dragged my poor Name, and ſet me back from *P.* to *B.* to make me born in *Bride's* Church-porch? It is falſe, and Nonſenſe, to call me *Bride*, though my Wife was ſo, when I led her to Church. I know they will tell you of my Letter to a Friend, where, inſtead of my beſt Beer, I wrote, I have ſent my beſt Bear. But all Letters and Books are falſe; there is none of them honeſt, except the Bible. I have an Abridgement of an *Engliſh* Chronicle, which drowns the Duke of *Clarence* in a Rundlet of Malmſey; the Duke might as ſoon be drowned in a Thimble; but, perhaps, it is a whole Tun in the Chronicle, for my Book is but a Pitome. Hang Names and Words; *Greek* and *Latin* will not make an honeſt Man; and a Man may ſpeak Truth without true Spelling.

I remember, when I dined with the *Florida* * Ambaſſador at Alderman *Nowel's*, where we had *Florence*-Wines, I told the Alderman, that, when that Ambaſſador got Home to his Country, he would ſend us more of that *Florida* Wine. They all ſmiled, but what cared I? It were not two Pence to me, if *Florida* were in *Italy*, and *Florence* in the *Indies*; they ſhould remember I was a Brewer, not a Vintner.

But I am poſting thither, where there are no Quibbles, though I fear (in the weak Condition I am now) I myſelf have been forced upon many; for dying Men talk idly, and he, that is ſick and talks much, can hardly eſcape from Quibbles and Nonſenſe. And I hope you will pardon my Baiting your Patience ſo long with the Bears: Conſider, it was the great Action of my Life, and the only Thing, in the Opinion of many, that would lie upon my Conſcience. I confeſs, I thought the Leaſe of my Life had not been expired; there is Breath enough in the World, but I muſt have no more of it; for Death, Death,

* Becauſe my Name is *Pride*.

† Ignorantly, inſtead of *Florence*.

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is the grand Malignant, and a malignant Fever is his Lieutenant-General, and (which is worſe) the new Diſeaſe is his Major-General; a Diſeaſe which ſweeps through all Counties of *England*. And, though the Weekly-bills of Mortality know not us who die in the Country, yet it is my Comfort I die here in my own Houſe at *Non-ſuch*. It was the King's Houſe, and Queen *Eliſabeth* loved this above all her Houſes; and ſome ſay, my Wife looks like that Queen, though the old Earl of *Manchester* was ſaid to look like her; that Queen might look like whom ſhe pleaſed, for ſhe by Proclamation forbad any to draw her Picture; but I would not have my Wife like both her and him, and ſo make her a Maphrodite. She hath brought me divers Sons, and I leave them good Eſtates; I hope I do, and would gladly leave a good Name to keep them Company. The very *Malignants* ſay, my Sons are civil Perſons; but, ſhould I live a thouſand Years, they would not ſay ſo of me. I think it would not trouble them to ſee me renew Acquaintance with my Sling. But how many know ye, that, raiſed like me to Power and Command, have willingly returned to the Place from whence they came?

They talk indeed of a *Roman* General, who came from the Plough, *Dick Tator* * I think they call him, who, having beat the Enemy, went Home to the Country, rich, and renowned for a very wiſe Man. And they ſay, if that pitiful Pilchard *Maſſanello* †, who had a hundred Thouſand at his Pleaſure, had left his Command, he had not been rewarded with a Muſquet-bullet, but had been honoured with a Statue of Gold. It is true, the Queen of *Sweden*, though born a King's Daughter, reſigned her Crown, and vows ſhe never lived happy till now: But her Succeſſor loves Kingdoms better than ſo, and will only have as many as he can get.

He ſoon ſwallowed *Poland*, and as ſoon diſgorged it; and is now in *Denmark*, holding two Forts, with two hard Names, which ſtand like our *Graveſend* and *Tilbury*: And, had he Strength to take ours too, I think in my Conſcience, he would make us all *Danes*. He has many Deſigns, but all my Deſign is only to ſave my Eſtate and my Soul.

Indeed, heretofore I had ſome little Plots, but they did not all take: I thought to make the ſame Horſes ſerve both for my Coach and Dray, but I found my Dray-horſes were too high ſhod, and I might as well have harneſſed the Bears. And yet I know what belongs to Horſes; for I was the firſt that brought Horſes into *Paul's* ‡, and thoſe Horſes brought Saddles; for a Saddler hath ſet up another Exchange there.

I was told *Epſom*-water might do me Good; but I durſt not take it, having uſed the Vicar ſo very ſeverely, leſt the Pariſh-Prieſt ſhould unhallow the Well; and, to ſay Truth, from my Youth I never uſed to drink Water.

My Youth minds me of the late Earl of *Pembroke*; for, when he lay dying, as I do now, I went to viſit him; and when they told him Colonel *Pride* was there, for then I was but Colonel, Who! who, ſaid he, *Pride?* Oh, a precious Youth! But what had he to do with my Youth? Had I ſuch Strength and Health as in my Youth, I would not change with any Lord in *England*. I now die a Lord, and, had I lived as long as that Earl, I might have been an Earl as well as he. And I die the firſt of all the new Lords; whereby you will ſee, whether our Sons ſucceed us in the Peerage.

I would have no Barons War, though I fear a World of Doubts will be raiſed about the other Houſe. They will put it to the Queſtion, whether our Houſe be within the Act againſt new Buildings; and, if within the Act, whether as built upon a new Foundation, or becauſe it is a Cottage? Then, after the Foundation, have at the Roof; Whether it be tyled or thatched; I do not mean by *Wat Tyler* or *Jack Straw*, Whether it be the upper Houſe, or a Garret, where old Shoes, old Caſks, and ſuch Lumber is placed? Whether this High-Court be a Court of War, where none ſit but Officers? With a Hundred ſuch Queſtions, too many for a dying Man to remember. And truly, I myſelf have been much puzzled with the other Houſe, for the Commons is one Houſe, and ours is the other; and ours is one Houſe, and the Commons is the other. And I would fain know how I ſhould know one Houſe from the other?

* Ignorantly for the higheſt Title in the *Roman* Republick, *Dictator*.

† The Fiſherman and Rebel in *Naples*.

‡ Church, turned into a Stable by Colonel *Pride*, &c.

If

If I ſend my Man to my Brew-houſe, he will aſk if I mean to *London?* No, ſay I, but to my other Houſe; then goes he to *Kingſton:* When he returns, I ſend him to my other Houſe; then goes he to *London:* And, when he comes back, I bid him not go to *Kingſton* or *London*, but to the other Houſe; and then muſt he march to *Edinburgh*.

Thus a Man muſt run through two Nations before he can find this other Houſe: For this is the other, and that is the other, and all are the other Houſe; though ſure our Houſe of Peers is ſuch, as there cannot be ſuch another Houſe.

I hope it is no Offence in me, to compare the Houſe of Lords to a Brew-houſe; for I am * of *both* Houſes: I know how Men are at Work in both, and what great Heats are often in both, and how, in both, they all work for one Man, yet every Man for himſelf; with twenty more Things, wherein the *two Houſes* † agree.

The Difference is, that we took the Engagement againſt a Houſe of Lords, but not againſt a Brew-houſe; but that was meant of the *old* Houſe of Peers, not the *new*; and a new Houſe is worth two old ones; for the State hath a whole Year's Rent of a new Houſe ‡, if it ſtand within ten Miles of *London*.

But, alas! (my good Friends) I am now going to the *lower* Houſe ‖ whither we all muſt go ſooner or later; and the beſt and greateſt Lord of us all, had rather go to the other Houſe, than to the other World; for no Brew-houſe is there, but a great Oven that will never be cold. Therefore take Heed; for, *as we brew, ſo muſt we bake.*

* Both a *Lord* and a *Brewer*. † *i. e.* The Brew-houſe and the Houſe of Lords.
‡ By an Ordinance of Parliament, to enable them to carry on the War. ‖ *viz.* The Grave.

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The *French* King conquered by the *Engliſh*; the King of *France* and his Son brought Priſoners into *England* (beſides divers Earls, Lords, and above Two-thouſand Knights and Eſquires) by the victorious *Edward the Black Prince*, Son to *Edward the Third*.

Wherein is given an Account of ſeveral great Battles fought and wonderful Victories obtained over the *French*, when they had ſix to one againſt the *Engliſh*, to the Honour and Renown of *England*'s unparalleled Valour, Conduct, and Reſolution. Written by a Perſon of Quality. *London*, printed for *William Birch*, at the Sign of the *Peacock*, at the lower End of *Cheapſide*, 1678. *Octavo*, containing thirty-one Pages.

## *The Life and Death of* Edward, *ſirnamed*, The Black Prince.

THIS *Edward* was the eldeſt Son of that victorious Prince, King *Edward the Third*: His Mother was the fair *Philippa*, Daughter to *William* Earl of *Hainault* and *Holland*, who was delivered of this her firſt-born Son at *Woodſtock*, July 15, *Anno Chriſti* 1329, and in the third Year of his Father's Reign. He was afterwards created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Aquitain* and *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Cheſter*. He was alſo Earl of *Kent*, in Right of his Wife *Joan*, the moſt admired Beauty of that Age, Daughter of *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, Brother, by the Father's Side, to King *Edward the Second*.

King *Edward* was very ſollicitous in the Education of this his Son, and provided him choice Tutors, to train him up both in Arts and Arms: And among others *Walter Burley*, a Doctor of Divinity, brought up in *Merton*-College in *Oxford*, who wrote many excellent Treatiſes in Natural and Moral Philoſophy, for his great Fame in Learning, had the Honour to be one of the Inſtructers of this hopeful Prince.

When he was but fifteen Years old, his Father King *Edward*, paſſing over into *France*, with a great and gallant Army, took this his Son along with him, making him a Soldier, before he was grown to be a Man: But, it ſeems, he longed to try what Metal his Son was made of in the Bud; and haply he was loth to omit any Thing that might give Countenance and Credit to this Battle, wherein two Kingdoms were laid at the Stake.

*Anno Chriſti* 1345, our King *Edward* was upon the Sea in a Fleet of above a thouſand Sail, and landed in *Normandy*: His Land-Forces were about Two-thouſand five-hundred Horſe, and his Foot Thirty-thouſand, moſt of them Archers. Making pitiful Havock in *Normandy*, he marched up almoſt to the very Walls of *Paris*. *Philip*, the *French* King, had not ſlept all this While, but had raiſed and brought together one of the braveſt Armies, that ever *France* had ſeen, conſiſting of about a Hundred, or Sixcore-thouſand fighting Men.

King *Edward*, loaden and rich with Spoils, ſeemed not unwilling to retreat. But they were now in the Heart of their Enemies Country between the two good Rivers of *Seyne* and *Soame*: And it was judged meet by our King to ſeek a Paſſage out of theſe Straits; and this Enquiry was interpreted by the Enemy to be a Kind of Flight, and King *Edward* was willing to nouriſh this Conceit in them.

The River of *Soame*, between *Abbeville* and the Sea, was at low Water fordable, and gravelly Ground, whereof our King was informed by a *French* Priſoner, whom they had taken. But the *French* King, well acquainted with his own Country, had ſet a Guard upon that Paſs, of a Thouſand Horſe, and above Six-thouſand Foot, under the Conduct of one *Gundamar du Foy*, a *Norman* Lord of ſpecial Note. King *Edward*, coming to this Place, plunges into the Ford, crying out, *He that loves me, let him follow me*, as reſolving either to paſs or die. Theſe Words, and ſuch a Precedent, ſo inflamed his Army, that the Paſſage was won, and *du Foy* defeated almoſt before he was fought with, the incomparable Courage and Reſolution of the *Engliſh* appaling him, and carried back to King *Philip* fewer by Two-thouſand than he carried with him, beſides the Terror which his Retreat brought along with it: And, if the *Engliſh* were before unappaled, now much more they reſolved to live and die with ſuch a Sovereign.

Now was King *Edward* near unto *Creſſy*, in the County of *Ponthieu*, lying between the Rivers of *Soame* and *Anthy*, a Place which unqueſtionably belonged to him, in the Right of his Mother, where he was careful to provide the beſt he could for his Safety and Defence. King *Philip*, being inraged for the late Defeat, precipitates to the Battle, wherein the great and juſt God intended to ſcourge the Pride and Sins of *France*, being the rather induced thereto, by his Confidence in his numerous and gallant Army, who were ready to tread upon one anothers Heels, till the View of the *Engliſh* Colours and Battle put them to a Stand.

King *Edward*, having called upon God for his gracious Aid and Aſſiſtance, full of heroick Aſſuredneſs, without the leaſt Perturbation, di-

divided his Army into three *Battalions*. The firſt was diſpoſed into the Form of an Hearſe, where the Archers ſtood in the Front, and the Men of Arms ſtood in the Bottom; and this was led by the young Lion of *Wales*, our brave Prince *Edward*, to whoſe Aſſiſtance the King joined ſome of his prime and moſt experienced Captains; as *Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, *Godfrey* of *Harecourt*; the Lords, *Thomas Holland*, *Richard Stafford*, *John Chandois*, *Robert Nevil*, *La'ware*, *Bourchier*, *Clifford*, *Cobham*, &c. And many other Knights and Gentlemen, to the Number of eight-hundred Men at Arms, two-thouſand Archers, and a thouſand *Welch-men*. In the Second, were the Earls of *Northampton* and *Arundel*, the Lords *Roſs*, *Willoughby*, *Baſſet*, St. *Albine*, &c. with eight-hundred Men at Arms, and twelve-hundred Archers. In the Third was the King himſelf, having about him ſeven-hundred Men at Arms, and three-thouſand Archers, with the Reſidue of his Nobles and People.

The Battle thus ordered, our King mounted upon a white Hobby, rode from Rank to Rank to View them, and with quickening Words encouraged them, that bravely they ſhould ſtand to, and fight for his Right and Honour. And he cloſed the Battles at their Backs, as if he meant to barricado up their Way from flying, which he did by plaſhing and felling of Trees, and placing his Carriages there, and all his other Impediments. He commanded all Men alſo to diſmount, and to leave their Horſes behind them, and thus all Ways and Means of Flight being taken away, the Neceſſity doubtleſs did double their Courages.

The *French* King, *Philip*, had with him *John* of *Luxembourg*, King of *Bohemia*; the King of *Majorca*; the Duke of *Alanſon*, his Brother; *Charles de Blois*, the King's Nephew; *Ralph*, Duke of *Lorrain*; the Duke of *Savoy*; the Earls of *Flanders*, *Nevers*, *Sancerre*, with many other Dukes, Earls, Barons, and Gentlemen bearing Arms, and thoſe not only *French*, but *Almains*, *Dutch*, and others. And, juſt the Night before the Battle, there came to the *French* Army, *Anne* of *Savoy*, with a thouſand Men at Arms, ſo that all Things ſeemed to elate the Pride of the *French*, and to fit them for Deſtruction.

The *French* Army was alſo divided into three Battalions. The Van-guard the King committed to his Brother, the Duke of *Alanſon*, and the King of *Bohemia*; the Rear to the Duke of *Savoy*. And the main Battle he led himſelf, being ſo impatient of all Delays, that he would ſcarce permit Time for a little Counſel, to conſider what was fitteſt to be done. He cauſed alſo the *Auriflamb* to be erected, which was an hallowed Banner of red Silk, whereof the *French* had a wonderful high Conceit, as of a Thing ſent them from Heaven, as the *Epheſians* thought of their *Diana*. The King of *Bohemia*, though he was ſhort-ſighted, hearing in what good Array the *Engliſh* attended their Coming, ſaid plainly (contrary to the proud Conceits of the *French*, who thought them in a Poſture of Flight) *Here will the* Engliſh *end their Days or conquer*. He adviſed alſo that the Army ſhould take ſome Repaſt, and that the Infantry, conſiſting of the *Genoeſe*, who were about Fifteen-thouſand Croſs-bows, and ſure Men, ſhould make the firſt Front, and the Cavalry to follow, which was done accordingly.

A little before the Fight began, God, to ſhew that he was Lord of Hoſts, and the only Giver of Victory, cauſed the black Clouds to pour down upon them Plenty of Water, like ſo many Funeral Tears, enarching the Air with a ſpacious Rain-bow; and diſcharged ſundry Peals of Thunder. The Sun alſo, which before had hid his Face under a black dark Cloud, now broke forth, ſhining full in the *Frenchmen*'s Faces, and on the Backs of the *Engliſh*. At the ſame Time alſo great Flocks of Ravens, and other baleful Birds of Prey, came flying over the *French* Army.

The Duke of *Alanſon*, contrary to his Order, took it ill, that the *Genoeſe* were ſet in the Front, and therefore in Fury cauſed them to change Place; which changed that Seat of the Army, and wrought that Diſcontent alſo in theſe *Italians*, as irritated them more againſt the *French* than againſt their Enemies.

The Sign of Battle, being given by King *Philip*, was entertained with Clamours and Shouts, all Things ſhewing the Dread and Horror of War; Drums and Trumpets ſounding to a Charge, Banners flying in the Air, and every where the glittering Weapons threatening Death and Deſtruction. The *French* Calamities began at the *Genoeſe*, who, under *Carolo Grimaldi*, and *Antonio Doria*, their Colonels, being all of them Croſs-bow Men, were to open a Way by their Arrows for the

*French* Horſe; but this was the Succeſs of their Service: Their Bow-ſtrings being wet with the late Rain, their Bodies weary with a long March, their Ranks (after the *Engliſh* had received their firſt Volley upon their Targets) opened with innumerable Gaps, occaſioned by the Fall of their ſlain Fellows, who were overthrown by our home-drawn Arrows, were at laſt moſt outrageouſly ſcattered, and trampled under Foot by *Charles*, Duke of *Alanſon* (by Command of King *Philip* himſelf) who, bringing up the Horſe with a full Carrier, cried out, *On, on, let us make our Way upon the Bellies of theſe* Genoeſe, *who do but hinder us*; and inſtantly pricks on through the Midſt of them, followed by the Dukes of *Lorrain* and *Savoy*, never ſtaying till he came up to the *Engliſh* Battalion, wherein our gallant Prince commanded. This fiery young Count (contrary to good Diſcipline) had alſo otherwiſe diſobliged them, by diſgraceful Speeches even when they were ready to join Battle.

Theſe *French* Gallants, being thus mingled amongſt them, were very many of them overthrown and ſlain by the *Engliſh* Arrows, which equally brought to Deſtruction both *French* and *Genoeſe*, ſhooting thickeſt where the Crowd and Confuſion was greateſt. Some Raſcals alſo that followed the *Engliſh* Army, as they ſaw Opportunity, ſtepped in among them, and helped to cut their Throats, ſparing neither Lord nor Lozel.

The *French* Men at Arms, half out of Breath with their Poſt-haſte, and terribly diſordered by the perpetual Storms of our whiſtling Arrows, were now at handy Strokes with the Prince's Battalion; neither was it long before the bright Battle-axes, glittering Swords, and Lances, and ſuch like other *Engliſh* Weapons, had changed their Hue, being covered over with human Gore, which, having thirſtily drank out of the Enemies Wounds, let drop in bloody Tears to the Ground.

The Fight was ſharp and fierce, whilſt each ſtrove for Victory. But here may not be forgotten the high Reſolution and Valour of the King of *Bohemia*, who (as only ſeeking an honourable Grave for his old Age) thruſt himſelf into the firſt Ranks of his own Horſemen, and, with full Carrier charging the *Engliſh*, was ſlain with his Sword in Hand, the Troop of his faithful Followers, with their ſlaughtered Bodies, covering him even in Death; this was ſoon ſeen by the Fall of the *Bohemian* Standard, whereupon his Son *Charles* (who was lately elected Emperor of *Germany*, whilſt King *Lewis* was yet alive) wiſely took Care for his own Safety, by a timely Retreat, when he ſaw the Caſe deſperate.

Now was King *Philip* himſelf in Perſon, with the full Power of his Army, come to the Reſcue of his Brother and Friends, who, while they had Breath, were fighting hard for their hoped for Victory; but, finding the *Engliſh* Valour far beyond what they expected, they were beaten to the Earth in great Numbers, ſo that the Carnage was very great. Yet was not our brave Prince without Danger, though now the ſecond Battalion of the *Engliſh* for the Preſervation of their Prince, ruſhing in among their Enemies, fought moſt courageouſly.

Our King *Edward* all this While was ſtanding upon a Windmill-hill, with his Helmet on, which never came off till all was ended, judiciouſly watching, beholding the whole Field, to ſee how all Things went, and ready to bring down his Army, which ſtood about him like a black Hovering in a Cloud, when juſt Neceſſity ſhould require it. The Prince, in the mean Time, being hard put to it, having the whole Power of *France* againſt him, ſome of the Nobles, ſenſible of his Danger, ſent to the King, requeſting his Preſence for the Aid of his Son in this Neceſſity; the King aſked the Meſſenger, *Whether his Son was ſlain or hurt?* And when they anſwered, No, but that he was like to be overpowered with the Multitude of his *Enemies*. "Well then, ſaid the "King, go back to them that ſent you, and "tell them, that, ſo long as my Son is alive, "they ſend no more to me, whatever happen; "for I will that the Honour of this Day ſhall "be his, if God permit him to ſurvive, and "that he ſhall either win his Spurrs, or loſe "his Life."

This Meſſage, though it carried not back Men to aſſiſt, yet it inſpired ſuch new Life and Spirits into the *Engliſh*, that they fought like Lions, as reſolving either to conquer or die. On the other Side, King *Philip*, whoſe Kingdom lay at Stake, performed the Duty of a good General and gallant Soldier, fighting ſo long in his own Perſon, till his Horſe was killed under him, himſelf twice diſmounted, and wounded both in the Neck and Thigh, and near being trodden to Death, had not the Lord *John* of *Hainault*, Earl of *Beaumont*, reſcued and remounted him; the *French* alſo about him,

him, out of a loyal Deſire of his Preſervation, almoſt againſt his Will, conveighed him out of the Field, who rather ſeemed deſirous to end his Days in ſo noble Company.

King being departed out of the Field, and the Matter being divulged in both Armies, it ſoon put a Period to this bloody Medly, wherein, as yet, none were taken to Mercy, but all were put to the Sword. The *French* King himſelf, with a ſmall Company, got to *Bray* in the Night, and approaching the Walls, and the Guard aſking who was there? He anſwered, *The Fortune of* France. By his Voice he was known, and thereupon received into the Town, with the Tears and Lamentations of his People. The reſt of his Army fought to ſave themſelves by Flight, whom the *Engliſh*, warily fighting upon the Defenſive, and loth to hazard ſo glorious a Victory, by breaking their Ranks to purſue the Enemy too far in the Night, which was now come on, ſuffered them to be followed only by their own Fears, contenting themſelves to make good their Ground, by ſtanding ſtill upon their Guard, according to the Rules of true martial Diſcipline, knowing that there were ſo many of the Enemy eſcaped, as might yet ſerve to overwhelm their weary Army with their Multitude.

Our King *Edward*, ſeeing the Coaſt for the preſent cleared of all his Enemies, came down from the Hill with his intire Battalion towards his victorious Son, and, moſt affectionately embracing and kiſſing him, ſaid, "Fair Son, "God ſend you good Perſeverance to ſuch "proſperous Beginnings; you have acquit-"ted yourſelf right nobly, and are well wor-"thy to have a Kingdom intruſted with your "Government for your Valour." To which the moſt noble and magnanimous of Princes replied with Silence, moſt humbly falling on his Knees at the Feet of his triumphant Father.

As for other Things concerning this famous Victory, I refer my Reader to my Narrative of it, in the Life and Death of King *Edward the Third*; contenting myſelf here only to deſcribe it, ſo far forth as our noble Prince was therein a prime Actor, and without which I could not have given a juſt Account of his Life.

Immediately after this Victory, our King marched with his Army through *France*, and ſat done before *Calais*. But, as the Splendor of the Sun darkens the Stars, ſo did the Preſence of the Father obſcure the Actions and Virtues of the Son, that I read no more of him till the Year 1355. At which Time our King was informed, that *John*, the now King of *France*, his Father *Philip* being dead, had given the Duchy of *Aquitain* to *Charles* the *Dauphin*; whereupon King *Edward*, being much incenſed, conferred the ſame upon his own Son, the Prince of *Wales*, commanding him to defend his Right therein with the Sword againſt his Adverſaries.

He was alſo appointed, by Parliament, to go into *Gaſcoigne* with a thouſand Men at Arms, two-thouſand Archers, and a great Number of *Welchmen*, who accompanied their Prince. And in *June* following he ſet forward with three-hundred Sail of Ships, attended with the Earls of *Warwick*, *Suffolk*, *Salisbury*, and *Oxford*, and the Lords *Chandois*, *Audley*, *Beaufort*, *Liſle*, with Sir *Robert Knowles*, Sir *Francis Hall*, and many others.

With theſe arriving in *Aquitain*, he betook himſelf to do Things worthy of his Name and Courage. He did Wonders in *France*; for, with his victorious Army, he recovered Multitudes of Towns and Priſoners: He entered *Guienne*, paſſed over *Languedoc* to *Tholouſe*, *Narbonne*, and *Bruges*, without any Encounter, ſacks, ſpoils and deſtroys where he goes, and loaden, with Booties, returns to *Bourdeaux*. In the mean Time, the *French* King gathered all the Power he poſſibly could, and the Prince (the Winter being ſpent) ſets forth upon a new Expedition.

He had in his Army about Eight-thouſand brave expert and well diſciplined Soldiers, and with them he advanced through *Perigort* and *Limoſin*, into the Boſom of *France*, even up to the very Gates of *Bruges* in *Berry*, the Terror of his Name flying before, to his great Advantage. Thus ſatisfied for the preſent, he wheeled about with Purpoſe to return by *Remorantine* in *Blaſois*, which Town he took, and ſo through the Country of *Tourain*, *Poictou*, and *Xantoigne*, to his chief City of *Bourdeaux*. But *John*, King of *France*, having aſſembled a great and compleat Army, followed cloſe, and about the City of *Poictiers* overtook our invincible Prince.

When the Armies, with the Odds of ſix to one againſt the *Engliſh*, drew near each other, two Cardinals, ſent from Pope *Clement*, mediated, as they had done before, to take up the Quarrel. But the *French* King, ſuppoſing that he had his Enemy now at his Mercy, would accept of no other Conditions, but that the Prince ſhould deliver him four Hoſtages, and,

and, as vanquiſhed, render up himſelf and his Army to his Diſcretion. The Prince was content to reſtore unto him all the Places which he had taken from him, but without Prejudice to his Honour, wherein, he ſaid, he ſtood accountable to his Father and his Country. But the *French* King would abate nothing of his former Demands, as being aſſured of the Victory, as he ſuppoſed; and thereupon was ready inſtantly to ſet upon the Prince, who, ſeeing himſelf reduced to this Strait, took what Advantage he could of the Ground, and by his Diligence got the Benefit of certain Vines, Shrubs, and Buſhes, upon that Part where he was like to be aſſaulted, whereby to peſter and entangle the *French* Horſe, which he ſaw was ready to come furiouſly upon him.

The Succeſs anſwered his Expectation; for the Cavalry of his Enemy, in their full Carrier, were ſo entangled and incumbered among the Vines, that the Prince's Archers galled and annoyed them at their Pleaſure. For the *French* King, to give the Honour of the Day to his Cavalry, made Uſe of them only, without the Help of his Infantry; hence it was that, they being diſordered, and put to Rout, his whole Army came to be utterly defeated. Here, if ever, the Prince and his *Engliſh* gave full Proof of their Valour and undaunted Courage, never giving over till they had wholly routed all the three *French* Battalions, the leaſt of which exceeded all the Prince's Numbers. The King himſelf, fighting valiantly, and *Philip* his youngeſt Son, who by ſuch his Boldneſs and Zeal defended his diſtreſſed Father, as it purchaſed him the honourable Sirname of *Hardy*, were taken Priſoners.

Thoſe of the Prince's Side, whoſe Valour and great Deeds were moſt conſpicuous, were the Earls of *Warwick*, *Suffolk*, *Salisbury*, *Oxford*, and *Stafford*; the Lords *Chandois*, *Cobham*, *Spencer*, *Audley*, *Berkley*, *Baſſet*, &c. and of *Gaſcoigne*, Subjects to the Crown of *England*, the Capital *de Beuf*, the Lords *Lumiere*, *Chaumont*, with others of inferior Title, but not of unequal Valour; among others, *James*, Lord *Audley*, won immortal Renown at this bloody Battle, in which he received many Wounds, and was rewarded by the noble Prince with a Gift of five-hundred Marks, Land in Feeſimple in *England*, which he divided among his four Eſquires, who had ſtood by him in all the Fury and Brunt of the Battle; hereupon the Prince aſked him, *If he accepted not of his Gift?* He anſwered, *That theſe Men had deſerved it as well as himſelf, and needed it more.* With which Reply the Prince was ſo well pleaſed, that he gave five-hundred Marks more in the ſame Kind. A rare Example, where Deſert in the Subject, and Reward in the Prince, ſtrove which ſhould be the greater. This Lord *Audley*, having vowed to be foremoſt in the Fight, made good his Words accordingly.

It was the Misfortune, or rather the Glory of the *French* Nobles in theſe diſaſterous Times, that the Loſs fell ever heavily upon them; for, in this great Overthrow and Carnage, by their own Confeſſion, there fell fifty-two Lords, and about ſeventeen-hundred Knights, Eſquires, and Gentlemen, that bore Coats of Arms; among the Knights were fifty-two Bannerets. The chief among the Slain were *Peter* of *Bourbon*, Duke of *Athens*, the High-Conſtable of *France*; *John de Clermont*, Marſhal; *Jeffery de Charmy*, High-Chamberlain; the Biſhop of *Chalons*, the Lords of *Landas*, of *Pons*, and of *Chambly*. Sir *Reginald Camian*, who that Day carried the *Auriflamb*, was ſlain alſo, and as many others as made up the former Number; and of the common Soldiers there died about Six-thouſand. So wonderfully did the great God of Battles fight for the *Engliſh* in thoſe Days.

There eſcaped from this bloody Battle three of the *French* King's Sons, for he brought them all with him, *Charles*, Prince of *Dauphin*, *Lewis*, afterwards Duke of *Anjou*, and *John*, Duke of *Berry*; all of them great Actors in the Times following.

The *French* Priſoners taken were *John*, King of *France*, and *Philip*, his Son, afterwards Duke of *Burgoine*; the Archbiſhop of *Sens*; *James* of *Bourbon*, Earl of *Ponthieu*; *John* of *Artois*, Earl of *Eu*; *Charles*, his Brother, Earl of *Longueville*; *Charles*, Earl of *Vendoſme*; the Earls *Tankerville*, *Salbruch*, *Naſſaw*, *Dampmartin*, *La Roche*; the Counts of *Vaudemont*, *Eſtampes*, and *John de Ceintre*, accounted the beſt Knights of *France*, and many other great Lords; and about two-thouſand Knights, Eſquires, and Gentlemen that bore Coats of Arms; and in this Expedition the *Engliſh* took an hundred Enſigns.

But here great Contention aroſe between many, who ſhould be the Man that took King *John* Priſoner. The Prince wiſely commanded them to forbear, till they came into *England*, where, the Matter being heard, it was ad-

adjudged by King *John*'s own Teſtimony, that one Sir *Denis Morbeck*, of St. *Omer*'s, had taken him Priſoner; for which Service the Prince rewarded him with a thouſand Marks.

And now, though King *John* had the hard Hap to fall into the Hands of an Enemy, yet he had the Happineſs to fall into the Hands of a noble Enemy. For Prince *Edward*, having conquered his Perſon by Force of Battle, now ſtrove to overcome his Mind, by his humble Deportment, expreſſing himſelf in a Language ſo ponderous, humble, grave, and natural, and yet ſo ſtately, as none but the beſt Soul, adorned with the beſt Education, was able to have performed. And, the next Day, cauſing the Chaplains, and the other Prieſts in the Army, to celebrate Divine Service, he put off from himſelf the whole Glory of Victory, and moſt devoutly gave it unto God; after which, in the Sight and Hearing of the Priſoners, he highly commended and heartily thanked his Soldiers, with Speeches full of Life and Affection, ſealing his Words to every one with bountiful large Fees as his preſent Means would permit. Mr. *May*, in his *Edward the Third*, ſets forth this Battle excellently in theſe Words:

——————— The firſt hot Charge
The valiant Lord, renowned *Audley*, gave;
Who, to perform a noble Vow, in Deeds
Almoſt the Proweſs of a Man exceeds;
And, like the Stroke of *Jove*'s reſiſtleſs Thunder,
Shoots forth, and breaks the ſtrongeſt Ranks aſunder.
Here, in the thickeſt Throng of Enemies,
Like *Thracian Mars* himſelf, *Black Edward* plies
Death's fatal Taſk. Here noble *Warwick* gives
A furious Onſet; there brave *Suffolk* ſtrives
T' out-go the Foremoſt: Emulation's Fire
Is kindled now, and blazes high: Deſire
Of Honour drowns all other Paſſions there:
Not in the Chiefs alone; each Soldier
In that ſmall Army feels bright Honour's Flame,
And labours to maintain his proper Fame.
Ne'er was a Battle through all Parts ſo fought,
Nor ſuch high Wonders by a Handful wrought.
Bright Victory, that ſoar'd above, beheld
How every *Engliſh* Hand throughout the Field
Was ſtain'd with Blood, amaz'd to ſee the Day,
And that ſo few ſhould carry her away.
The Fields no more their Verdure can retain,
Enforced now to take their purple Stain,
And be obſcur'd with Slaughter, while the Wounds
Of *France* manure her own unhappy Grounds;
Where, mixed with Plebeian Funerals,
Her greateſt Princes die: There *Bourbon* falls,
And Marſhal *Clermont* welters in his Gore;
There noble *Charney*'s beaten down, that bore
The Standard Royal that ſad Day: Here dies
*Athens* great Duke; there valiant *Euſtace* lies,
Who, as a Badge of higheſt Honour, wore
A Chaplet of bright Pearls, that had before
(Won by King *Edward*, in a Skirmiſh, near
To *Calais* he was taken Priſoner)
As Teſtimony of his Proweſs ſhew'd,
Been by that Royal Enemy beſtow'd.
Great are the *French* Battalia's, and, in Room
Of thoſe that fall, ſo oft freſh Soldiers come.
So oft the bloody Fight's renew'd, that now
The *Engliſh* weary with Subduing grow,
And 'gin to faint, oppreſs'd with Odds ſo great;
When, lo! to make the Victory compleat,
Six-hundred Bowmen (whom to that Intent,
Before the Battle, the brave Prince had ſent
Abroad well mounted) now come thund'ring o'er
The Field, and charge the *French* behind ſo ſore,
As with Confuſion did diſtract them quite;
And now an Execution, not a Fight
Enſues. All routed, that great Army flies,
A Prey to their purſuing Enemies.
What his diſhearten'd Battle, *Orleans*
Forſakes the Field; with him the Heir of *France*,
Young *Charles* of *Normandy*, and Thouſands moe,
Not overthrown, but frighted by the Foe.
Nor are the *Engliſh*, tho' enow to gain
The Day, enow in Number to maintain
So great a Chace; and not ſo well ſuffice
To follow, as ſubdue their Enemies.
Nor yet (which more declar'd the Conqueſt ſent
From Heaven alone, to ſtrike Aſtoniſhment
In over-weening Mortals, and to ſhew,
Without that Help, how little Man can do)
Are all the *Engliſh*, Conquerors in the Field,
Enow to take ſo many *French* as yield;
Nor to receive the Priſoners, that come:
Tho' ſome in Fields are ranſom'd, and ſent Home,
Yet more from thence are Captive borne away,
Than are the Hands that won ſo great a Day, &c.

And

And now, though King *John* had the Unhappineſs to fall into the Hands of an Enemy, yet that, which alleviated his Affliction, was, that he fell into the Hands of a noble Enemy; for Prince *Edward* uſed him with ſuch Reſpect and Obſervance, that he could not find much Difference between his Captivity and Liberty. Mr. *May* gives us this Narrative of it;

The Chace together with the Day was done,
And all return'd: In his Pavilion
Brave *Edward* feaſts his Royal Priſoner;
At which, as noble did the Prince appear,
As erſt in Battle; and, by Sweetneſs won
As great a Conqueſt, as his Sword had done.
No fair Reſpect, or Honour, that might chear
That King's afflicted Breaſt, was wanting there.
No Reverence, nor humble Courteſy,
That might preſerve his State and Dignity,
But *Edward* ſhew'd at full; and, at the Feaſt,
In Perſon waited on his Captive Gueſt.
But what Content, what Object fit could Fate
Preſent, to comfort ſuch a changed State?
——————————— For him,
Whoſe State the Morning Sun had ſeen ſo high,
This Night beholds in ſad Captivity;
His reſtleſs Paſſions, rolling to and fro,
No Calm admit: When thus his noble *Foe*,
Prince *Edward*, ſpake: (Great King, for ſuch you are
In my Thoughts ſtill, whate'er the Chance of War
Hath lately wrought againſt you here) Forgive
Your humble Kinſman's Service, if I ſtrive
To eaſe your Sorrow, and preſume to do
What is too much for me, to counſel you.
Do not deject your Princely Thoughts, or think
The martial Fame, that you have gain'd, can ſink
In one ſucceſsleſs Field; or too much fear
Your Nation's Honour ſhould be tainted here.
Men's Strength and Honours we moſt truly try,
Where Fields are fought with moſt Equality.
But God was pleas'd to make this Day's Succeſs
The more miraculous, that we the leſs
Might challenge to ourſelves, and humbly know,
That, in ſo great and ſtrange an Overthrow,
Some ſecret Judgment of our God was wrought,
And that the Sword of Heaven, not *England*, fought, &c.
And, for Yourſelf, Great King, all Hiſtory,
That ſhall hereafter to the World make known
Th' Event of *Poictiers* Battle, ſhall renown
Your perſonal Proweſs, which appear'd ſo high,
As juſtly ſeem'd to challenge Victory,
Had not God's ſecret Providence oppos'd.
But, though his Will (Great Sir) hath thus diſpos'd,
Your State remains; your Perſon and your Fame
Shall, in my humble Thoughts, be ſtill the ſame:
And, till my Father ſee your Face, to ſhew,
How he reſpects your Worth and State, to you,
As to himſelf, were he in Perſon here,
In all Obſervance *Edward* ſhall appear.
The noble King, a While amaz'd to ſee
Victorious Youth ſo full of Courteſy,
At laſt replies: Brave Couſin, you have ſhown
Yourſelf a Man built up for true Renown;
And, as in Action of the Wars, to be
This Age's *Phœnix* in Humanity.
Why do you wrong me thus, as to enthrall
Me doubly? Not inſulting o'er my Fall,
You rob me, Couſin, of that ſole Renown,
Which I, though vanquiſh'd, might have made my own,
To bear Adverſity. I might have ſhew'd,
Had you been proud, a paſſive Fortitude;
And let the World, though I am fallen, ſee
What Spirit I had in ſcorning Miſery.
But you have robb'd me of that Honour now,
And I am bound in Honour to allow
That noble Theft, content (ſince ſuch are you)
To be your Captive, and your Debtor too;
And, ſince my Stars ordain'd a King of *France*,
Arm'd with ſuch Odds, ſo great a Puiſſance,
Muſt in a fatal Field be loſt, to raiſe
So great a Trophy to another's Praiſe,
I am beſt pleas'd it ſhould advance thy Story,
And *John*'s Diſhonour be Prince *Edward*'s Glory.

After the Battle, which was fought on the nineteenth Day of *September*, *Anno Chriſti* 1357, Prince *Edward* led King *John* and the Captive Nobles Priſoners to *Bourdeaux*, the Archiepiſcopal See and chief City of his Dominions in *France*, where he retained them till the Spring following; but ſent preſent News of this Victory to his Father, who thereupon took ſpeedy Order, by *Simon*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, that a Thankſgiving ſhould be celebrated all over *England*, for eight Days together.

The

The Prince, having ſufficiently reſted and refreſhed his People, the *May* following ſet Sail for *England* with his Priſoners, and ſafely arrived at *Plymouth*, and was with great Joy and Acclamations received every where. At his Coming to *London*, where, at that Time, a magnificent Citizen, *Henry Picard* (he who afterwards, at one Time, ſo nobly feaſted the four Kings of *England*, *France*, *Scotland*, and *Cyprus*) was Lord Mayor, who received him with all imaginable Honour. And the Multitude of People, that came to ſee the victorious Prince, with the King of *France*, his Son *Philip*, and the other Priſoners, was ſo great, that they could hardly get to *Weſtminſter* between Three o'Clock in the Morning and Twelve at Noon. Great *Edward*, ſaving that he forgat not the Majeſty of a Conqueror, and of a King of *England*, omitted no Kind of noble Courteſy towards the Priſoners. King *John* and his Son were lodged under a Safeguard at the *Savoy*, which was then a goodly Palace belonging unto *Henry*, Duke of *Lancaſter*; and the other Priſoners in other Places.

Some Time after, Prince *Edward*, by Diſpenſation, was married to the Counteſs of *Kent*, Daughter to *Edmund*, Brother to King *Edward the Second*, and his Father inveſted him with the Duchy of *Aquitain*; ſo that he was now Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Aquitain*, Duke of *Cornwal*, and Earl of *Cheſter* and *Kent*; and, not long after, he, with his beloved Wife, paſſed over into *France*, and kept his Court at *Bourdeaux*.

The Prince of *Wales* was now grown famous over all the *Chriſtian* World, and the Man to whom all wronged Princes ſeemed to appeal, and to fly for Succour. For which End, there came at this Time to his Court *James*, King of *Majorca*, and *Richard*, King of *Navarre*, juſt when his beloved Lady brought him a Son, for whom theſe two Kings undertook at his Baptiſm, giving him the Name of *Richard*.

The Companies of Soldiers, moſt of whoſe Captains were *Engliſh*, either by Birth, or Obedience, wanting Employment, becauſe the Wars of *Britain* were quieted for the Preſent, ranged tumultuouſly up and down *France*. But, about this Time, Sir *Bertram de Glequin* (having paid his Ranſom) found Employment for them, drawing the greateſt Part of that military Peſtilence into another Coaſt: For, by the Aſſiſtance of *Peter*, King of *Arragon*, and the Power of *Glequin*, with his Floating bands, called *The Companions*, or *Adventurers*, *Peter*, King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, a cruel Tyrant, was driven out of his Kingdom, his Baſtard Brother, *Henry*, being choſen in his Room, and crowned King of *Spain*, at *Burgos*.

This *Peter* was Son to *Alphonſus the Eleventh*, King of *Caſtile*, and had to Wife a *French* Lady, called *Blanch*, Daughter to *Peter*, Duke of *Bourbon*, who was Father alſo of *Joan*, the *French* King's Wife. His tyrannical Cruelties were ſo many and ſo foul, that the *Spaniſh* Stories ſcarce ſuffer *Nero*, or *Caligula*, to go beyond him; for which, by his Subjects he was depoſed, and his Brother *Henry* (as is ſaid before) was ſubſtituted and crowned in his Room.

*Peter*, thus driven out of his Kingdom, by the Aid of the *French*, applied himſelf to Prince *Edward*, craving his Aſſiſtance for his Reſtitution, making many and large Promiſes to him upon the Accompliſhment thereof. And the Prince, partly out of Charity to ſuccour a diſtreſſed Prince, and partly out of Policy to keep his Soldiers in Exerciſe, having firſt ſent to his Father, and gotten his Leave, marched with a gallant Army of Thirty-thouſand Men (burning with Deſire of Renown) upon Confidence of good Pay for his Men, and other Commodities, when *Peter* ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed upon his Throne.

He made his Way through the famous Streights of *Rouncevallux*, in *Navarre*, by Permiſſion of the King thereof, who yet ſuffered himſelf to be taken Priſoner, and carried into *Caſtile*, that he might not ſeem to croſs the *French* King's Deſigns, who favoured *Henry*, the Uſurper.

Our Prince had in his Company, beſides moſt of all the principal Captains of the *Engliſh*, two Kings, *Peter* of *Caſtile*, whoſe the Quarrel was, and the King of *Majorca*: As alſo *John*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, who, ſome While after *Don Pedro*'s Death, having married his eldeſt Daughter, wrote himſelf King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*.

On the other Side, King *Henry*, for the Defence of his new Kingdom, had amaſſed together a very great Army, conſiſting partly of *French*, under *Glequin*, their famous Captain, and of *Caſtilians* and others, both *Chriſtians* and *Saracens*, to the Number of about an Hundred-thouſand: And, upon the Borders

of *Caſtile*, it came to a bloody Battle, wherein the valiant Prince of *Wales* obtained a very great Victory, having ſlain many Thouſands of his Enemies. *Henry* himſelf, fighting valiantly, was wounded in the Groin, but yet eſcaped. There were taken Priſoners the Earl of of *Dene*, *Bertram de Glequin* (who yet ſhortly after, by paying a great Ranſom, was ſet at Liberty) the Marſhal *Dandrehen*, and many others. Neither was this Victory leſs worth to *Peter*, than a Kingdom; for our moſt noble Prince left him not, till at *Burgos* he had ſet him upon his Throne again.

But this unworthy King's Falſhood and Ingratitude were odious and monſtrous. For the Prince, notwithſtanding his ſo great Goodneſs extended to him, was forced to return to *Bourdeaux*, without Money, wherewith to pay his Army; which was the Cauſe of exceeding great Miſchiefs to himſelf, and the *Engliſh* Dominions beyond the Seas, as if God had been diſpleaſed with his Succouring ſuch a Tyrant. The Prince himſelf, though he came back with Victory, yet he brought back with him ſuch a Crazineſs, and Indiſpoſition of Body, that he was never thoroughly well after. And no Marvel, conſidering the Country, the Seaſon, and the Action itſelf; and it may be more marvelled, that his Soldiers came Home ſo well, than that he came Home ſo ill.

Being now returned, there was preſently, to his Indiſpoſition of Body, added Diſcontentment of Mind. For, not having Money wherewith to pay his Soldiers, he was forced to wink at that which he could not chooſe but ſee, and ſeeing to grieve at. For they preyed upon the Country, for which the Country murmured againſt him. And, now to ſtop this Murmuring, his Chancellor, the Biſhop of *Rhodes*, deviſed a new Impoſition of levying a Frank for every Chimney, and this to continue for five Years, to pay the Prince's Debts.

But this Impoſition, though granted in Parliament, made the Murmuring to be increaſed. For, though ſome Part of his Dominions, as the *Poictorians*, the *Xantoigns*, and the *Limoſins*, in a Sort conſented to it, yet the Count of *Armigniac*, the Count of *Cominges*, the Viſcount of *Carmain*, and divers others, ſo much diſtaſted it, that they complained thereof to the King of *France*, as unto their ſupreme Lord: Pretending that the Prince was to anſwer before King *Charles*, as before his ſuperior Lord, of whom, they ſaid, he held by Homage and Fealty; whereas King *Edward* and his Heirs, by the Treaty at *Bretagne*, were abſolutely freed from all Manner of Service for any of their Dominions in *France*; King *Charles* did openly entertain this Complaint, and hoping to regain, by Surprize and Policy, what the *Engliſh* had won by Dint of Sword, and true Manhood, he proceeded to ſummon the Prince of *Wales* to *Paris*, there to anſwer to ſuch Complaints as his Subjects made againſt him.

Our ſtout Prince returned for Anſwer, 'That, if he muſt needs appear, he would 'bring threeſcore-thouſand Men in Arms to 'appear with him. And now began the Peace, between *England* and *France*, to be unſettled and wavering. For, while our King *Edward* rejoiced in the excellent Virtues and Actions of his Sons and People, *Charles* the *French* King, warned by ſo many Calamities as his Dominions had ſuſtained by the *Engliſh* in fair War, and withal earneſtly coveting to recover the Honour of his Nation, betook himſelf wholly to ſecret Practices and Deſigns: Never adventuring his own Perſon in the Field, but executing all by his Deputies and Lieutenants, eſpecially by the Valour and Service of *Bertram de Glequin*, Conſtable of *France*, who, from a low Eſtate, was raiſed to this Height, for his prudent and magnanimous Conduct in War. And our truly noble King, without Suſpicion of Craft, repoſing himſelf upon the Rules of Virtue and Magnanimity, did not reap the ſtable Effects of ſo great and important Victories, nor of the Peace ſo ceremoniouſly made, that, in the World's Opinion, it could not be broken, without the manifeſt Violation, upon one Side, of all Bonds both Divine and Human.

The Prince of *Wales* by Letters adviſed his Father not to truſt to any fair Words, or Overtures of further Amity, made by the *French*, becauſe, as he ſaid, they entertained Practices underhand in every Place againſt him: But his Counſel was not hearkened to, becauſe he was judged to write thus out of a reſtleſs Humour, delighting in War, though the Event ſhewed that his Words were true. For now King *Charles*, having by quick Payments, and by one Means or other, gotten Home all the Hoſtages which had been pledged for the Performance of the Articles of Peace, ſet all his Wits on Work, to abuſe the King of *England*'s Credulity. He court-

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ed him with loving Letters and Preſents, while in the mean Time his Plots were ripened Abroad, and he ſurpriſed the County of *Ponthieu*, our Kings undeniable Inheritance, before King *Edward* heard thereof.

King *Edward* hereupon calls a Parliament, declares the Breach, craves Aid, and hath it granted: And then again claims the Crown of *France*, and ſent over his Son *John*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, and *Humphry de Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford*, with a great Army to *Calais* to invade *France*.

Among the States and Towns made over to the *Engliſh* at the Treaty of *Bretagne*, which had revolted to the *French*, was the City of *Limoſin*: Thither did the Prince march, and ſat down with his Army before it: And, not long after, came unto him, out of *England*, his two Brethren, the Duke of *Lancaſter* and the Earl of *Cambridge*, with a freſh Supply of valiant Captains and Soldiers. The City ſtood it out to the uttermoſt, and was at laſt taken by Storm, where no Mercy was ſhewed by the inraged Soldiers, but the Sword and Fire laid all deſolate: After this Service, the Prince's Health failing him more and more, he left his Brethren in *Aquitain* to proſecute the Wars, and himſelf, taking Ship, came over to his Father in *England*, his eldeſt Son, *Edward*, being dead a little before at *Bourdeaux*, and brought over with him his Wife and his other Son *Richard*.

The Prince having left *France*, his Dominions were either taken away, or fell away faſter than they were gotten; *Gueſchlin* entered *Poictou*, took *Montmorillon*, *Chauvigny*, *Luſſack*, and *Moncontour*. Soon after followed the Country of *Aulnis*, of *Xantoigne*, and the reſt of *Poictou*: Then St. *Maxent*, *Neel*, *Aulnay*: Then *Benaon*, *Marant*, *Surgers*, *Fontency*, and at laſt they came to *Thouras*, where the moſt Part of the Lords of *Poictou*, that held with the Prince, were aſſembled. At this Time the King, Prince *Edward*, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and all the great Lords of *England* ſet forward for their Relief: But, being driven back by a Tempeſt, and Succour not coming, *Thouras* was yielded up upon Compoſition. In Fine, all *Poictou* was loſt, and then *Aquitain*, all, but only *Bourdeaux* and *Bayonne*. And not long after Prince *Edward* died, and with him the Fortune of *England*. He was a Prince ſo full of Virtues as were ſcarce matchable by others. He died at *Canterbury* upon *Trinity-Sunday*, *June* 8, in the forty-ſixth Year of his Age, and the forty-ninth of his Father's Reign, and was buried in *Chriſt's-Church* there, *Anno Chriſti* 1376.

Among all the gallant Men of that Age, this our Prince was ſo worthily the firſt, that,

*Longe erit a Primo quiſque ſecundus erit.*

He had a ſumptuous Monument erected for him, upon which this *Epitaph* was engraven in Braſs, in *French* thus *Engliſhed*:

'Here lieth the noble Prince Monſieur *Edward*, the eldeſt Son of the thrice noble King *Edward the Third*, in former Time, Prince of *Aquitain*, and of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwal*, and Earl of *Cheſter*, who died on the Feaſt of the *Trinity*, which was the eighth of *June*, in the Year of Grace 1376. To the Soul of whom, God grant Mercy. *Amen.*'

After which were added theſe Verſes in *French*, thus tranſlated, according to the homely Poetry of thoſe Times:

Who ſo thou art that paſſeſt by,
Where theſe Corpſe entombed lie:
Underſtand what I ſhall ſay,
As, at this Time, ſpeak I may.
Such as thou art, ſometime was I:
Such as I am, ſuch ſhalt thou be.
I little thought on th' Hour of Death,
So long as I enjoyed Breath.
Great Riches here I did poſſeſs,
Whereof I made great Nobleneſs.
I had Gold, Silver, Wardrobes, and
Great Treaſures, Horſes, Houſes, Land.
But now a Caitiff poor am I,
Deep in the Ground, lo here I lie:
My Beauty great is all quite gone,
My Fleſh is waſted to the Bone:
My Houſe is narrow now, and throng;
Nothing but Truth comes from my Tongue.
And, if you ſhould ſee me this Day,
I do not think but ye would ſay,
That I had never been a Man,
So much altered now I am.
For God's Sake, pray to the Heavenly King *,
That he my Soul to Heaven would bring.

* See the Ignorance and Superſtition of thoſe Times, and bleſs God for our clearer Light.

All they that pray and make Accord
For me unto my God and Lord;
God place them in his Paradiſe,
Wherein no wretched Caitiff lies.

The Death of this Prince, ſaith *Daniel* in his Hiſtory of *England*, was a heavy Loſs to the State, being a Prince of whom we never heard no Ill, never received any other Note but of Goodneſs, and the nobleſt Performance that Magnanimity and Wiſdom could ever ſhew, inſomuch as what Praiſe could be given to Virtue, is due to him.

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# Some Obſervations on the Uſe and Original of the noble Art and Myſtery of Printing. By *F. Burges. Norwich* *.

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*The Author of this little Piece was Mr.* Francis Burges, *a Printer, who firſt carried that* Art *and* Myſtery *to* Norwich. *But, meeting with ſmall Encouragement, and great Oppoſition, as if he had brought an additional Expence to the City, he publiſhed this, by Way of Apology: In the firſt Place, ſhewing, that he broke not in upon any other Perſons Property, that his Trade was of great Uſe in a Trading-Place, a great Means to promote Piety, and a certain Method to do Good to ſeveral other Trades; becauſe, under the Printer, the Bookſeller, Bookbinder, Joiner, Smith, &c. may hope to reap Advantage.*

## *Concerning the Uſefulneſs of Printing.*

THIS (ſays a late Author) is ſo plain to all diſcerning Men, that I need ſay the leſs; this illuſtrious Art being ſufficiently known to be the great Propagator and Diffuſer of all uſeful Knowledge: For, ſince the Art of Printing was found out, which is not yet three-hundred Years, all Sorts of Learning have been more diffuſed and cultivated, than in a Thouſand Years before: And what great Advances, and mighty Progreſs is daily made, in finding out abſtruſe Secrets, and diſcovering the hidden Myſteries of Art and Nature, thoſe that are converſant among Books do very well know: And all this is juſtly to be attributed to this incomparable Art, which gives Men ſuch an Advantage of Communicating their Thoughts to each other, in ſo plain and eaſy a Manner, as the Ages, before this Invention, were ignorant of. And therefore Erudition and Learning, the Improvement of all the Works of Nature, and the Perfection of all Arts and Sciences, are the genuine Effects of this noble Myſtery, and an evident Demonſtration of its Uſefulneſs, as well as its Excellency.

It is by the Art of Printing, that we come to know the Lives and Actions of the renowned Worthies of the firſt Ages of the World; whereby thoſe Things, that were tranſacted ſome Thouſand Years ago, are as familiar to us, as if they had been done but Yeſterday. It is Printing that does immortaliſe the Memory of ancient and modern Heroes, and tranſmits their worthy Deeds and Actions to the End of Time.

And it is in Reſpect of its Uſefulneſs, that *Polydore Virgil* ſtiles it, 'A Divine Benefit 'afforded to Mankind; and therefore *Cardan* 'tells us, That it is an Art inferior to none, 'either for Uſefulneſs or Wit; far out-doing 'the moſt dextrous Writer, both for Neatneſs 'and Expedition. For one Preſs can diſpatch

* This was the firſt Book that ever was printed at *Norwich*, which was publiſhed on the 27th of *September*, 1701. *Octavo*, containing ſeventeen Pages

more

'more Buſineſs in one Day, than the ſwifteſt 'Writer can tranſcribe in a Year or two. On 'this Account alſo, *Petrus Scriverius* calls it, '*Palladium, Præſidium, & Tutelam Muſarum, '& omnis Doctrinæ*; that is, *The Fortreſs, 'Garriſon, and Defence, not only of the Muſes, 'but of all Literature whatſoever.*

This noble Myſtery has illuſtriouſly ſhewn its Uſefulneſs in the Aſſiſtance it has given to the Propagation of the true Religion; having baniſhed that *Cimmerian* Darkneſs that had overſpread the Face of the Earth, and cauſed the glorious Light of the Goſpel to ſhine forth with a reſplendent Luſtre, by the Printing that incomparable Treaſure of a Chriſtian *The Holy Scriptures*. Before the Finding out of this illuſtrious Art, the Epiſtle of St. *James* was thought a mighty Penny-worth, when purchaſed for a Load of Hay; whereas now both the Old and New Teſtament may be bought for five Shillings.

But it is not by Printing of the Holy Bible only, that this noble Art and Myſtery (for ſo it was ſtiled by Queen *Eliſabeth*, when ſhe did it the Honour to go and ſee it) has been ſerviceable to Religion, but alſo by emitting many other good Books and uſeful Tracts into the World, whereby the Errors of *Popery* have been diſcovered and confuted, and the Way of Truth made known. Hence ſays *N. Billingſley*, in his *Brachy-Martyrologia*.

'The Goſpel-Light appear'd not very clear,
'Until the Fourteen-hundred fiftieth Year,
'Wherein God pleaſed to unboſom Night,
'The Art of Printing being brought to 'Light.

And another ingenious Author to the ſame Purpoſe ſays:

'The noble Art of Printing found
'No ſooner, but it *Rome* did wound;
'And ever ſince, with nimble Ray,
'Spreads Knowledge to a perfect Day.

*Laſtly*, This Art of Printing was firſt brought into *England* by *Simon Iſlip*, in the Year 1471, at the Charge of King *Henry* VI. Whence Printing was for many Years accounted the King's Prerogative as much as Coining: But in Proceſs of Time it became a free Trade. The firſt Printing-Preſs, in *England*, was ſet up by the fore-named *Simon Iſlip*, in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, *London*; and Printing firſt uſed there by *William Caxton*. And its being firſt ſet up in a Church occaſioned all Printing-Houſes in *England* to be called *Chapels*, which Name they retain to this Day.

## *Concerning the Original of Printing.*

IT would certainly redound very much to the Diſhonour of Printers, if the Original of this noble Art ſhould not be tranſmitted to Poſterity: Since it is by Printing alone, that the earlieſt Actions of Antiquity are brought down to the preſent Age. For this Art, by multiplying Books, hath multiplied Knowledge, and brought to our Cogniſance both Perſons and Things vaſtly remote from us, and long before our Time; which otherwiſe had periſhed in Oblivion, and been as Things which never had a Being.

I have therefore endeavoured, in this ſhort Eſſay, to reſcue from the Iron-Teeth of Time, the Original of that noble Myſtery, which gives Immortality even to Learning itſelf, and is the great Conſervator of all other Arts and Sciences.

And yet, to whom the World is indebted, for this excellent Invention, we do not certainly know: This being one of the *Inventa Adeſpota* of the Maſterleſs Inventions, of which the only Reaſon, that can be aſſigned, is,

*Laus veterum eſt meruiſſe omnis præconia famæ,*
*Et ſpreviſſe ſimul* ———

*Brave Men more ſtudious were, in former Days,*
*Of doing Good, than of obtaining Praiſe.*

That it is a *Teutonick* Invention, is agreed upon by moſt Voices. From hence the Poet ſings,

*O* Germanica! *Muneris repertrix,*
*Quo nihil utilius dedit vetuſtas;*
*Libros ſcribere, quæ doces premendo.*

Which

Which may thus be paraphraſed,

*O noble* German! *Author of this Gift,*
*(Which ev'n to Heaven itſelf thy Fame does lift)*
*Antiquity ne'r yet divulg'd that Thing*
*Which did more Profit unto Mankind bring;*
*Or unto learned Labours more incite,*
*Since, by the Preſs, thou doſt large Volumes write.*

But, whether *Higher* or *Lower Germany* ſhall have the Honour of it, is yet a Controverſy undecided: And in the *Upper Germany*, whether *Mentz* or *Baſil*, or *Straſburg*, for all theſe do not only challenge it, but contend no leſs for the Birth-place of this noble Myſtery, than the *Grecian* Cities did for the Cradle of *Homer*. Which, by the Way, is no ſmall Indication of the juſt Value which the World has of it, ſince there is ſuch Striving for the Honour of its Original. The general Voice is for *Mentz*, and that one *John Guttemberg* (or *Fuſt*, or *Fauſtemberg*, as others term him) a Knight and Citizen of that City, was the true Father and Inventer of this Art, about the Year 1440. And that the Occaſion of it was, He having cut the Letters of his Name out of the Bark of a Tree, which was green, and full of Sap, and afterwards putting them into a fine Linnen Handkerchief, the Letters impreſſed upon the Linnen their own Characters: This firſt inſpired him with the Thoughts of making Characters of Metal, that might make an Impreſſion upon Paper, which he afterwards effected. This is ſtrongly affirmed by the Citizens of *Mentz*, ſaith *Polydore Virgil*, *Lib.* ii. *Cap.* 7. *de Invent. Rerum:* And for Proof hereof they produce a Copy of *Tully*'s *Offices*, printed in Parchment, and preſerved in the Library of *Augsburg*, having this Memorandum at the latter End of it, 'Præſens *M. Tullii* Opus claſſimum, *Jo. Fuſt*, *Moguntinus* Civis non Atramento Plumali Canna, neque Ærea, ſed Arte quadam perpulchra manu *Petri Gerſheim*, Pueri mei, fœliciter effeci: Finitum, Anno 1440. Die quarto Menſ. *Feb.* *In* Engliſh *thus:* I *John Fuſt*, Citizen of *Moguntia*, have happily effected the preſent moſt illuſtrious Work of *Mark Tully*, performed neither by Pen and Ink, nor Braſs, but by a certain Art, purely by the fair Hand of my Son *Peter Gerſheim:* Done in the Year 1440, on the fourth Day of *February*.' This is cited by *Salmuth*, in his Annotations on *Pancirollus*, who ſtands ſtifly for *Germany* (his own Country) in this Point: And alſo cites another Argument from the Library of *Francfort*, wherein an old Copy of the Deciſions of the *Rota* are kept; at the latter End thereof it is ſaid, 'That it was printed in Civitate *Moguntiæ* Artis Impreſſoriæ Inventrice & Elimatrice prima; *that is*, In the City of *Moguntia*, being the firſt Inventer and Refiner of the Art of Printing.'

But, notwithſtanding all theſe Evidences for *High Germany*, yet *Hadrianus Junius*, a very learned Man of the *Low-Countries*, is as ſtiff, on the other Side, for *Haerlem*, making that the Birth-place of this noble Art. This *Junius* (in his Hiſtory of the *Netherlands*) tells us, That one *Laurence John* (others call him *Laurence Coſter*) a Burgher of good Note and Quality in the City of *Haerlem*, was the firſt Inventer of it; and ſaith, That he made Letters at firſt of the Barks of Trees (as was before ſaid of the other) which being ſet and ranked in Order, and put with their Heels upwards upon Paper, he made the firſt Eſſay and Experiment of this Art: At firſt he made but a Line or two, then whole Pages, and then Books, but printed on one Side only: Which Rudiments of the Art, *Junius* ſays, he ſaw in the Town.

And then to turn *John Guttemberg*, or *Fuſt*, or *Fauſtus*, quite out of Doors, he gives us this further Account: That, after this, the aforenamed *Laurence John* made Types or Characters of Tin, and brought the Art to further Perfection daily: But one *John Fauſtus* (though he proved *Infauſtus* to him) who was his Servant and had learned the Myſtery, ſtole away all the Letters, and other Utenſils belonging to the Trade; and, after ſeveral Removes, ſet up for himſelf at *Mentz*, making as if he were the firſt Inventer of it; (whereas, if what *Junius* ſays be true, he had only ſtole it from *Laurence John*) and the firſt Book, he printed there, was the *Doctrinal* of one *Alexander Gallus*, which he printed in the Year 1440.

This is further confirmed by *Hegenitz*, who ſaith, that the Houſe of *Laurence John* is yet ſtanding in the Market-place of *Haerlem*, with this Inſcription in Golden Letters over the Door:

*Memoriæ Sacrum.*

*Typographiæ Ars, Artium Conſervatrix, hic primum Inventa, circa Annum* MCCCCXL.

That

That is,

*Sacred to Memory.*

*The Art of Printing, the Preſerver of Arts, was firſt invented here, about the Year* MCCCCXL.

And underneath, theſe Verſes:

*Vana quid Archetypos & Præla* Moguntia *jactas?*
Haerlemi *Archetypos prælaque nota ſcias.*
*Extulit hic, monſtrante Deo,* Laurentius *Artem;*
*Diſſimulare Virum hunc, diſſimulare Deum eſt.*

Which I have thus paraphraſed,

Moguntia, *Why do you thus vainly boaſt*
*Of Archetypes and Preſſes, at your Coſt,*
*Whereas at* Haerlem *they were firſt, thou know'ſt.*
*There to* Laurentius *firſt, inſpir'd by Heav'n,*
*The Knowledge of this noble Art was given.*
*To rob the Man, who did this Art reveal,*
*Is a like Crime as 'tis from Heav'n to ſteal.*

Thus I have given the different Pleas of both Parties; yet will not pretend to determine which is in the Right, but leave the Deciſion to the Reader's Judgment.

But this is certain, That, though, the chief Honour is due to the Inventer, yet that Perfection and Beauty, that Printing is now arrived to, is very much owing to them that came after, many in the preſent Age having not a little contributed thereto, here in *England*, where it is at as great Perfection as in any Part of the World. And it is as true as ſtrange that, where Printing was invented, the Art is almoſt loſt, and did never there arrive to any great Perfection.

Printing has been in *China*, above Two-thouſand Years; but their Way is ſo vaſtly different from the Method we uſe in *Europe*, that no Compariſon can be made between them, the former having ſo many Boards, as they have Pages in their Book, on which their Characters are carved, one repreſenting (or ſtanding for) a Man, another an Houſe, *&c.* as they have Occaſion to place them; and of theſe Characters they have ſuch great Numbers, that few of them know the one Half; they not making Uſe of four and twenty Letters to make Words, as is uſed here. This Way of the *Chineſe* was not heard of, till within theſe very few Years.

It is well known of the *Turks*, That they have not the Learning, the Art in Trades, or War, as their Neighbours the *Germans*; and the chief Reaſon is, they have not Printing among them, which they will not ſuffer; for Fear, as is thought, it ſhould undermine their falſe Religion, and plant Chriſtianity in its Stead.

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A brief Chronicle of all the Kings of *Scotland*: Declaring in what Year of the World, and of Chriſt, they began to reign, how long they reigned, of what Qualities they were, and how they died. *Aberdeen*, printed by *Edward Raban*, for *David Melvill*, 1623. *Octavo*, containing forty-one Pages.

I.

FERGUS, the First King of *Scotland*, the Son of *Ferquhard*, a Prince of *Ireland*, began to reign in the Year of the World 3641; before the Coming of our Saviour Jesus Christ, 330 Years, in the first Year of the 112th Olympiad, and in the 421st Year of the Building of *Rome*, about the Beginning of the Third Monarchy of the *Grecians*, when *Alexander the Great* overthrew *Darius Codomannus*, the last Monarch of *Persia*. He was a valiant Prince, and died Ship-broken upon the Sea-coast of *Ireland*, in the 25th Year of his Reign.

II. *Feritharis*, Brother to *Fergus*, began to reign in the Year of the World 3666, in the Year before the Coming of Christ 305. He was a good Justiciar, in whose Time there was a Law made, That, if the Sons of the King departed were so young that they could not rule, then, in that Case, the nearest in Blood should reign, being in Age sufficient for Government; and then, after his Death, the King's Children should succeed. Which Law continued until *Kenneth the Third*'s Days, almost 1025 Years. He was slain by the Means of *Ferlegus*, *Fergus*'s Brother's Son, in the 15th Year of his Reign.

III. *Mainus*, King *Fergus*'s Son, succeeded to his Father's Brother, in the Year of the World 3680, and in the Year before the Coming of Christ 291. He was a wise and good King, and died peaceably, in the 29th Year of his Reign.

IV. *Dornadilla* succeeded to his Father *Mainus*, in the Year of the World 3709, in the Year before the Coming of Christ 262. He was a good King, who made the first Laws concerning Hunting, and died peaceably, in the 28th Year of his Reign.

V. *Nothatus* succeeded to his Brother *Dordanilla*, in the Year of the World 3738, and in the Year before the Coming of Christ 233. He was a greedy and cruel Tyrant, and was slain by *Dovalus*, one of his Nobles, in the 2 th Year of his Reign.

VI. *Reutherus*, the Son of *Dornadilla*, began to reign in the Year of the World 3758, in the Year before the Coming of Christ 213. He was a good King, and died peaceably, in the 26th Year of his Reign.

VII. *Reutha* succeeded to his Brother *Reutherus*, in the Year of the World 3784, in the Year before the Coming of Christ 187. He was a good King; who, after he had ruled 14 Years, left the Government of the Kingdom, even of his own Accord, and lived a private Life.

VIII. *Thereus*, the Son of *Reutheru*, began to reign in the Year of the World 3798, in the Year before the Coming of Christ 173. He was an unwise and cruel Tyrant; who was expelled, and banished the Realm, by his own Nobles, in the 12th Year of his Reign; and *Conanus*, a wise and grave Senator, was made Governor of the Land. And *Thereus* died in Exile, in the City of *York*.

IX. *Josina* succeeded his Brother *Thereus*, in the Year of the World 3810, in the Year before the Coming of Christ 161. He was a quiet and good Prince, a good Medicinar and Herbister. He died in Peace, in the 24th Year of his Reign.

X. *Finnanus*, *Josina*'s Son, began to reign in the Year of the World 3834, in the Year before the Coming of Christ 137. A good King. He was much given to the superstitious Religion of the *Druids*. He died in Peace, in the 30th Year of his Reign.

XI. *Durstus*, *Finnanus*'s Son, succeeded to his Father, in the Year of the World 3864, in the Year before the Coming of Christ 107. A cruel and a traiterous Tyrant, slain by his Nobles in Battle, in the 9th Year of his Reign.

XII. *Evenus the First* succeeded to his Brother *Durstus*, in the Year of the World 3873, in the Year before the Coming of Christ 98. A wise, just, and virtuous Prince. He died peaceably, in the 19th Year of his Reign.

XIII. *Gillus*, *Evenus*'s Bastard-Son, succeeded to his Father, in the Year of the World 3892 in the Year before the Coming of Christ 79. A crafty Tyrant, slain in Battle by *Cadallus*, in the 2d Year of his Reign.

XIV. *Evenus*

XIV. *Evenus the Second*, *Dovallus*'s Son, King *Finnanus*'s Brother, began to reign in the Year of the World 3894, in the Year before the Coming of Chriſt 77. A good and civil King. He died in Peace, in the 17th Year of his Reign.

XV. *Ederus*, *Dochamus*'s Son, *Durſtus*'s Son, began to reign in the Year of the World 3911, in the Year before the Coming of Chriſt 60. A wiſe, valiant, and good Prince. He died in the 48th Year of his Reign.

XVI. *Evenus the Third* ſucceeded to his Father *Ederus*, in the Year of the World 3959, in the Year before the Coming of Chriſt 12. A luxurious and covetous wicked King. He was taken by his Nobles, and impriſoned, and died in Priſon, in the 7th Year of his Reign.

XVII. *Metellanus*, *Ederus*'s Brother's Son, began to reign in the Year of the World 3966, four Years before Chriſt's Incarnation. A very modeſt and good King. He died in the 39th Year of his Reign.

XVIII. *Caractacus*, *Cadallanus* and *Eropeia Metellanus*'s Siſter's Son, began to reign in the Year of the World 4005, in the Year of Chriſt 35. He was a wiſe and valiant King, and reigned 20 Years.

XIX. *Corbredus the Firſt* ſucceeded to his Brother *Caractacus*, in the Year of the World 4025, in the Year of Chriſt 55. A wiſe King, and a good Juſticiar. He died in Peace, in the 18th Year of his Reign.

XX. *Dardannus*, Nephew to *Metellanus*, began to reign, in the Year of the World 4042, in the Year of Chriſt 72. A cruel Tyrant. He was taken in Battle, and beheaded by his own Subjects, in the 4th Year of his Reign.

XXI. *Corbredus the Second*, ſirnamed *Galdus*, *Corbredus*'s Son, began to reign in the Year of the World 4046, in the Year of Chriſt 76. A valiant and worthy King; for he had many Wars with the *Romans*, and was often victorious over them. He died in Peace, in the 35th Year of his Reign.

XXII. *Lugthacus* ſucceeded to his Father *Corbredus the Second*, in the Year of the World 4080, in the Year of Chriſt 110. A leacherous, bloody Tyrant. He was ſlain by his Nobles, in the 3d Year of his Reign.

XXIII. *Mogallus*, *Corbredus the Second*'s Siſter's Son. He began to reign in the Year of the World 4083, in the Year of Chriſt 113. A good King, and victorious, in the Beginning of his Reign; but, in the End of his Life, became inclined to Tyranny, Leachery, and Covetouſneſs, and was ſlain by his Nobles, in the 36th Year of his Reign.

XXIV. *Conarus* ſucceeded to his Father *Mogallus*, in the Year of the World 4119, in the Year of Chriſt 149. A leacherous Tyrant. He was impriſoned by his Nobles, and died in Priſon, in the 14th Year of his Reign; and *Argadus*, a Nobleman, was made Governor.

XXV. *Ethodius the Firſt*, *Mogallus*'s Siſter's Son, began to reign in the Year of the World 4133, in the Year of Chriſt 163. He was a good Prince. He was ſlain by an Harper, in the 33d Year of his Reign.

XXVI. *Satraell* ſucceeded to his Brother *Ethodius the Firſt*, in the Year of the World 4165, in the Year of Chriſt 195. A cruel Tyrant. He was ſlain by his own Courtiers, in the 4th Year of his Reign.

XXVII. *Donald the Firſt*, the firſt *Chriſtian* King of *Scotland*, ſucceeded to his Brother *Satraell*, in the Year of the World 4169, in the Year of Chriſt 199. A good and religious King. He was the firſt of the Kings of *Scotland* that coined Money of Gold and Silver. He died in the 18th Year of his Reign.

XXVIII. *Ethodius the Second*, *Ethodius the Firſt*'s Son, began to reign in the Year of the World 4186, in the Year of Chriſt 216. An unwiſe and baſe-minded King, governed by his Nobles. He was ſlain by his own Guard, in the 16th Year of his Reign.

XXIX. *Athirco* ſucceeded to his Father *Ethodius the Second*, in the Year of the World 4201, in the Year of Chriſt 231. A valiant Prince in the Beginning; but he degenerated, and became vicious; and, being hardly purſued by his Nobles for his wicked Life, ſlew himſelf, in the 12th Year of his Reign.

XXX. *Nathalocus*, Brother's Son (as ſome write) to *Athirco*, began to reign in the Year of the World 4212, in the Year of Chriſt 242. A cruel Tyrant, ſlain by his Nobles, and caſt away into a Privy, in the 11th Year of his Reign.

XXXI. *Findocus*, *Athirco*'s Son, began to reign in the Year of the World 4223, in the Year of Chriſt 253. A good King, and valiant, ſlain by feigned Hunters, at the Inſtigation of *Donald*, Lord of the *Iſles*'s Brother, in the 11th Year of his Reign.

XXXII. *Donald the Second* ſucceeded to his Brother *Findocus*, in the Year of the World 4234, in the Year of Chriſt 264. A good Prince. He was wounded in Battle, and, being overcome, died of Diſpleaſure, in the 1ſt Year of his Reign.

XXXIII. *Donald the Third*, Lord of the *Iſles*, Brother to *Findocus*, began to reign in the Year of the World 4235, in the Year of Chriſt 265. A cruel Tyrant, ſlain by *Crathilinthus*, his Succeſſor, in the 12th Year of his Reign.

XXXIV. *Crathilinthus*, *Findocus*'s Son, began to reign, in the Year of the World 4247, in the Year of Chriſt 277. A valiant and a godly King; he purged the Land from the idolatrous Superſtition of the *Druids*, and planted the ſincere *Chriſtian* Religion. He died in Peace, in the 24th Year of his Reign.

XXXV. *Fincormachus*, Father's Brother's Son to *Crathilinthus*, began his Reign in the Year of the World 4271, in the Year of Chriſt 301. A godly King, and valiant. He was a worthy Promoter of the Kingdom of Chriſt in *Scotland*. He died in Peace, in the 47th Year of his Reign.

XXXVI. *Romachus*, Brother's Son to *Crathilinthus*, began to reign in the Year of the World 4318, in the Year of Chriſt 348. A cruel Tyrant, ſlain by his Nobles, and his Head ſtruck off, in the 3d Year of his Reign.

XXXVII. *Anguſianus*, *Crathilinthus*'s Brother's Son, ſucceeded to *Romachus*, in the Year of the World 4321, in the Year of Chriſt 351. A good King, ſlain in Battle by the *Picts*, in the 3d Year of his Reign.

XXXVIII. *Fethelmachus*, another Brother's Son of *Crathilinthus*; he began to reign in the Year of the World 4324, in the Year of Chriſt 354. He was a valiant King, for he overcame the *Picts*, and ſlew their King. He was betrayed to the *Picts* by an Harper, and ſlain by them in his own Chamber, in the 3d Year of his Reign.

XXXIX. *Eugenius the Firſt*, *Fincormachus*'s Son, began to reign in the Year of the World 4327, in the Year of Chriſt 357. A valiant, juſt, and good King. He was ſlain in Battle by the *Picts* and *Romans*, in the 3d Year of his Reign. And the whole *Scottiſh* Nation was utterly expelled the *Iſle* by the *Picts* and *Romans*, and remained in Exile about the Space of 44 Years.

XL. *Fergus the Second*, *Erthus*'s Son, Son to *Ethodius*, *Eugenius the Firſt*'s Brother, returning into *Scotland*, with the Help of the *Danes* and *Goths*, and his own Countrymen, who were gathered to him out of all the Countries where they were diſperſed, conquered his Kingdom of *Scotland* again, out of the *Romans* and *Picts* Hands. He began his Reign, in the Year of the World 4374, in the Year of Chriſt 404. He was a wiſe, valiant, and good King. He was ſlain by the *Romans*, in the 16th Year of his Reign.

XLI. *Eugenius the Second*, *Fergus the Second*'s Son, ſucceeded to his Father, in the Year of the World 4390, in the Year of Chriſt 420. He was a valiant and a good Prince. He ſubdued the *Britons*, and died in the 32d Year of his Reign.

XLII. *Dongardus* ſucceeded to his Brother *Eugenius the Second*, in the Year of the World 4421, in the Year of Chriſt 451. A godly, wiſe, and valiant Prince. He died in the 5th Year of his Reign.

XLIII. *Conſtantine the Firſt* ſucceeded to his Brother *Dongardus*, in the Year of the World 4427, in the Year of Chriſt 457. A wicked Prince. He was ſlain by a Nobleman in the *Iſles*, whoſe Daughter he had defiled, in the 22d Year of his Reign.

XLIV. *Con*

XLIV. *Congallus the Firſt*, *Dongardus*'s Son, began to reign, in the Year of the World 4449, in the Year of Chriſt 479. He was a good and quiet Prince, and died in great Peace, in the 22d Year of his Reign.

XLV. *Goranus*, or *Conranus*, ſucceeded to his Brother *Congallus the Firſt*, in the Year of the World 4471, and in the Year of Chriſt 501. A good and wiſe Prince. He died even in the 34th Year of his Reign.

XLVI. *Eugenius the Third*, the Son of *Congallus*, ſucceeded to his Father, in the Year of the World 4505, and in the Year of Chriſt 535. He was a wiſe King, and a good Juſticiar, and died in the 23d Year of his Reign.

XLVII. *Congallus the Second*, or *Convallus*, ſucceeded to his Brother *Eugenius the Third*, in the Year of the World 4528, and in the Year of Chriſt 558. A very good Prince, and died in Peace, in the 11th Year of his Reign.

XLVIII. *Kinnatillus* ſucceeded to his Brother *Congallus the Second*, in the Year of the World 4539, and in the Year of Chriſt 569. He was a good Prince, and died (alas) in the 1ſt Year of his Reign.

XLIX. *Aidanus*, the Son of *Conranus*, began his Reign, in the Year of the World 4540, and in the Year of Chriſt 570. A very godly and good Prince, who reigned 35 Years, and died in great Peace.

L. *Kennethus the Firſt*, ſirnamed *Keir*, the Son of *Congallus the Second*, began to reign in the Year of the World 4575, and in the Year of Chriſt 605. A very peaceable Prince, and departed this Life in the 1ſt Year of his Reign.

LI. *Eugenius the Fourth*, the Son of *Aidanus*, began his Reign, in the Year of the World 4576, and in the Year of our Saviour 606. A valiant and good King, and died in the 16th Year of his happy Reign.

LII. *Ferquhard the Firſt* ſucceeded to his Father *Eugenius the Fourth*, in the Year of the World 4591, and in the Year of our Redeemer 621. He was a bloody Tyrant, and, being impriſoned, he ſlew himſelf, in the 12th Year of his Reign.

LIII. *Donald the Fourth* ſucceeded to his Brother *Ferquhard the Firſt*, in the Year of the World 4602, and in the Year of Chriſt 632. He was a good and religious King. He was drowned in the Water of *Tay*, while he was a Fiſhing, in the 14th Year of his Reign.

LIV. *Ferquhard the Second* ſucceeded to his Brother *Donald the Fourth*, in the Year of the World 4616, and in the Year of Chriſt 646. A very wicked Man. He was bitten by a Wolf in Hunting, of the which enſued a Fever, whereof he died, in the 18th Year of his Reign.

LV. *Maldvine*, *Donald the Fourth*'s Son, began to reign, in the Year of the World 4634, and in the Year of Chriſt 664. A good Prince, ſtrangled by his Wife, who ſuſpected him of Adultery, in the 20th Year of his Reign.

LVI. *Eugenius the Fifth*, *Maldvin*'s Brother's Son, began to reign, in the Year of the World 4654, and in the Year of Chriſt 684. A falſe Prince, ſlain by the *Picts* in Battle, in the 4th Year of his Reign.

LVII. *Eugenius the Sixth*, *Ferquhard the Second*'s Son, began to reign, in the Year of the World 4658, and in the Year of Chriſt 688. A good Prince. He died in Peace, in the 10th Year of his Reign.

LVIII. *Ambirkelethus*, *Findanus*'s Son, *Eugenius the Fifth*'s Son, began to reign, in the Year of the World 4667, and in the Year of Chriſt 697. He was ſlain by a Shot from an Arrow; by whom it was ſhot, is unknown (a vicious Prince) in the 2d Year of his Reign.

LIX. *Eugenius the Seventh*, ſucceeded to his Brother *Ambirkelethus*, in the Year of the World 4669, and in the Year of Chriſt 699. He died in Peace, in the 17th Year of his Reign. A good Prince.

LX. *Mordacus*, *Ambirkelethus*'s Son, began to reign, in the Year of the World 4685, and in the Year of Chriſt 715. A good Prince. He died in the 16th Year of his Reign.

LXI. *Etfinus, Eugenius the Seventh*'s Son, began to reign, in the Year of the World 4700, and in the Year of Chriſt 730. He died in Peace, in the 13th Year of his Reign.

LXII. *Eugenius the Eighth, Mordacus*'s Son, began to reign, in the Year of the World 4771, and in the Year of Chriſt 761. A good Prince in the Beginning of his Reign; but, thereafter degenerating from his good Life, he was ſlain by his Nobles, in the 3d Year of his Reign.

LXIII. *Fergus the Third, Etfinus*'s Son, began to reign, in the Year of the World 4734, and in the Year of Chriſt 764. A leacherous Prince, poiſoned by his Wife, in the 3d Year of his Reign.

LXIV. *Solvathius, Eugenius the Eighth*'s Son, began to reign, in the Year of the World 4737, and in the Year of Chriſt 767. A good Prince. He died in Peace, in the 20th Year of his Reign.

LXV. *Achaius, Etfinus*'s Son, began to reign, in the Year of the World 4757, and in the Year of Chriſt 787. A peaceable, good, and godly Prince. He made a League with *Charles le Main*, Emperor, and King of *France*, which remaineth inviolably kept to this Day. He died in the 32d Year of his Reign.

LXVI. *Congallus*, or *Convallus, Achaius*'s Father's Brother's Son, began to reign, in the Year of the World 4789, and in the Year of Chriſt 819. A good Prince. He died in the 5th Year of his Reign.

LXVII. *Dongallus, Solvathius*'s Son, ſucceeded, in the Year of the World 4794, and in the Year of Chriſt 824. A valiant and good Prince. He was drowned coming over the River *Spey*, to war againſt the *Picts*, in the 7th Year of his Reign.

LXVIII. *Alpinus, Achaius*'s Son, began to reign, in the Year of the World 4801, and in the Year of Chriſt 831. A good Prince. He was taken in Battle, and beheaded by the *Picts*, in the 3d Year of his Reign.

LXIX. *Kenneth the Second*, ſirnamed *the Great*, ſucceeded to his Father *Alpinus*, in the Year of the World 4804, and in the Year of Chriſt 834. A good and valiant Prince. He utterly overthrew the *Picts* in divers Battles, expelled them out of the Land, and joined the Kingdom of the *Picts* to the Crown of *Scotland*. He died in Peace, in the 20th Year of his Reign.

LXX. *Donald the Fifth* ſucceeded to his Brother *Kenneth the Second*, in the Year of the World 4824, and in the Year of Chriſt 854. A wicked Prince. He ſlew himſelf, in the 5th Year of his Reign.

LXXI. *Conſtantine the Second, Kenneth the Second*'s Son, began to reign, in the Year of the World 4829, and in the Year of Chriſt 859. A valiant Prince. He was ſlain by the *Danes* in a cruel Battle fought at *Carrail* in *Fife*, in the 16th Year of his Reign.

LXXII. *Ethus*, ſirnamed *Alipes, Conſtantine the Second*'s Son, ſucceeded to his Father, in the Year of the World 4844, and in the Year of Chriſt 874. A vicious Prince. He was impriſoned by his Nobles, where he died, in the 2d Year of his Reign.

LXXIII. *Gregory*, ſirnamed *the Great, Dongallus the Second*'s Son, began to reign, in the Year of the World 4846, and in the Year of Chriſt 876. A valiant, victorious, and renowned Prince through the World in his Time. He died in Peace, in the 18th Year of his Reign.

LXXIV. *Donald the Sixth, Conſtantine the Second*'s Son, began to reign, in the Year of the Word 4863, and in the Year of Chriſt 893. A valiant Prince. He died in Peace, being beloved of his Subjects, in the 11th Year of his Reign.

LXXV. *Conſtantine the Third, Ethus Alipes*'s Son, began to reign, in the Year of the World 4874, and in the Year of Chriſt 904. He was a valiant King; yet he proſpered not in his Wars againſt *England*: And, therefore, being weary of his Life, he became a Monk, and died, after he had reigned 40 Years as King.

LXXVI. *Malcolm the First, Donald the Sixth*'s Son, began to reign, in the Year of the World 4913, and in the Year of Chriſt 943.

A

A valiant Prince, and a good Juſticiar. He was ſlain in *Murray*, by a Conſpiracy of his own Subjects, in the 9th Year of his Reign.

LXXVII. *Indulfus*, *Conſtantine the Third*'s Son, began to reign, in the Year of the World 4922, and in the Year of Chriſt 952. A valiant and a good Prince. He had many Battles with the *Danes*, whom he overcame; but, in the End, he was ſlain by them in a Stratagem of War, in the 9th Year of his Reign.

LXXVIII. *Duffus*, *Malcolm the Firſt*'s Son, began to reign in the Year of the World 4931, and in the Year of Chriſt 961. A good Prince, and a ſevere Juſticiar. He was ſlain by one *Donald*, at *Forres* in *Murray*, and was buried ſecretly under the Bridge of a River beſide *Kinloſs*; but the Matter was revealed, and the Murtherer and his Wife, that conſented thereto, were ſeverely puniſhed. He reigned 5 Years.

LXXIX. *Culenus*, *Indulfus*'s Son, began to reign in the Year of the World 4936, and in the Year of Chriſt 966. A vicious and an effeminate Prince. He was ſlain at *Methven*, by *Radardus*, a Nobleman, whoſe Daughter he had defiled in the 4th Year of his Reign.

LXXX. *Kenneth the Third*, *Duffus*'s Brother, began to reign in the Year of the World 4940, and in the Year of Chriſt 970. A valiant and a wiſe Prince: But, in the End, he became cruel, and ſlew *Malcolm*, his Brother's Son; and, in God's Judgment, who ſuffereth not innocent Blood to be unpuniſhed, he was ſlain by a ſtrange Engine, an Image fixed in a Wall, at *Fetticarne*, by the Means of a Noblewoman there, called *Fenella*, in the 24th Year of his Reign.

LXXXI. *Conſtantine the Fourth*, ſirnamed *Calvus*, *Culenus*'s Son, began to reign in the Year of the World 4964, and in the Year of Chriſt 994. An Uſurper of the Crown. He was ſlain in Battle at the Town of *Crawmond*, in *Louthian*, in the 2d Year of his Reign.

LXXXII. *Grimus*, *Duffus*'s Son, began to reign in the Year of the World 4966, and in the Year of Chriſt 999. A vicious Prince; he was ſlain in Battle by *Malcolm the Second*, his Succeſſor, in the 8th Year of his Reign.

LXXXIII. *Malcolm the Second*, *Kenneth the Third*'s Son, began to reign in the Year of the World 4974, and in the Year of Chriſt 1004. a valiant and a wiſe Prince, who made many good Laws, of the which a few are yet extant. He was ſlain by a Conſpiracy of his Nobles, at the Caſtle of *Glammes*; who after the Slaughter, thinking to eſcape, were drowned in the Lock of *Forfar*, for, it being Winter, and the Lock frozen, and covered with Snow, the Ice brake and they fell in, ſhewing even the righteous Judgment of God. He reigned thirty Years.

LXXXIV. *Duncan the Firſt*, *Beatrix Malcolm the Second*'s Daughters Son, began to reign in the Year of the World 5004, and in the Year of Chriſt 1034. A good and modeſt Prince. He was ſlain by *Mackbeth* traiterouſly, in the 6th Year of his Reign.

LXXXV. *Mackbeth*, *Dovada Malcolm the Second*'s Daughter's Son, began to reign in the Year of the World 5010, and in the Year of Chriſt 1040. In the Beginning of his Reign, he behaved himſelf as a good and juſt Prince, but thereafter he degenerated into a cruel Tyrant. He was ſlain by his Succeſſor *Malcolm the Third*, in Battle, in the 17th Year of his Reign.

LXXXVI. *Malcolm the Third*, ſirnamed *Cammoir*, *Duncan the Firſt*'s Son, began to reign, in the Year of the World 5027, and in the Year of Chriſt 1057. A very religious and valiant Prince. He married *Margaret*, Daughter to *Edward*, ſirnamed the *Out-Law*, Son unto *Edward*, ſirnamed *Iron-Side*, King of *England*; a very good and religious Woman, according unto thoſe Times, who bare unto him ſix Sons, and two Daughters. The Sons were *Edward* the Prince, *Edmond*, *Ethelbred*, *Edgar*, *Alexander*, and *David*. The Daughters were *Mathildis*, or *Maud*, ſirnamed *Bona*, Wife unto *Henry the Firſt*, ſirnamed *Beauclerk*, King of *England*; of whoſe Virtues, is yet extant among us this old Epigram:

*Proſpera non lætam fecere, nec aſpera triſtem,*
*Proſpera terror ei, aſpera riſus erant;*
*Non decor effecit fragilem, non ſceptra ſuperbam,*
*Sola potens humilis, ſola pudica decens.*

That

That is to ſay in *Engliſh*:

Proſperity rejoic'd her not:
To her Grief was no Pain.
Proſperity afraid her eke:
Affliction was her Gain.
Her Beauty was no Cauſe of Fall:
In Royal State not proud.
Humble alone in Dignity:
In Beauty only good.

She founded the Kirk of *Carliſle*. Now the other Daughter was *Mary*, Wife unto *Euſtathius*, Earl of *Bologne*. King *Malcolm* built the Kirks of *Durham* and *Dumfermling*. He, with his Son Prince *Edward*, were both ſlain, at the Siege of *Anwick*, in the 36th Year of his Reign, by *Robert Mowbray*, ſirnamed *Pierce-eye*. He was firſt buried at *Tinmouth*; but afterwards his Corpſe was removed to *Dumfermling*, and buried there.

LXXXVII. *Donald the Seventh*, ſirnamed *Bane*, uſurped the Crown, after the Death of his Brother, in the Year of the World 5063, and in the Year of Chriſt 1093. But he was expelled, in the very firſt Year that he began to reign, by *Duncan the Second*, King *Malcolm*'s third Baſtard Son.

LXXXVIII. The ſaid *Duncan the Second* uſurped the Crown, in the Year of the World 5064, and in the Year of Chriſt 1094. A raſh and fooliſh Prince, and, by the Procurement of *Donald the Seventh*, he was ſlain in the *Thane* of the *Meirnes*, by *Mac-Pendir*, when he had reigned a little more than one Year.

Then *Donald the Seventh* was made King again, in the Year of the World 5065, and in the Year of Chriſt 1095. He gave the Weſt and North Iſles to the King of *Norway*, for to aſſiſt him to attain unto the Crown of *Scotland*. But, within three Years, he was taken Captive, by *Edgar*; his Eyes were both put out, and, after much Miſery, he died moſt odiouſly, even lying in Priſon.

LXXXIX. *Edgar*, *Malcolm the Third*'s Son, began his Reign in the Year of the World 5068, and in the Year of our Saviour 1098. He built the Priory of *Coldingham*. He reigned 9 Years, and was a good and loving Prince. But he died without Succeſſion, at *Dundee*, and was buried at *Dumfermling*.

XC. *Alexander the Firſt*, ſirnamed, *the Fierce*, ſucceeded unto his Brother, in the Year of the World 5077, and in the Year of Chriſt 1107. A very good and valiant Prince indeed. He built the Abbies of *Scone*, and of Saint *Colmes-Inch*. And he took to Wife *Sibylla*, Daughter unto *William the Good*, Duke of *Normandy*, &c. He died in great Peace at *Striviling*, but without Succeſſion, God wots, in the 17th Year of his Reign, and was buried at *Dumfermling*.

XCI. *Davia the Firſt*, commonly called St. *David*, King *Malcolm the Third*'s youngeſt Son, ſucceeded to his Brother, in the Year of the Wold 5094, and in the Year of Chriſt 1124. A good, valiant, and religious Prince, according to thoſe Times. He built very many Abbies, and other Religious Houſes, ſuch as *Holy Rood-houſe*, *Kelſo*, *Jedburgh*, *Dundranan*, *Cambus-kenneth*, *Kinloſs*, *Mell-roſs*, *Newbottle*, *Dumfermling*, *Holm* in *Cumberland*, and two Religious Places at *Newcaſtle*, in *Northumberland*. He erected four Biſhopricks, to wit, *Roſs*, *Brechin*, *Dumblane*, and *Dunkeld*. He married *Maud*, Daughter to *Woldeofus*, Earl of *Northumberland* and *Huntingdon*; and, after her Deceaſe, he married *Judith*, Daughter's Daughter to *William the Conqueror*, King of *England*; by whom he had one Son, named *Henry*, a worthy and good Youth; who married *Adama*, Daughter unto *William*, Earl *Warren*, who bare unto him three Sons, to wit, *Malcolm the Maiden*, *William the Lion*, and *David*, Earl of *Huntingdon*; and two Daughters, *Adama*, Wife to *Florentius*, Earl of *Holland*, and *Margaret*, Wife to *Conanus*, Duke of *Britain*. He died before his Father. St. *David* died in Peace at *Carliſle*, in the 29th Year of his Reign, and was buried at *Dumfermling*.

XCII. *Malcolm the Fourth*, ſirnamed, *the Maiden*, becauſe he would never marry, ſucceeded unto his Grand-father, *David the Firſt*, in the Year of the World 5123, and in the Year of Chriſt 1153. He was a good and meek Prince; who built the Abbey of *Cowp*

*Cowper* in *Angus*; and departed this Life, in the 12th Year of his Reign, at *Jedburgh*, and was buried likewiſe at *Dumfermling*.

XCIII. *William*, ſirnamed, *the Lion*, ſucceeded unto his Brother, *Malcolm the Fourth*, in the Year of the World 5135, and in the Year of Chriſt 1165. A very good and valiant King, indeed. He married *Emergarda*, Daughter unto the Earl of *Beaumont*. This good King built the Abbey of *Aberbrothock*; and his Wife and Queen, aforeſaid, built the Abbey of *Balmerinoch*. He reigned happily 49 Years, and then died at *Striviling*; from whence his dead Corpſe was ſolemnly tranſported unto *Aberbrothock*, and buried there.

XCIV. *Alexander the Second* ſucceeded to his Father *William*, in the Year of the World 5184, and in the Year of Chriſt 1214. A good Prince. He married *Jane*, Daughter to *John*, King of *England*, by whom he had no Succeſſion. After her Death, he married *Mary*, Daughter to *Ingelram*, Earl of *Coucey* in *France*, by whom he had *Alexander the Third*. He died at *Kernery*, in the Weſt *Iſles*, and was buried at *Melroſs*, in the 35th Year of his Reign.

XCV. *Alexander the Third* ſucceeded to his Father, in the Year of the World 5219, and in the Year of Chriſt 1249. A good Prince. He married firſt *Margaret*, Daughter to *Henry the Third*, King of *England*, by whom he had *Alexander*, the Prince who married the Earl of *Flanders*'s Daughter; *David*, and *Margaret*, who married *Hangonanus*, or, as ſome call him, *Ericus*, Son to *Magnus the Fourth*, King of *Norway*, who bare to him a Daughter, commonly called the *Maiden* of *Norway*, in whom, King *William*'s whole Poſterity failed, and the Crown of *Scotland* returned to the Poſterity of *David*, Earl of *Huntingdon*, King *Malcolm the Fourth*, and King *William*'s Brother. After his Son's Death (for they died before himſelf, without Succeſſion) in Hope of Poſterity, he married *Joleta*, Daughter to the Earl of *Dreux* in *France*, by whom he had no Succeſſion. He builded the *Croſs* Kirk of *Peebles*. He died of a Fall off his Horſe upon the Sands, betwixt *Eaſt* and *Weſt Kingborn*, in the 37th Year of his Reign, and was buried at *Dumfermling*.

After the Death of *Alexander the Third*, which was in the Year of the World 5255. and in the Year of Chriſt 1285, there were ſix Regents appointed to rule *Scotland*: For the South-ſide of *Firth* were appointed *Robert*, the Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, *John Cummin*, and *John*, the Great Steward of *Scotland*. For the North-ſide of *Firth*, *Mac-duffe*, Earl of *Fife*; *John Cummin*, Earl of *Buchan*, and *William Fraſer*, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*; who ruled the Land about the Space of ſeven Years, until the Controverſy was decided betwixt *John Baliol*, and *Robert Bruce*, Grandfather to *Robert Bruce*, the King of *Scotland*, come of the two eldeſt Daughters of *David* Earl of *Huntingdon*; for *Henry Haſtings*, who married the youngeſt Daughter, put not in his Suit with the reſt, and therefore there is little ſpoken of him.

XCVI. *John Baliol* was preferred to *Robert Bruce*, to be King of *Scotland*, by *Edward the Firſt*, ſirnamed *Long-ſhanks*, King of *England*, who was choſen to be Judge of the Controverſy, upon a Condition, that he ſhould acknowledge him as ſuperior; which Condition, *like an unworthy Man*, he received. He began his Reign in the Year of the World 5263, and in the Year of Chriſt 1293. He was a vain-glorious Man, little reſpecting the Weal of his Country. He had not reigned fully four Years, when he was expelled by the ſaid *Edward*, and, leaving *Scotland*, departed into the Parts of *France*, where he died long thereafter in Exile. And ſo *Scotland* was without a King and Government, the Space of nine Years; during which Space, the ſaid *Edward the Firſt*, *Long-ſhanks*, cruelly oppreſſed the Land, deſtroyed the whole ancient Monuments of the Kingdom, and ſhed much innocent Blood.

XCVII. *Robert Bruce* began to reign, in the Year of the World 5276, and in the Year of Chriſt 1306; a valiant, good, and wiſe King. In the Beginning of his Reign, he was ſubject to great Miſery and Affliction, being oppreſſed by *England*; but at length, having vanquiſhed *Edward the Second* of *Caernarvon*, at the Field of *Bannocks-burn*, by the Help of God he delivered his own Country of *Scotland* from the Slavery of *England*; yea, and ſet it at full Liberty, expelling, even by Force of Arms,

Arms, the *Engliſh* Nation quite out of the Land.

He married firſt *Iſabel*, Daughter unto the Earl of *Mar*, who bare unto him a comely Daughter, called *Margery*, Wife unto *Walter* the Great Steward of *Scotland*; of whoſe happy Race is ruling, this Day, not only in *Scotland*, but alſo over whole *Britain*, *Ireland*, &c. as ye ſhall hear, God willing, anon in its own Place.

Now, after the Death of King *Robert the Bruce*'s firſt Wife, *Iſabel*, the Earl of *Mar*'s Daughter, as is ſaid, he married another of the ſame Name, *Iſabel*, who was the only Daughter and Heretrix unto *Haynerus de Burc*, Earl of *Ultonia*, or *Ulſter*, in *Ireland*; and ſhe bare unto him one goodly Son and two Daughters, to wit, *David the Second*, *Margaret*, the Counteſs of *Southerland*; and her youngeſt Daughter, *Maud*, who died in her Childhood. This good King, after he had reigned 24 Years, ended his toilſome Days at *Cardroſs*, and was honourably buried at *Dumfermling* with great Solemnity.

XCVIII. *David*, the ſecond *Bruce*, ſucceeded unto his Father, in the Year of the World 5300, and in the Year of our Redemption 1330. He was a good Prince, and ſubject unto very much Affliction in his Youth; for, firſt, after the Death of *Thomas Ranulph*, his Regent, he was forced to flee into *France*, even for Safeguard of his Life; and after certain Years, returning homewards to *Scotland*, was taken Priſoner at the Battle of *Durham* by the *Engliſhmen*, and holden almoſt twelve Years Captive in *England*; but at length, as God would, he was reſtored to his free Liberty: And he married, firſt, *Jane*, Daughter unto *Edward the Second*, King of fair *England*; and after her Death he married *Margaret Logy*, Daughter unto Sir *John Logy*, Knight; and yet he died without any Succeſſion, in the 40th Year of his Reign, at *Edinburgh*, and was buried at *Holy-Rood-Houſe*.

XCIX. *Edward Baliol*, Son to *John Baliol*, uſurped the Crown of *Scotland*, being aſſiſted by *Edward the Third*, King of *England*, in the Year of the World 5302, and in the Year of Chriſt 1332; but he was expelled at length by *David the Second*'s Regents, and *David the Second* eſtabliſhed King.

C. *Robert the Second*, ſirnamed *Blear-eye*, the firſt of the *Stewards*, Son to *Walter Steward* and *Margery Bruce*, King *Robert Bruce*'s Daughter, ſucceeded to his Mother's Brother, in the Year of the World 5341, and in the Year of Chriſt 1371. A good and a peaceable Prince. He married firſt *Eupheme*, Daughter to *Hugh*, Earl of *Roſs*; who bare unto him *David*, Earl of *Strathern*; *Walter*, Earl of *Athol*; and *Alexander*, Earl of *Buchan*, Lord *Barwynoch*: And after her Deceaſe (even for the Affection which he bare unto his Children, which he had begotten before he was firſt married) he married *Eliſabeth Mure*, Daughter unto Sir *Adam Mure*, a worthy Knight; who (aforetimes) had borne unto him *John*, who thereafter was called *Robert the Third*, Earl of *Carrick*; *Robert*, Earl of *Fyfe* and *Monteith*; and *Eupheme*, Wife to *James* Earl of *Douglas*. But at length this good Prince behoved to go the Way of all Fleſh; and, when he had reigned happily about 19 Years, he departed this Life in Peace, at *Dun-Donalde*, and was ſolemnly buried at *Scone*.

CI. *Robert the Third*, ſirnamed *John Earnyear*, ſucceeded unto his Father, in the Year of the World 5360, and in the Year of our bleſſed Saviour *Chriſt Jeſus* 1390. He was a quiet and peaceable Prince, and took to Wife *Annabel Drummond*, Daughter unto the Laird of *Stobhall*, who bare unto him *David* the Prince, Duke of *Rotheſay*, that died in Priſon, of very extreme Famine, at *Falkland*; and *James the Firſt*, taken Captive in his Voyage to *France*, and detained a Captive, againſt all Equity, almoſt the Space of 18 Years in *England*. He died of Diſpleaſure at *Rotheſay*, when he heard of the Death of his own Son, and Captivity of the other. He was buried at *Paiſley*, in the 16th Year of his Reign.

Then *Robert*, Earl of *Fyfe* and *Monteith*, began to govern the Kingdom of *Scotland*, in the Year of the World 5376, and in the Year of Chriſt 1406; and he died in the 14th Year of his Government, *James the Firſt* being yet holden Captive in *England*.

*Murdo Steward* ſucceeded to his Father, *Robert* Earl of *Fyfe*, in the Government of *Scotland*, in the Year of the World 5390, and in the Year of our bleſſed Redeemer 1420; and ruled four Years, *James the Firſt* ſtill

continuing

continuing a Captive in *England*. But the Father, and his Son *Walter* thereafter, were both executed, even by the ſaid *James the Firſt*, for Oppreſſion of the Subjects.

CII. *James the Firſt* began for to reign in the Year of the World 5394, and in the Year of Chriſt 1424. He was a good, learned, virtuous, and a juſt King. He married *Jane*, Daughter unto *John* Duke of *Somerſet* and Marquis of *Dorſet*, Son to *John* of *Gaunt*, the third Son to the victorious King of *England*, *Edward the Third*; and ſhe bare to him only one Son, and ſix Daughters; to wit, *James the Second*; *Margaret*, Wife to *Lewis*, the Eleventh of that Name, the Dauphin of *France*, and thereafter King; *Eliſabeth*, the Ducheſs of *Brittany*; *Jane*, Counteſs of *Huntley*; *Eleanor*, Ducheſs of *Auſtria*; *Mary*, Wife to the Lord of *Camp-Vere*; and *Annabella*, who was yet but young.

This good Prince was ſlain traiterouſly (alas!) at *Perth*, by *Walter* Earl of *Athol*, and *Robert Graham*, together with their factious Confederates, in the 31ſt Year of his Reign, if we count from the Death of his Father; and in the 13th Year of his Reign, if we count from his happy Deliverance out of *England*. He was buried at the *Charterhouſe* of *Perth*, the which he indeed had builded.

CIII. *James the Second* ſucceeded to his Father, in the Year of the World 5407, and in the Year of Chriſt 1437. A Prince greatly ſubject to Troubles in his Youth. He married *Mary*, Daughter to *Arnold*, Duke of *Geldre*, Siſter's Daughter to *Charles*, ſirnamed *Audax*, the laſt Duke of *Burgundy*, &c. And ſhe bare unto him three Sons, to wit, *James the Third*, *John*, Earl of *Mar*, and *Alexander*, Duke of *Albany*. Moreover, ſhe bare a Daughter unto him, called *Mary*, who was firſt married unto *Thomas Boyde*, Earl of *Arran*; and, after his Deceaſe, unto *James Hamilton*, of *Cadſow*. And the King was ſlain at the Siege of *Roxburgh*, in the 24th Year of his Reign.

CIV. *James the Third* ſucceeded unto his Father, in the Year of the World 5430, and in the Year of our Redemption 1460. A Prince corrupted by wicked Courtiers, God knows. He married *Margaret*, Daughter unto *Chriſtianus the Firſt*, ſirnamed *Dives* (that is to ſay, *Rich*) King of *Denmark*, *Norway*, and *Sweden*. And, when he had reigned 29 Years, he was ſlain at the Field and Battle of *Bannock-Burn*, and princely buried at *Cambus-Kenneth*.

CV. *James the Fourth* ſucceeded to his Father, in the Year of the World 5459, and in the Year of Chriſt 1489. A very noble and courageous King. He married, firſt *Margaret*, eldeſt Daughter to *Henry the Seventh*, Earl of *Richmond*, and thereafter King of fair *England*. And, after her Deceaſe, he married *Eliſabeth*, Daughter unto *Edward the Fourth*, King of *England*. In whoſe two Perſons, the two Houſes of *Lancaſter* and *York* were united, and the bloody Civil Wars of *England* finiſhed. This good Prince was ſlain at * *Flowdon*, by *England*, in the 25th Year of his Reign.

CVI. *James the Fifth* ſucceeded to his Father, in the Year of the World 5484, and in the Year of Chriſt 1514. A juſt Prince, and ſevere. Firſt, he married *Magdalene*, Daughter to *Francis the Firſt*, King of *France*; but ſhe died very ſhortly thereafter, without any Succeſſion. Then he married *Mary* of *Lorrain*, Ducheſs of *Longueville*, Daughter unto *Claud*, Duke of *Guiſe*. He died at *Falkland*, in the 29th Year of his Reign, and was buried at *Holy-Rood-Houſe*.

CVII. *Mary* ſucceeded unto her Father, *James the Fifth*, in the Year of the World 5513, and in the Year of our bleſſed Lord 1543. A Princeſs virtuouſly inclined. She firſt married *Francis the Second*, Dauphin of *France*, and thereafter King; and, after his Deceaſe, returning Home to *Scotland* a Widow, ſhe married *Henry Steward*, Duke of *Albany*, &c. Lord *Darnley*, Son to *Matthew*, Earl of *Lenox*, a comely Prince, and Pro-nephew to *Henry the Second*, King of *England*, unto whom ſhe bare *James the Sixth*. But (alas!) after 18 Years Captivity, ſhe was put to Death in *England*, in the Year of Chriſt 1586, the 8th Day of *February*, and lieth now intombed at *Weſtminſter*.

CVIII. *James the Sixth* ſucceeded unto his Mother, in the Year of the World 5537, and in the Year of Chriſt 1567. A very good, godly, peaceable, wiſe, and learned Prince, as, indeed, his ſundry Works, which are already

* The Battle of *Flowdon* Field.

gone forth in Print, in ſundry Languages, even to the View of the whole World, to the great Comfort of us, his loving Subjects, and all others, who truly profeſs the Goſpel of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and to the Terror of all *Hereticks*, *Atheiſts*, and *Papiſts*, can teſtify.

He married *Anna*, Daughter to *Frederick the Second*, King of *Denmark*, &c. and to *Sophia*, *Ulricus* the Duke of *Mechlenburg*'s Daughter, who bare unto him *Henry Frederick*, the Prince who died in the Prime of his Youth; *Eliſabeth*, Wife to the Prince *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, &c. and *Charles*, our hopeful Prince, now about the Age of 23 Years.

The ſaid *James the Sixth*, even through God's Providence, and righteous Succeſſion, is now preſently King of *Great-Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, whom we beſeech even the God of Heaven, upon the Knees of our loyal Hearts, to continue his Days longer than long amongſt us; yea, that his happy Poſterity remain ſtill to govern over ours, to the farther Advancement of God's Glory, and the Comfort of his Elect, even for ever and ever, *Amen.*

From *Aberdeen*, 1623, *Jan.* 30.

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An Epiſtle of the moſte myghty and redouted Prince, *Henry* the viii, by the Grace of God, Kyng of *England*, and of *Fraunce*, Lorde of *Irelande*, Defender of the Faithe, and ſupreme Heed of the Churche of *England*, nexte vnder Chriſte, writen to the Emperours Maieſtie, to all Chriſten Princes, and to all thoſe that trewly and ſyncerely profeſſe Chriſtes Religion.

In this Epiſtle bothe the Cauſes are playnely declared, why the Kynges Hyghenes owght neyther to ſende nor go to the Councill indicted at *Uincence*, and alſo how peryloufe a Thinge it is for all ſuche, as profeſſe the trewe Doctrine of Chriſt, to come thether.

Herevnto alſo is annexed the Proteſtation made the laſt Yere, by the Kynges Hyghenes, his holle Counſayle and Clergye, as touchinge the Councille indicted at *Mantua*, &c.

Rede bothe o Chriſten Reader, Truthe is comynge Home, longe afore beynge in Captyuytye, ſteppe forth and meete her by the Waye: Yf thou ſee her preſente, embrace hir, and ſhewe, thy ſelfe gladde of here Retourne. *London*, printed by *John Berthelet* 1538. *Octavo*, containing nineteen Pages.

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*As the following ſmall Piece is one, if not the very firſt publick Declaration of King* Henry the Eighth, *againſt the* Pope, *now extant, I apprehend, that it will be doing great Service to the* Engliſh *Hiſtory, to preſerve it in this Collection.*

*The*

*The Occaſion was the King's being cited by the* Pope, *in Concert with the Emperor, to appear before a General Council, as he pretended to be held at* Mantua, *to anſwer to ſuch Accuſations there to be laid againſt him.*

*The King communicated this Summons to the Convocation, then ſitting, and demanded their Advice; who anſwered in Writing, that, before a General Council could be called, it was neceſſary to conſider, Who had Authority to call it.* 2dly, *Whether the Reaſons for Calling it were weighty.* 3dly, *Who ſhould aſſiſt as Judges.* 4thly, *What ſhould be the Order of Proceeding.* 5thly, *What Doctrines were to be diſcuſſed. And* laſtly, *That neither the* Pope *nor any other Prince, without the Conſent of all the Sovereigns in Chriſtendom, had Power to call a General Council. And,*

Henry, *well knowing that he muſt loſe his Cauſe before ſuch a Council, as propoſed, he had been unwiſe to ſubmit to its Deciſions: Therefore,*

*Purſuant to this Declaration of his Clergy, the King proteſted againſt this Council, in which Proteſtation he ſpeaks very plainly and freely of the Deſigns and Conduct of the* Pope; *being informed of the Council's being moved to* Vicenza, *he repeateth the ſame Proteſtation to the Emperor in this Letter following.*

Henry the VIII. *By the Grace of God, Kynge of* Englande, *and of* Fraunce, *&c. ſaluteth the Emperour, Chriſten Princes, and all true Chriſten Men, deſyringe Peace and Concorde amonges them.*

WHERE as not long ſithens a Boke came forth in oure and all oure Counſayles Names, whyche bothe conteyned many Cauſes, why we refuſed the Councylle, than by the Byſſhoppe of *Romes* vſurped Power fyrſte indycted atte *Mantua*, to be kepte the xxiii. Daye of *May*, after proroged to *Nouembre*, noo Place appoynted where it ſhulde be kepte. And where as the ſame Boke doth ſufficientely proue, that oure Cauſe coulde take no Hurt, neyther with any Thynge doone or decreed in ſuche a Companye of addicte Men to one Secte, nor in any other Councille called by his vſurped Power, we thynke it Nothynge neceſſarye ſo ofte to make new Proteſtations, as the Byſſhop of *Rome* and his Courtes, by Subtyltye and Crafte, doo inuente Wayes to mocke the Worlde by newe pretenſed Generall Councilles. Yet not withſtandynge, bycauſe that ſome Thynges haue nowe occurred, eyther vppon Occaſion gyuen vs, by Chaunge of the Place, or els throughe other Conſyderations, whyche, nowe beynge knowen to the Worlde, maye do moche Good, we thought we ſhulde do, but euen as that Loue enforceth vs, which we owe vnto Chriſtis Fayth and Relygion, to adde this Epiſtell: And yet we proteſte, that we neyther put forth that Boke, neyther that we wolde this Epiſtle to be ſet afore it, that thereby we ſhulde ſeme leſſe to deſyre a Generall Councille, than any other Prynce or Potentate, but rather more deſyrous of it, ſo it were free for all Partes, and vniuerſall.

And further we deſyre al good Princes, Potentates, and People, to eſteme and thynke that noo Prynce wolde more wyllingly be preſent at ſuche a Councille than we, ſuche a one, we meane, as we ſpeake of in our Proteſtatyon, made concernynge the Councille of *Mantua*. Trewely as our Forefathers inuented Nothynge more holyer than Generall Councils, vſed as they ought to be, ſo there is almoſt Nothynge, that may do more Hurt to the Chriſtian Common Welth, to the Faith, to our Religion, than Generall Councils, if they be abuſed, to Luker, to Gaynes, to the Eſtablyſhement of Errours. They be called Generall, and euen by their Name doo admonyſſhe vs, that all Chriſten Men, which do diſcent in any Opinion, maye in them openly, frankely, and without Feare of Punyſſhement or Diſpleaſure, ſay theyr Mynde. For ſeynge ſuche Thinges, as are decreed in Generall Councils, touche egally all Men that gyue Aſſent therevnto, it is mete that euery Man maye boldely ſaye there that he thinketh. And verely we ſuppoſe, that it ought not to be called a Generall Councylle, where alonlye thoſe Men are harde,

which are determined for euer, in all Poyntes, to defend the *Popyſh* Part, and to arme theym ſelfes to fyght in the Byſſhoppe of *Romes* Quarelle, though it were againſt God and his Scriptures. It is no Generall Councill, neyther it ought to be called Generall, where the ſame Men be onely Aduocates and Aduerſaries, the ſame Accuſed and Iuges. No it is agaynſte the Lawe of Nature, eyther that we ſhuld condeſcende to ſo vnreſonable a Lawe againſt our ſelfes, eyther that we ſhuld ſuffre our ſelfes to be lefte withoute all Defence, and, beynge oppreſſed with greatteſt Iniuries, to haue no Refuge to ſuccour our ſelfes at. The Byſſhop of *Rome* *, and his, be our great Ennemyes, as we and all the Worlde may well perceyue by his Doynges. He deſyreth Nothinge more than our Hurte, and the Deſtruction of oure Realme: Do not we than violate the Iudgement of Nature, yf we gyue hym Power and Auctoritie to be our Iudge? His pretended Honour fyrſte gotten by Superſtition, after encreaſed by Vyolence, and other Wayes, as euylle as that: His Power ſette uppe by Pretenſe of Relygyon, in Dede, both agaynſte Relygyon, and alſo contrary to the Worde of God: His Primacye, borne by the Ignorancye of the Worlde, nourysſhed by the Ambition of Byſſhops of *Rome*, defended by Places of Scripture, falſely vnderſtande. Theſe iii. Thynges we ſaye, whiche are fallen with vs, aud are lyke to fall in other Realmes ſhortly, ſhall they not be eſtablyſhed again, yf he maye decyde our Cauſe as hym lyſteth? Yf he maye at his Pleaſure oppreſſe a Cauſe moſte ryghtouſe, and ſet vp his, moſte againe Truth? Certaynely, he is verye blynde, that ſeeth not, what Ende we maye loke for of our Controuerſie, if ſuche our Ennemye maye gyue the Sentence.

We deſyre, yf it were in any wyſe poſſible, a Councill, where ſome Hope may be, that thoſe Thynges ſhall be reſtored, which, nowe beinge deprauate, are lyke, if they be not amended, to be the vtter Ruine of Chriſten Relygyon. And as we do deſyre ſuche a Councyll, and thinke it mete, that all Men, in all their Prayers, ſhoulde craue and deſyre it of God; euen ſo we thinke it pertayneth vnto oure Office, to prouyde bothe that theſe *Popyſhe* Subtylties hurt none of our Subiectes, and alſo to admonyſhe other Chriſten Princis, that the Byſſhoppe of *Rome* maye not by their Conſent abuſe the Auctoritie of Kynges, eyther to the Extynguyſhing of the true Preaching of Scripture, that now begynneth to ſpryng, to grow, and ſpred abrode, eyther to the Troublyng of Princes Liberties, to the Dimyniſhynge of Kynges Auctorities, and to the great Blemyſſhe of theyr princely Maieſtie. We dout Nothing but a Reder, not parciall, wyll ſoone approue ſuche Thynges, as we write in the Treatyſe folowynge, not ſoo moche for oure Excuſe, as that the Worlde maye perceyue both the ſondry Deceytes, Craftes, and Subtylties of the *Papiſtes*, and alſo, how moch we deſyre, that Controuerſyes in Relygyon maye ones be taken awaye. All that we ſayde there of *Mantua*, maye here well be ſpoken of *Uincence*. They do almoſte agree in all Poyntes. Neyther it is lyke, that there wolle be any more at this Councille at *Uincence*, than were the laſt Yere atte *Mantua*. Trewelye he is worthy to be deceyued, that, beynge twyſe mocked, wolle not beware the thyrde Tyme. Yf any this laſt Yere made forth towarde *Mantua*, and, beynge halfe on their Waye, thanne perceyued, that they hadde taken vppon them that Iourney in vayne, we do not thynke them ſo foolyſſhe, that they wolle hereafter ryde farre oute of Towne to be mocked. The Tyme alſo, and the State of Thynges is ſuche, that Matters of Relygyon maye rather nowe be broughte farther in Trouble, as other Thynges are, than be commodiouſely intreated of and decyded. For where as, in Maner, the hole Worlde is after ſuche Sorte troublyd with Warres, ſo incombred with the great Preparations that the *Turke* maketh, Canne there be any Manne ſo agaynſte the Setlynge of Relygyon, that he wolle thynke this Tyme mete for a Generall Councill? Undoubtedlye it is mete that ſuch Controuerſies, as we haue with the Byſſhoppe of *Rome*, be taken as they are; that is moch greatter, than that they maye eyther be diſcuſſed in this ſoo troubleſome a Tyme, or elles be committed vnto Proctours, without our greate Ieoperdie, all be it the Tyme were neuer ſo quiete. What other Princes wyll do, we can not tell, but we wyll neyther leaue our Realme at this Tyme, neyther we wyll truſte any Proctour with oure Cauſe, wherein the

* Publiſhed a Bull of Excommunication againſt him; and tried to excite all Princes of Chriſtendom, againſt *Henry*, and offered his Kingdom to the King of *Scotland*, &c.

holle Staye and Welth of our Realme ſtandeth, but rather we wyll be atte the Handlynge therof our ſelfe. For excepte both an other Iudge be agreed vppon for thoſe Matters, and alſo a Place more commodiouſe be prouyded, for the Debating of our Cauſes, all be it al other Thynges were as we wolde haue them, yet maye we lawfully refuſe to come or ſende any to his pretended Councylle. We wolle in noo Caſe make hym our Arbyter, whyche, not many Yeres paſte, oure Cauſe not harde, gaue Sentence agaynſte vs. We wolle that ſuche Doctrine, as we, folowynge the Scripture, do profeſſe, rytely to be examinyd, diſcuſſyd, and to be brought to Scripture, as to the onely Touche Stone of true Lernynge. We wyll not ſuffre them to be abolyſhed, ere euer they be diſcuſſyd, ne to be oppreſſed, before they be knowen: Moche leſſe we wyll ſuffre theym to be troden downe beinge ſo clerely trewe. No, as there is no Iote in Scripture, but we wolle defende it, thoughe it were with Ieoperdie of oure Lyfe, and Peryll of this our Realme: So is there no Thynge, that doeth oppreſſe this Doctrine, or obſcure it, but we wolle be at continuall Warre therwith. As we haue abrogated all olde *Popiſhe* Tradicions in this oure Realme, whiche eyther dyd helpe his Tyranny or increaſe his Pryde: Soo, yf the Grace of God forſake vs not, we wyll wel forſee, that no newe naughtye Tradicions be made with our Conſente, to bynde vs or our Realme. Yf Men wyll not be willyngely blynde, they ſhall eaſyly ſee euen by a due and euident Proſe in Reſon, though Grace dothe not yet by the Worde of Chriſt enter into theym, howe ſmall Thauctorytie of the Byſſhop of *Rome* is, by the lawfull Denyall of the Duke of *Mantua* for the Place. For yf the Byſſhoppe of *Rome* dydde erneſtly intende to kepe a Councyll at *Mantua*, and hath Power, by the Lawe of God, to calle Prynces to what Place hym lyketh: Why hath he not alſo Auctoritie to choſe what Place hym lyſteth? The Byſſhop choſe *Mantua*, the Duke kepte hym oute of it. Yf *Paule* the Byſſhoppe of *Romes* Auctoritye be ſo great, as he pretendeth, Why coulde not he compel *Fredericus*, Duke of *Mantua*, that the Councille myghte be kepte there?

The Duke wolde not ſuffre it. No, he forbadde hym his Towne. Howe chaunceth it, that here Excommunicacyons flye not Abroode? Why dothe he not punyſſhe this Duke?

Why is his Power, that was wonte to be more than fulle, here emptye; wonte to be more than all, here Nothynge? Dothe he not calle Men in vayne to a Councille, yf they, that comme at his Callynge, be excluded the Place, to the whyche he callethe theym? Maye not Kynges iuſtelye refuſe to come at his Call, whan the Duke of *Mantua* maye denye hym the Place, that he choſeth? Yf other Prynces order hym as the Duke of *Mantua* hath doone, What Place ſhall be lefte hym, where he maye kepe his Generall Councill? Again, if Prynces haue gyuen hym this Auctoritie, to calle a Councille, Is hit not neceſſarye, that they gyue hym alſo all thoſe Thynges, withoute the whyche he canne not exercyſe that his Power? Shall he call Men, and wolle ye let hym fynde no Place to call them vnto? Truely he is not wonte to appoynte one of his owne Cyties, a Place to keepe the Councill in. No, the good Manne is ſo faythefull and frendely towarde other, that ſeldome he deſyreth Prynces to be his Geſtis. And admytte he ſhulde calle vs to one of his Cityes, ſhulde we ſafely walke within the Walles of ſuche our Ennemyes Towne? Were it mete for vs there to dyſcuſſe Controuerſyes of Relygyon, or to kepe vs out of our Ennemyes Trappes? Mete to ſtudye for the Defence of ſuche Doctrine as we profeſſe, or rather howe we myghte in ſuche a Thronge of Perylles be in Sauegarde of our Lyfe? Well, in this one Acte the Byſſhoppe of *Rome* hathe declared, that he hathe none Auctorytye vppon Places in other Mennes Domynyons, and therfore, yf he promyſe a Councille in anye of thoſe, he promyſeth that that is in an other Man to perfourme, and ſo may he deceyue vs agayne. Nowe, ifhe calle vs to one of his owne Townes, we be afrayde to be at ſuche an Hoſtes Table. We ſaye, Better to ryſe a hungred, then to goo thenſe with oure Bellyes fulle. But they ſaye, The Place is founde, we neede noo more ſeke where the Councill ſhall be kepte. As who ſaythe, That, that chaunced at *Mantua*, maye not alſo chaunce at *Vyncence*. And as thoughe it were very lyke, that the *Uenecians*, Menne of ſuche Wyſedome, ſhoulde not bothe forſee and feare alſo that, that the wyſe Duke of *Mantua* ſemed to feare. Certes, whanne we thynke vppon the State, that the *Uenecians* be in nowe, hit ſeemeth noo verye lykely Thynge that they wolle eyther leaue *Uincence*, theyr Cytye, to ſo many Nations, without ſome greate Garriſon of Souldyers, or elles that they, beynge

elles

elles where ſo ſore charged all redy, wyll nowe norysſhe an Armye there. And, if they wolde, Dothe not *Paulus* hym ſelfe graunt, that it ſhulde be an euyll Preſydent, and an euyll Exaumple, to haue an armed Councille: How ſo euer it ſhal be, we moſte hartely deſyre you, that ye wolle voucheſafe to rede thoſe Thynges that we wrote this laſt Yere touchynge the *Mantuan* Councille. For we nothynge doubte, but you, of youre Equytye, wyll ſtande on our Syde agaynſte theyr Subtyltye and Fraudes, and iudge, excepte we be deceyued, that we, in this Buſyneſſe, neyther gaue ſoo moche to oure Affectyons, neyther withoute greatte and mooſte iuſte Cauſes, refuſed theyr Councylles, theyr Cenſures, and Decrees. Whyther theſe oure Wrytynges pleaſe all Menne, or noo, we thynke, we ought not to paſſe moche. Noo, yf that, that indyfferentely is wrytten of vs, maye pleaſe indyfferente Reders, oure Deſyre is accomplyſſhed. The Falſe and Myſtakyng of Thynges, by Men parcyall, ſhall moue vs Nothynge, or elles very lytel. Yf we haue ſayd aughte agaynſte the Deceytes of the Byſſhop of *Rome*, that maye ſeme ſpoken to ſharpely, we praye you, impute it to the Hatredde we bare vnto Vyces, and not to any euylle Wyll that we bare hym. Noo, that he, and all his, maye perceyue, that we are rather at Stryfe with his Vyces, than with hym and his; Oure Prayer is, bothe that it maye pleaſe God at the laſte to open theyr Eyes, to make ſofte theyr harde Hartes, and that they ones maye with vs, theyr owne Glorye ſet aparte, ſtudy to ſet forthe the euerlaſtynge Glorie of the euerlaſtynge God.

Thus, myghtye Emperoure, fare ye mooſte hartely well, and ye Chriſten Princes, the Pylors and Staye of Chriſtendome, fare ye hartely well. Alſo all ye, what People ſo euer ye are, whiche doo deſyre, that the Goſpel and Glory of Chriſt maye floryſhe, fare ye hartely well.

*Gyuen at* London *oute of oure Palace at* Weſtmynſter, *the Eyghte of* Apryll, *the nyne and twentye Yere of our Reygne.*

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# The Commvnication betwene my Lord Chauncelor and Iudge *Hales*, being among other Iudges to take his Oth in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, *Anno* 1553, the 6th of *October*. Printed in *Octavo*, containing five Pages.

*Queen* Mary *no ſooner found herſelf ſecure on the Throne, but ſhe preſently forgot both her Promiſes to maintain the Eſtabliſhed Religion, and the good Services done her in that critical Juncture by the* Proteſtants, *of which this ſmall Place before us is a flagrant Proof.*

*Judge* Hales *was the only one of that Bench, who refuſed to ſign that Inſtrument, which transferred the Crown to* Jane Grey, *at the Riſque, not only of his Eſtate, but of his Life alſo. Yet he was immediately called in Queſtion, as you read in the following Paper; and, as Hiſtory further acquaints us, firſt caſt into the* Marſhalſea, *thence removed to the* Compter, *then to the* Fleet, *for Charging the Juſtices of* Kent, *to conform to the Laws of King* Edward VI. *concerning Religion, not yet repealed, or properly for being a ſincere* Proteſtant.

*The Judge, tho', as it appears in this* Communication *between him and the Chancellor, he preferred a good Conſcience to his Office, the Queen's Favour, his Fortune, and even to his Life, was ſo bitterly perſecuted, and, when the Warden informed him of the Cruelties preparing for thoſe, who would not change their Religion, his Brains turned ſo, that he endeavoured to kill himſelf with a Penknife; and, tho', in this Condition, he was ſet at Liberty, he never recovered his Senſes, and at laſt drowned himſelf.* See *Burnet*, Tom. II. p. 248.

*Chauncelor*

*Chauncelor.*

MASTER *Hales*, ye ſhall vnderſtand, that like as the Quenes Highnes hath hertofore receiuid good Opinion of you, eſpeciallie, for that ye ſtoode both faithfullie and laufulli in hir Cauſe of iuſt Succeſſion, refuſing to ſet your Hande to the Booke amonge others that were againſt hir Grace in that Behalfe; ſo nowe through your owne late Deſertes, againſt certain hir Highnes Dooinges, ye ſtande not well in hir Graces Fauour. And, therfore, before ye take anie Othe, it ſhall be neceſſarie for you to make your Purgation.

*Hales.* I praie you, my Lorde, What is the Cauſe?

*Chauncelor.* Information is geuen, that ye haue indicted certain Priſtes in *Kent*, for Saiing of Maſſe.

*Hales.* Mi Lorde, it is not ſo; I indicted none, but indede certaine Indictamentes of like Matter wer brought before me at the laſte Aſſiſes there holden, and I gaue Order therin as the Lawe required. For I haue profeſſed the Lawe, againſt which, in Caſes of Iuſtice, wil I neuer (God willinge) procede, nor in ani Wiſe diſſemble, but with the ſame ſhewe forth mi Conſcience, and, if it were to do againe, I wolde doe no leſſe then I did.

*Chauncelor.* Yea, Maſter *Hales*, your Conſcience is knowne wel inough, I knowe ye lacke no Conſcience.

*Hales.* Mi Lord, ye mai do wel to ſerch your owne Conſcience, for mine is better knowne to mie ſelfe, then to you; and to be plaine, I did as well vſe Iuſtice in your ſaide Maſſe Caſe bi mi Conſcience, as bi the Lawe, wherin I am *fulli* bent to ſtand in Trial to the vttermoſt that can be obiected. And, if I haue therin done ani Iniuri or Wrong, let me be iudged bi the Lawe, for I wil ſeeke no better Defence, conſidering cheiflie that it is mi Profeſſion.

*Chauncelor.* Whi, Maſter *Hales*, althoughe ye had the Rigour of the Lawe on your Side, yet ye might haue hadde Regard to the Quenes Highnes preſent Doinges in that Caſe. And *further*, although ye ſeme to be more then preciſe in the Lawe; yet I thinke ye wolde be veri loth to yelde to the Extremitie of ſuche Aduantage, as mighte be gathered againſte your Procedinges in the Lawe, as ye haue ſome Time taken vppon you in Place of Iuſtice. And, if it were well tried, I beleue ye ſhuld not be wel able to ſtand honeſtli therto.

*Hales.* Mi Lord, I am not ſo perfect, but I mai erre for Lacke of Knowledge; but both in Conſcience, and ſuch Knowledge of the Lawe, as God hath geuen me, I wil do nothing but I wil maintain and abide in it. And if mi Goodes, and all that I haue, be not able to counterpoiſe the Caſe, mi Bodie ſhal be redi to ſerue the Turne, for thei be all at the Quenes Highneſſe Pleaſure.

*Chauncelor.* Ah, Sir, ye be veri quicke and ſtoute in your Anſwers; but as it ſhoulde ſeme that which ye did was more of a Wil, fauouring the Opinion of your Religion againſt the Seruice nowe vſed, then for ani Occaſion or Zeale of Iuſtice, ſeinge the Quenes Highnes dooth ſet it furthe, as yet wiſhinge all hir faithful Subjectes to imbrace it accordinglie; and, where ye offer both Bodie and Goodes in your Triall, there is no ſuche Matter required at youre Handes, and yet ye ſhall not haue your owne Wil neither.

*Hales.* Mi Lord, I ſeke not wilful Wil, but to ſhew my ſelf, as I am bound in Loue to God, and Obedience to the Quenes Maieſtie, in whoſe Cauſe willingly for Iuſtice ſake (al other Reſpectes ſet apart) I did of late (as your Lordſhip knoweth) aduenture as much as I had. And as for my Religion, I truſt it to be ſuche as pleaſeth God; wherin I am ready to aduenture as well mi Life, as mi Subſtance, if I be called therunto. And ſo, in Lacke of mine owne Power and Wil, the Lordes Wil be fulfilled.

*Chauncelor.* Seing ye be at this Point, Maſter *Hales*, I wil preſently make an End with you. The Quenes Highnes ſhall be enfourmed of youre Opinion and Declaration. And, as hir Grace ſhal therupon determine, ye ſhal haue Knowledge, vnto which Tyme ye may depart, as ye came, without your Oth, for, as it appeareth, ye ar ſcarſe worthi the Place appointed.

*Hales.* I thancke your Lordſhip, and as for my Vocation, being both a Burthen and a Charge, more then euer I deſired to take vpon me, whenſoeuer it ſhal pleaſe the Quenes Hyghnes to eaſe me therof, I ſhall mooſt humbli with due Contentation obei the ſame.

And ſo departed from the Barre *.

* See the Introduction.

A Letter

## An EPITAPH on *Bonâ fide*, the *French* King *Lewis* XIV. *M. S.*

HERE lies an old Man, of Seventy-ſeven,
Who dy'd as he liv'd, yet hoped for Heaven:
In Faith and good Works (thoſe two ſaving Things)
He out-did all Potentates, Princes, and Kings;
There's *Utrecht*, and *Reſwick*, and *Spaniſh* Partition,
Old Renunciation, and new Demolition.
And, for his good Works, no Man did the like,
They began at *Landau*, and did end at *Mardyke*.
Then, as to his Sins, the *Jeſuits* make good,
That he got Remiſſion, by ſhedding much Blood.
Some thought him immortal, ſome honeſt and juſt,
Yet he rotted and dy'd in the Month of *Auguſt*,
As did his good Siſter, now moulder'd to Duſt.
To *Jacks* and *Nonjurors* ſuch Deaths are ſad Stories,
For old *Bona fide* was Head of the *Tories*;
And, as he lay dying on Royal State Bed,
Remembring beſt Friends, 'tis whiſper'd he ſaid,
O *Robin* of *Radnor*, take Care of thy Head.
O *James* Duke of *Ormond*, my *Iriſh* Dear Joy,
I bequeath thee to *Villars*, when he wants a Decoy.
O High mettled *Harry*, go cool thy lewd Fire,
By *Maintenon*'s Leave, with the Nuns of St. *Cyr*.
O bold *Charles* of *Sweden*, expect a Defeat,
O *Turk* in *Morea*, expect a Retreat.
O *Philip* of *Spain*, more tractable prove,
O Duke of *Lorrain*, the *Pretender* remove.
O *Clement* of *Rome*, thy Church Bull recall,
And, if *Worceſter* ſays true, prepare for thy Fall,
For *George* of *Great Britain* will manage ye all.

The

# A Letter to the Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of *Cloyne*. By a Gentleman in the Army, in the Year 1739.

*The following Letter, which is now firſt printed from a Manuſcript, appears to have been written about the Year* 1739, *on Occaſion of a Diſſertation publiſhed by the Biſhop, on this Text,* Gallio cared for none of theſe Things; *in which he explained the Neceſſity of aſſerting, by the Secular Authority, the Reverence due to Religion. The Effect, which his Arguments have had, may appear, in Part, from the following Letter, which contains ſo many Touches of Elegance and Judgment, that we could not refuſe it a Place in this Collection; in which, though it was our original Deſign to recover ſuch Pieces as begin to diſappear, by their Antiquity, we ſhall not neglect ſometimes to preſerve thoſe Writings from Deſtruction, which, by Accidents or Envy, have been hitherto kept ſecret.* J——*.

*My Lord,*

AT my Return from Recruiting, in which Duty I was employed for many Months, I was informed that the Author of the *Minute Philoſopher* had publiſhed the Second Edition of an excellent Addreſs to the Magiſtrates againſt open Blaſphemy. I was impatient to read it, and, tho' I am an Officer of pretty long Standing and Service, I cannot but admire, with ſome Amazement, the Courage of a Man, not only to appear openly for Things ſo much out of Faſhion, but to demand the Aid of Laws, and the Secular Arm of the Magiſtrate, in Defence of ſpeculative Opinions, as theſe great Criticks affect to call them; which Piece of Wit I am told they borrowed from one *Tindall*, once a profligate Apoſtate to Popery, and always a diſguiſed Miſſionary for it. It is true indeed, and you prove evidently, that all our Actions are directed by our Thoughts, Opinions, and Deſires; and that the Civil Peace of the World, and all the Comforts of ſocial Life (the Whole of Religion and its Obligation, according to the *Free-thinkers*, who aim at a little Reaſoning) are concerted in the Principles which Men entertain about God, Virtue, and even that offenſive Enemy to their preſent Eaſe, called Religion; and that, therefore, ſuch avowed Declarations of War, againſt all the Bands and Fences of Society, are properly Objects of the Magiſtrate's Care, and of his indiſ-



penſable Duty to repel the Attack, and puniſh the Actors. I have heard all their Stock of Learning, which conſiſts in chiming three or four Words a thouſand Times over, with great Clamour and Inſult, "Freedom of Thought, "Freedom of Speech, Liberty of the Preſs, "are all of them natural Rights, and unalie-"nable from a free People; the Contrary is "Popery, Slavery, Arbitrary Power, Prieſt-"craft, and the Pretender." But let us take this even according to the loweſt Notion of any who are willing to exclude a Divine Right in every Sort of Government and Syſtem, and are therefore moſt particularly averſe from every Notion of a Church, as a regular formed Society, with Powers, poſitive Inſtitutions, and Officers, independent of every Man's own ſweet Self, in the Sincerity of his Heart, according to whatever Principles he is pleaſed to preſcribe to it; according to which moſt orderly Principle, every Man of every Nation (for Societies theſe Men's wiſe Schemes will not allow) has full Liberty of thinking, ſpeaking, and acting; but the Rulers, the Princes, Senators, or other chief Magiſtrates, who being Truſtees for the People and their Rights, it is plain that they can have none of their own, but are and muſt be the only ultimate Subjects in every Community; yet even ſuch allow our Church and Religion the Sanction of Acts of Parliament, conſequently the Law of the Land, and to be an eſſential Part of our Conſtitution, to pre-

ſerve which no Millions of Money, or of Men, were ever thought too much; and therefore I ſay, that Magiſtrates may take Cogniſance of, and ſevere Vengeance for all Outrages committed againſt it, otherwiſe the whole Frame of the State is in the utmoſt Danger, whatever the Church may be; and, for that very Reaſon, no Doubt, many a Man has been for helping her at ſome critical Times, who never underſtood much of her, or cared for her; nay, who derive all Government, and conſequently all Law, both Civil and Religious, from the People, who every Day of their Lives have drank the *Litany Health*, as it is called, againſt her. I will venture to go even a Step lower in Moderation, if that can well be done; I will ſuppoſe that Chriſtianity has only a Share in that Toleration which is extended to the ſeveral Sorts of Diſſenters; ſure an Application may properly lie to the Magiſtrate to make good this Toleration to it, and to protect it from being inſulted in the very Church, and in the Midſt of Divine Service, as was done in the Church of *Omah*, County of *Tyrone*, and Dioceſe of *Deny*, about twenty Months ago (if I am rightly informed) in the moſt blaſphemous and riotous Manner. One would think that the two Acts of Uniformity were repealed; for in them there are Penalties provided for any Thing ſaid or done in Contempt of, or Derogation to any Part of the Divine Service contained in the Book of *Common Prayer*. And, if theſe Statutes continue ſtill in Force, Ought not the Magiſtrate, both Spiritual and Temporal, to put them in Execution? Has not our Bible the Sanction of Law; and if ſo, May not a bold Magiſtrate appear in Defence of it without juſt Imputation of Bigotry? I will aſk but one Queſtion more, What would the Magiſtrate, what would Mankind ſay, but above all, what would the Free-thinker and Latitudinarian Libertine ſay and do to a Man who ſhould be always railing againſt the Act of Toleration, forming Cabals againſt it, running into Coffee-houſes and Play-houſes to ſputter againſt it, and breaking into Meeting-houſes to diſturb and affront the Society, in the Midſt of what they call their Devotions, with a Down with Tolerations, Rumps, and Round-heads? I ſhould not deſpair of ſeeing ſuch a Club in *Newgate* or *Bridewell*, *ſed Deorum offenſæ Diis curæ*.

I think nothing can poſſibly be more plain, than that all our firſt Notions muſt be Prejudices, received either by the meer Authority of ſome Inſtructor, or taken up on Credit from the Publick; and very many Things there are in Life, which all Mankind muſt, and the wiſeſt ought to receive on Authority, for by Authority only they can be proved, as all Divine Inſtitutions, and all Human ones not inconſiſtent with them. *Vir bonus eſt Quis? Qui conſulta Patrum, qui leges juraque ſervat.* I really believe that even very learned Men do take up Concluſions in Parts of Learning that they are great Maſters of, without examining every one of them minutely, nay without being able to inveſtigate them through the whole precedent Chain of Demonſtrations; as I have heard ſome People ſay particularly of a Book called *Sir Iſaac Newton's Principles*, as your Lordſhip has very clearly ſhewn, in the Inſtances of all thoſe Profeſſions or Trades which depend on Mathematical Reaſoning, which they can uſe in Work, but never underſtand in Theory. I am far from being a great Engineer, but I am not the very worſt in the Army. I can do ſeveral Things in my Way pretty cleverly, but, were your Lordſhip to examine me as to the Grounds and Reaſons on which my Work depends, you would be almoſt as much amazed at my Ignorance in Mathematicks, as at that of a *Free-thinker*, when he pretends to chop Logick about any Thing that looks like Religion, Virtue, Honour, or good Senſe.

Without what they call *Prejudices*, that is, early Impreſſions before they can reaſon, Mankind could have no Opinions at all; becauſe they could not have any Knowledge without Education. Pray, my Lord, give me Leave to obſerve the Impudence of theſe Men, in obtruding ſuch a bare-faced Contradiction on us —All Prejudices muſt be excluded, the young Mind guarded from them, that is, no Inſtruction, no Information, no Rules preſcribed; then, when he is grown up, he is to make a compleat Syſtem of all he owes to God, his Neighbour, and himſelf, founded on a Moral Senſe, and the Fitneſs of all Things, reſulting from the thorough Knowledge of their Natures, and all the ſeveral Relations thereof, eternal and immutable. I really believe, my Lord, that all created Beings, put together, do not know ſo much of the Univerſe, as to be able to trace out the various Relations, Natural and Moral, of all its conſtituent Parts, which yet theſe modeſt Gentlemen require from every Man, that he ſhould inſtruct himſelf in all this, and that what he thus diſcovers is his only Rule of

Action

Action and Intercourſe with all other Men, and the Origin of Obligation to God as well as Man. So that, according to this wiſe Scheme, every Man is ſuppoſed equal to every Thing, and able to ſupply himſelf, out of his own inexhauſtible native Stock, with all Knowledge; every Man is born a compleat Divine, Lawyer, Politician, Chymiſt, Phyſician, Philoſopher; in ſhort, in all its Branches, is this true! or elſe all Men are equally knowing; what! is there no Difference between the Knowledge of the Biſhop of *Cloyne* and *Peter Lens?* Yes, as much in their Underſtanding and Learning, as in their Virtues and Worth. One would think that the Word *Learning* ſhould point out to us how we came by it; how can any one learn, but from a Perſon, or a Book which teaches him? I ſuppoſe that, according to theſe Men, the Original of Libraries was, That ſome odd Fellow took it into his Head to invent an Alphabet, then compiled an Horn-book, taught himſelf and others to read it, and thereby let them into the Knack of compoſing as many and as large Volumes as ever they ſhould have a Mind to. But was it not a ſilly and a wicked Thing in him to do ſo? Is it not Propagating Prejudices, which no Man ought to be fettered with, before he can judge for himſelf? No Man ought to go into, or ſo much as bathe his Hands in Water, before he can ſwim perfectly well.

If I am capable of underſtanding theſe Men and their Aſſertions, for I cannot call them *Principles*, they contradict themſelves flatly; they require from every Man a great deal more, not only than any one Man ever was capable of, but than all Mankind, and their Abilities put together, could effect, and yet will not allow him any previous Inſtruction or Study, for Fear of Prejudices. Can any *Saracen*, *Turk*, or *Fanatick*, declare himſelf more a Perſecutor of Learning and learned Men, throwing all Libraries into the Fire, as contraband Goods? But I ſuppoſe this is what our noble Maſters of Free-thinking would be at; for, if there were a thorough Ceſſation of all Inſtruction and Preaching for a competent Number of Years, till the preſent Set of prejudiced Folks were gone off the Stage, there would be fine Hopes of an utter Ceſſation of all Knowledge, Learning, and Religion, to the End of the World; and then what glorious Days! the jolly *Free-thinkers*, having reſcued the World from Prejudices, and got it all to themſelves, might wallow undiſturbed in their Mire, and unſtinted Seraglio, without the importunate Din of Laws Divine and Human ringing in their Ears, to no other Purpoſe in Nature, but to intrude upon and ſoure their Diverſions. Yet, for all this fine Scene of a World, which they paint out ſo agreeably to us, I own, my Lord, that I cannot ſee why the Diſcoveries of one Man, Age, or Nation, in Arts and Sciences, may not be communicated and deſcend to another, as well as Eſtates, Houſes, or any other Kind of Property; and why I may not procure, by Exchange or Purchaſe, a little Knowledge from my Neighbour, as well as any other Toy to play with. I proteſt, my Lord, I would not be without the Comfort and Advantage I fancy I have received from the very few Books that have fallen in my Way to read; for, beſides the Health and Frugality of paſſing a Winter's Evening agreeably with an Author, I have received no ſmall Advantage in the Knowledge of my Profeſſion, from the excellent Treatiſes on Military Diſcipline (written by ſome worthy Gentlemen juſtly intitled to the Rank they have in our Service) beſides *Vauban* and *Cohorn's Fortification*, *Les Travaux de Mars*, &c. And I fancy, that even the greateſt Genius's, that make Improvements, and carry Things the furtheſt, muſt have been taught the firſt Principles of thoſe Things, they afterwards ſo far excelled their Maſters in. What Profeſſion, what Trade, without an Apprenticeſhip? Captain *Millan* (who, though an Officer, is actually a Graduate Doctor of Phyſick) has declared a thouſand Times, that a Phyſician's Skill is altogether founded on the Experience of other Men, and his own graſted on it; and that the Experience of ſeveral Thouſands muſt have concurred to form ſuch a Phyſician as *Herman Boerhaave*, in all the ſeveral Branches of that voluminous Science. How many thouſand Names of Plants, of Materials in a Druggiſt's, of Preparations in an Apothecary's Shop, in a Chymiſt's Laboratory, in the Diſpenſary, Anatomy School, Surgeon's Hall, &c. When I was a young Man, I imagined that great Scholarſhip conſiſted in *Greek*, *Latin*, *Hebrew*, and ſuch hard Matters, but I had a ſevere Conviction to the Contrary, for I fell into a Law-ſuit, in Defence of a very beneficial Leaſe, which had been long in our Family, by the Sale of which, I flattered myſelf to be one Day able to buy a Regiment; but, after ſeveral warm Campaigns in the Courts, I almoſt carried my

Cauſe, but broke my Heart, Health, and Fortune in it; for Juſtice was ſo ſkilfully barricadoed, and obſtinately defended by the Outworks and Troops of the Law, and it took up ſo much Time and Ammunition, in the neceſſary Methods of Approaches and Attacks, that, when we were almoſt within Sight of her, our Courage on each Side ſunk with our Strength, we propoſed a Truce, at once, and, after a ſhort Conference, we ſaved the meer Point of Honour on both Sides, and abandoned the Field of Battle to new Competitors; for the Invader owned that he was ſorry, on many Accounts, that his Ambition had led him into a War, not altogether either clear as to the Title, or neceſſary on any Score; ſo we ſhaked Hands, he withdrew his Troops, I ſold the diſputed Premiſes in order to diſcharge mine, and he mortgaged a Wing of his Eſtate for the ſame Service; and ever ſince we continue a complaiſant ſplenetick Kind of Friendſhip with each other, whenever we meet. I was amazed, at our firſt Hearing (which was within four or five Years after the Commencement of the Suit) to hear as many Books quoted, as I thought it poſſible for any Man to retain the Names of, and ſuch a Capping of Caſes *pro* and *con*, with as many hard Terms as the Surgeon of our Regiment, or ever an Apothecary of them all, many of which they have borrowed from the Military and other Profeſſions; to open is common to the Eloquence of the Bar, and the Hunters in the Field; we open Orders, Trenches, and Ranks; the Law has its Parties, Challenges, Motions, Defences, Recoveries, Engagements, Charges, Diſcharges, Indentures, Inveſtitures, Traverſes, Converſions, Entries, Lodgments, Poſſeſſions, Surrenders, Forges, Confederates, Spies, Informers, Aſſaults and Batteries, but above all Things Contribution and Pay, as well as we; and I have been told, that Combates were once legal Deciſions in *England*; both Profeſſions deal much in Priſoners and Executions, and both, for the moſt Part, leave them to rot, whether in Priſon or the Field; and, as we have Serjeants of the Halbert, Officers of no ſmall Conſequence, for all the low Diſcipline of the Army depends chiefly on them, ſo they have Right Worſhipful Serjeants of the Coif, and terrible ones at Arms and of Mace; but they ſay there never was a Voluntier in the *Militia Togata* Nay, not only the Council learned in the Law abounded in the ſpecifick Eloquence of the Bar; but I ſaw half a Dozen of Books in my Attorney's Room, with five-hundred Dozen of hard Words in them, which he aſſured me were his neceſſary Tools to work with; *Precedents* and *Forms*, I think he called them.

My Lord, there are two Books about Ancient Hiſtory which I have read, *Plutarch's Lives* and *Rollin*, and in thoſe, I find that one *Lucullus* read himſelf into a General, and that a famous *Scipio* was conſtantly reading *Xenophon*'s *Cyrus*; and *Morriſon* aſſures us, that Sir *Charles Blount* ſtudied his Military Skill in Books, not in Armies; that he vaſtly out ſhone *Norris*, *Eſſex*, and all the great *Martinet* Generals; and therefore he always carried his Books along with him to the Camp, as his moſt valuable Equipage, and lodged them in his own Tent: The late Prince *Eugene* left an huge Library behind him, and his Grace of *Argyle* and General *Dormer*, they ſay, have choice Collections; and I am told, that, in *France*, it is a Cuſtom for every Officer almoſt to write his own Memoirs.

But in this Aſſertion, my Lord, that Diſcipline is the Life of an Army, I ſhall have the Publick Voice on my Side; and that, according to the ſeveral Degrees of that Diſcipline, ſuch is the Vigour and Health of Armies, to ſo vaſt a Difference, that ten-thouſand *Athenians* might eaſily be an Over-match for three-hundred thouſand *Perſians* at *Marathon*, as *Rollin* aſſures me they were. I have read the Story long ago, and lately the Poem of *Leonidas*, and with both I am delighted: To what was that invincible Greatneſs of Mind owing? To their being bred up according to *Lycurgus*'s Rules, in *Sparta*, that Tamer of Men, all whoſe Pupils feared more to tranſgreſs the Laws, than to attempt to conquer all the World combined to force them ſo to do, as *Demaratus* ſaid, and as *Leonidas* acted. Thus it was, and thus it continued for ſix or ſeven hundred Years, as *Plutarch* and *Rollin* tell me, 'till one *Lycander*'s ambitious Schemes and fatal Victories brought *Perſian*, *Sicilian*, and *Athenian* Wealth and Luxury into *Sparta*; which, in about a Score of Years or ſo, annihilated all their former Valour with their other Virtues. A moſt virtuous *Theban* beat them at *Leuſtra* with a much ſmaller Number, and they became the moſt diſſolute Nation in *Greece*, and the moſt litigious; for, ſuch as the Polity at Home, ſuch is the Conduct and Diſcipline Abroad; ſuch as the Citizens, ſuch are the Soldiers.

Nor

Nor is a good Polity to be eſtabliſhed or preſerved only by Advice, and the Reaſon of the Thing; it can prevail upon no other Principles but that of a rigorous Execution of Obedience, an early, ſtrict, and conſtant Diſcipline, and, if poſſible, that they ſhould ſee or know nothing elſe, 'till this National Education become eaſy and natural; that all Virtue was ſuppoſed to conſiſt therein, and all the Glory, Strength, and Happineſs of the Commonwealth, as it was in *Sparta*. Children cannot underſtand the Reaſons and Grounds of Virtue; Grown Perſons, who are at their own Diſpoſal, will not purſue virtuous Schemes merely from Advice, unleſs they have been reconciled to them by a long and early Practice; it is Authority only and Reſtraint, that can unite a large Number of Men in any uniform Syſtem of Life; but above all Men, the *Infidel* and *Free-thinker* are to be reſtrained with Bitt and Bridle, leſt they fall upon thee, for they are like Horſe or Mule, having no Underſtanding, or, as is fully expreſſed in the xxvith Chapter of *Proverbs*, *A Whip for the Horſe, a Bridle for the Aſs, and a Rod for the Fool's back.* As I take it, my Lord, the Word *Fool* has a moral Senſe alſo, and ſignifies a Scoundrel as well as a Blockhead, in all the Writings of *Solomon* and *David*. I profeſs I never read the 10th Verſe of St. *Jude's* Epiſtle, but it brings in full View before my Eyes every *Deiſt*, every *Infidel* of my Acquaintance: *But theſe ſpeak Evil of thoſe things which they know not; but what they know naturally as Brute Beaſts; in thoſe things they corrupt themſelves.* I ſhall never forget an Obſervation of my firſt Colonel, now General *Clayton*, that, whatever Opinion he had ſlightly entertained of ſome ſmart Free-thinking Blades in the City, he had none at all of their Military Capacity in the Camp, unleſs it were in a Sutler's Tent or a Brothel; that all of that Infidel Stamp he ever knew were luxurious, lazy, mutinous, noiſy Companions, impetuous in drunken Brawls, for their Valour always required a Bottle to whet it, and then *Dulcinea's* Beauty was a ſounder Cauſe of War, than the *Spaniſh* Depredations in *America*. I have been aſſured, that the moſt noted *Breteur*, about *London*, ran down under Hold, in the *Dutch* War, and roared out all the Time the great Guns did; but, as ſoon as that Battle was over, ſwore he would never go to Sea again, and that he would fight any Man on Shore, who ſhould but dare to whiſper what he had done on Shipboard; and I have been alſo aſſured, that a whole Hell-fire Club was actually put to Flight, and chaced out of the Houſe, by a Gooſe dropped down a Chimney that was on Fire, within at moſt twenty Miles of *Dublin*, and about that Number of Years ſince.

Your Lordſhip has a very remarkable and melancholy Obſervation in the ſeventeenth Page, in theſe Words: "And, in Effect, "for ſeveral Years paſt, while the Reverence "for our Church and Religion hath been "decaying and wearing off from the Minds "of Men, it may be obſerved, that Loyalty "hath loſt Ground in Proportion; and, now, "the very Word ſeems quite forgotten. "Submiſſion for Conſcience, as well as for "Wrath, was once reckoned an uſeful Leſ-"ſon; but now, with other good Laws, is "laid aſide, as an obſolete Prejudice".

My Lord, I agree ſo thoroughly with you, that I do not conceive how a bad Chriſtian can make a good Subject, nor how a bad Subject can poſſibly make a good Chriſtian; therefore I could never be prevailed on to drink to the pious Memory of old *Huntington*, though, I am told, ſome Heroes often do it on their bare Knees, with great Devotion, and to the mighty Edification of the Company; becauſe I take it to be againſt ſome expreſs Acts of Parliament, as well as the general Tenor of our Laws. I have long remarked, that they who hold looſe Principles, as to one Kind of Government, carry on the ſame to every other Sort, and no more allow Divine Inſtitutions and Ordinances in the Church, than in the State; and another ſmall Obſervation I have made, that theſe Men generally exact the moſt implicit Subjection, both in their Families, and every other Degree of Power in their Hands: All which, I think, may be eaſily accounted for, that they, whoſe Pride ſets them above Ordinances, ſhould hold all other Men indiſpenſably obliged to the Obſervance of theirs.

This, my Lord, brings me to the impudent and ſenſeleſs Clamour of Perſecution. Atheiſm implies no Religion, it would tolerate none; therefore, whatever Forbearance the Profeſſors of one Religion might expect from thoſe of another, they are all to unite againſt a common Enemy, a ravenous Wolf who attacks all Flocks alike, as hating the whole Species, not the Property only of any particular Man, or Society. No Man can have any tolerable Pretence to ſpeak Blaſphemy, or Treaſon;

Treaſon; ſuch Diſcourſe muſt proceed from the propenſe Malice of the Heart, and, Why ſhould not the petulant Tongue be reſtrained from railing either at God, or the King? Or puniſhed for doing it? Mr. *Salkeld*, the worthy Chaplain of Col. *Blakeny*'s Regiment, who has been at *Jeruſalem*, aſſures us, that a Man would be impaled in *Turkey* for ſuch outrageous Blaſphemy againſt the Perſon and Religion of Chriſt, as is frequently, of late, uſed with all imaginable Safety in theſe Countries of Liberty. I proteſt, my Lord, I am as much againſt Perſecution as any Man living, but as the Point, in Debate at preſent, is only, Whether a Negative may not be impoſed, a meer Silence enjoined on a few Topicks, for the Peace of Society, without the Imputation of Tyranny, it is what I would be gladly reſolved in. I would not, had I Power, go about to convert *Mahometans*, *Jews*, *Pagans*, *&c.* by the Sword, Croiſades, Fire and Faggot, with *Rome*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *Presbytery*; but ſhould any *Jew*, *Mahometan*, *Pagan*, or *Infidel*, thruſt himſelf into the Churches of Chriſtians (which are ſet a-part for, and they aſſembled together, to worſhip their God and Saviour therein) and revile him whom they adore, and diſturb them in doing it, I think, that ſuch an one deſerves to die the Death, and that God will not hold that Magiſtrate guiltleſs, who does not vindicate the Honour of the Lord his God, ſo far as the Laws impower and require him ſo to do. Your Lordſhip has ſhewn, that Mathamaticks are uſeful to Artificers of every Sort; ſuppoſe then, that it were made Penal to rail at *Euclid*'s Elements, to form Cabals againſt ſtudying them, running into the Schools where they are taught, reviling the Teachers, and diſturbing the Learners; until ſuch Reformers condeſcended to underſtand them, at leaſt, if not to be capable of demonſtrating their Falſity, and ſubſtituting better in their Place, Pray, my Lord, where would be the Cruelty of all this? Not to inſiſt a little on the Decency of treating with a little Complaiſance that which was thought the Wiſdom of their Anceſtors, and is ſtill the Law of their Country. I can't help thinking, that the World owes its Subſiſtence to the Struggle, which the few virtuous Men in it make againſt the univerſal Prevalence of Vice. Let us ſuppoſe an univerſal Practice of every Chriſtian Virtue, Would not the Condition of Mankind be much more ſafe and delightful, than it is at preſent? Let us ſuppoſe every Man univerſally abandoned to every Vice, Would it not bring an Hell upon Earth? Could Mankind be eaſy, could it ſubſiſt at all in ſuch a State? Thus, we ſee, the *Infidel* is to be reſtrained from undoing himſelf, as well as others, and from tearing down the Fences which ſecure his Property, his own Eaſe and Pleaſure, as much as thoſe of every other Man; for your Lordſhip has well obſerved, that there can be no ſuch Thing as Wealth, any more than Learning or Virtue, in the meer ſavage State of Nature; ſo that the *Infidel* would ſoon find himſelf the miſerable Victim of his own Project, were it ſuffered to go on. The Law will condemn a Man for ſetting Fire deſignedly to his own Houſe; and I knew a Perſon who was ſent to St. *Lazare* in *Paris*, for attempting to murder himſelf, and, in a few Weeks proper Diet and Diſcipline, he returned to ſo ſound a Mind, that he found Security for his future peaceable Behaviour, and was reſtored to his Liberty.

All, that ever I could hear any of theſe *Infidels* chatter againſt Religion, was ſome indigeſted Stuff about Myſteries, and Articles of hard Belief, concerning which, and other Grounds of Credibility, they never beſtowed one ſerious Thought; for, if they had, they could not fail to aſſent to the higheſt Reaſonableneſs of receiving for Truths Things propoſed to them by the Divine Veracity; though all Mankind muſt own, that they have not Faculties to comprehend the whole Phyſical and Moral Eſſence of God: Nay, I have heard learned Men ſay, that no Philoſopher underſtands the Eſſence even of the Things he is moſt converſant about, nor what makes Continuity, why Graſs is green, and a Multitude of other Properties in thoſe, and every Thing elſe, which we ſhall never be able to diſcover; but let us view his plain rational Creed, and, I perſuade myſelf, that we ſhall find it compoſed throughout of unintelligible Difficulties, and Contradictions in every Article of it. The *Atheiſt* tells me, that the World and we have been making one another from all Eternity, but that Religion and Government are of a much later Date; for that, immediately after the great Showers of Men, which uſed to fall in the *Iſle of Pines* Time out of Mind, or that uſed to ſtart up from the Ground, when it was manured by proper prolifick Rains (for their Philoſophy differs a little in that ſmall Circumſtance) thoſe ſame

caſual,

caſual, or upſtart, Fellows fell a knocking one anothers Brains out, as ſoon as ever they popped up their Heads; that this ſavage Cuſtom prevailed a huge While, till, at laſt, one wiſer than the reſt appeared, who roared out his Prologue as loud as ever he could bawl, as he was deſcending gracefully in his Cloud, or like old *Jack Falſtaff*, riſing gradually to mount the Stage (for their Hiſtorians relate it both Ways) O Yes, O Yes, Silence there, a Truce, a Truce, and ſo he laid before them the Uncomfortableneſs of that ſhort Life of theirs, and the great Advantage of Society; that Man, from his many Wants, was plainly deſigned for a ſociable Animal, but that, if they continued to ſlay each other, as ſoon as they came into Life, they could never try the Experiment how long, and how merrily they might live; therefore, he adviſed them to a Suſpenſion of Arms, that, for the Future, they ſhould chuſe to come into the World with the Help of a couple of Parents, as the Folks of all the other Nations of Animals did, whom, with a little Management, they might make their Slaves, or the Inſtruments of their Diverſion, as we try it with great Succeſs in Stags, Bucks, Hares, Foxes, *&c.* and other Nations in Wolves, Bears, and wild Boars: And I have been told, that the *Mogul*'s Court never makes ſo fine an Appearance as at a grand Lion-hunting, and the *French* King at a grand Hawking, or Setting. The Orator further propoſed, that, in order to this, they ſhould appoint Committees to frame Languages, that they might be able to chat with one another, and to carry on their Affairs by free Conferences, rather than club Muſket, beſides the great Comfort of making Love in fine Speeches to the Fair-Sex: That other Committees ſhould be appointed to invent all the Arts neceſſary for the Convenience and Pleaſure of Life, and, in ſhort, for whatever they had a Mind to; and that, if they did not like it after Trial, they might renew the War, whenever they pleaſed: That, if they would not all of them come into this, for their own Sakes, he deviſed ſuch as were of ſounder Minds, and more comfortable Diſpoſitions, to range themſelves on his Side, and exert, at leaſt, equal Valour in a much better Cauſe, in Defence of the Liberty and Property of human Nature, which the meer Heroes were for overthrowing, only for the Pleaſure of Hacking and Hewing, whereby they would juſtly forfeit all their Pretenſions even to Life itſelf. On this Harangue they all put up their Swords, ſhook Hands together, ſigned the original Contract, and fell to execute all the other Parts of the Scheme. Hence, purſues the *Atheiſt*, it is evident, that the State of Nature is a State of War, that the Majority is the true Decider of Right and Wrong, that *Vox Populi* is the only *Vox Dei* that ſhould be ſuffered to ſpeak, and that it ought always to be revered as ſuch. But the *Deiſt* pretends to mend it a little: He ſays, that a God had ſome Hand in making the Univerſe, but none in governing it, for that were needleſs, Man having Reaſon enough to find out what is fit to be done in all Caſes; ſo that to tell what his Reaſon knows already, is not worth While, and to tell him what his Reaſon does not know, muſt never go down. But that the wiſe Architects of this noble Syſtem, conſider ing that there would be Mobs in the World, on the future Increaſe of Mankind, for at firſt they were all Duke *Trinculo*'s every one of them, whom it would be convenient to keep in Awe, with ſome ſhrewd Device, invented Religion, and Notions of Heaven and Hell in a Life after this: That, in Purſuance of this Piece of Politicks, they choſe Gods to worſhip, Planets, Kings, living and dead, their Pictures, and every Thing in Nature, for Emblems of ſuch; but that none ever thought of making God Almighty one of them, till a deſpicable People, at his own Requeſt, choſe him on a Mountain called *Horeb*, where they made a Contract with each other, the People, of Courſe, reſerving their original Power of Revocation or Diſlike of the Adminiſtration, which they often exerted in Favour of *Baal*, *Rimmon*, *Moluch*, &c. This ingenious Syſtem was the Fruit of all the Studies in Divinity, Law, Philoſophy, and Politicks of one *Tindall*, who was a furious Renegado from Religion to *Popery*, in King *James*'s Time; but, when the Revolution, in 1688, had blaſted the avowed Deſign of carrying on that Cauſe by Storm, he ſoon went a Step further, and, taking a more ſilent Way, he declared for the Rights of Mankind againſt Prieſt-craft, and proceeded ever after againſt the Church by the Sap, and Intelligence with Traytors, if he could find or make any ſuch within her Walls. I have heard from a Confident of the great Biſhop *Burnet*, who had it from his Lordſhip's own Mouth, that he was credibly informed,

informed, at the very Time in *Rome*, that *Innocent the Eleventh* had a moſt deſpicable Opinion of that Prince's Underſtanding, and declared with much Heat, That he ſhould never play a Game for him; he, who began it by ſhewing all his Hand, and bragging what Feats he would do, and yet threw all the Cards up to his Antagoniſt, becauſe he loſt a Trick or two by his own Fault, and then vamped fairly off with himſelf. I have really been told by very ſober Men, and good Judges, that there are many *Popiſh* Strokes in that ſame Book of *Tindall*'s, called *the Rights of the Chriſtian Church*; inſomuch that I cannot help having ſome Fears, that, if genuine Chriſtians were once clearly rooted up, *Popery*, or *Fanataciſm*, might be raiſed inſtead of it: I dread the Omen, and hope that our Magiſtrates will join, to a Man, on the Lord's Side to avert it; for Magiſtrates and Parents muſt be told, that they are not only guilty of their own Sins, but of other Men's alſo, unleſs they exert their utmoſt Abilities to prevent or redreſs them by proper Inſtruction or Correction. Why ſhould the Voice of Authority be a Moment ſilent in the Cauſe of Religion? I have heard, that *inter Arma ſilent Leges*, but we have had a long Calm, ſo that I cannot ſee the leaſt Pretence for entering into the ſhorteſt Ceſſation of Hoſtilities againſt his infernal Mightineſs, or having Meaſures to keep with any of his Confederates.

I declare, my Lord, I can meet with no Satisfaction in the Infidel Schemes, nor can I conceive any more Safety in theſe Originals, of what they call *Religion*, *Law*, or *Government*, than the *Trojans* found in bringing an huge wooden Horſe, with a Belly full of armed *Greeks*, within their Walls, to gariſon the City. So far from any Thing of Light or Order in their Schemes, that they are bound up in Chains of Darkneſs, of Darkneſs that may be felt, where they lie far exiled from the eternal Providence. But I eaſily and clearly underſtand this, that Sin is the Tranſgreſſion of a Law, and that without a Law there could be no Tranſgreſſion. I have examined my own Nature, as much as ever I could, and, if by that I can make any Eſtimate what Sort of a Thing human Nature is, I find it utterly incapable of inventing its own Knowledge, as much ſo, as of creating his own Exiſtence, or forming all its other Faculties and Powers. I remember who taught me every Scrap of that little I know, and I doubt not, but, in your Lordſhip's vaſt Reading, you could name the Authors which furniſhed you with it all. Therefore, ſince I find that all Nations, in all Ages, from the Beginning, have placed all Hopes of Pardon of Sin, in the Subſtitution of ſome other Creature to ſuffer in their Stead; and that this could not poſſibly be the Reſult of human Reaſon, becauſe it is neither reaſonable, nor indeed intelligible, in any other View, but that of its Inſtitution, as a Type of the Death of the Son of God: Therefore, I ſay, that this univerſal Obſervance of expiatory Sacrifices, and of a Prieſthood to offer them up, is an authentick Record of the Divine Original of both, as alſo that Salvation through *Jeſus Chriſt*, the Lamb ſlain from the Foundation of the World. *Jeſus Chriſt*, the ſame Yeſterday, to Day, and for ever, is the only rational Religion of human Nature, the only one that fits it; for I am ſure, that infinite Series of Matter and Motion, Plaſtick Forms, Moral Senſes, Fitneſſes, and Relations, eternally and immutably going on right, for, according to theſe profound Philoſophers and Divines, God himſelf cannot act contrary to, nor break through the unchangeable Nature of theſe Relations, unleſs when Men overturn them, wherein conſiſts all their Moral Evil; all this Stuff, I ſay, can ſatisfy no Underſtanding, can quiet no Conſcience, and as to Moral Evil, however Man and it have become acquainted, I do not ſee how they can ever be ſeparated again, by any of theſe Men's Schemes; I ſee no other Deliverance from the Body of this Death, but in that Victory obtained over Sin and Death by our Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*. And for any Schemes, but the Revealed Will of God, I diſclaim them in the Words of *Moſes*, *Deut.* xxix. 29. *The ſecret Things belong unto the Lord our God; but thoſe Things which are revealed, belong unto us, and to our Children for ever, that we may do all the Words of this Law.*

My Lord, I have ſeen a Book, called *Religio Medici*; I have read, and was well pleaſed with one, called *the Gentleman's Religion*, and have ſeen *the Chriſtian Hero*, and I could wiſh to ſee a very good one, with a Title of *the Soldier's Religion*. Our Life here is called the Chriſtian Warfare, God is the Lord of Hoſts, and Chriſt the great Captain

tain of our Salvation, into whoſe Faith I was baptized, and under whoſe Banner I am ſworn manfully to fight againſt Sin, the World, and the Devil, and to continue his faithful Soldier and Servant unto my Life's End: And God grant that I may keep this ſolemn Vow, which if I do, now in the Time of this mortal Life, while I am a Member of the Church Militant here in Earth, I know that he is faithful and juſt to forgive me my Sins, and to make me a Member of the Church Triumphant in Heaven, which he has purchaſed to himſelf, by the all-ſufficient Merits of his Blood-ſhedding; in which bleſſed Communion of Saints that I may participate, I requeſt your Lordſhip's Prayers, though unknown to you.

*I am ſincere, though inconſiderable,*

*and very much,*

*my Lord,*

*Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient*

*and moſt humble Servant.*

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A Declaration of the Quenes Maieſtie, *Elizabeth*, by the Grace of God, Quene of *England*, *Fraunce*, and *Irelande*, Defendor of the Fayth, *&c.* Conteyning the Cauſes which haue conſtrayned her to arme certeine of her Subiectes, for Defence both of her owne Eſtate, and of the moſte Chriſtian Kyng, *Charles the Nynth*, her good Brother, and his Subiectes. *Septemb.* 1562. Imprinted at *London*, in *Powles Churchyarde*, by *Rycharde Iugge* and *Iohn Cawood*, Printers to the Quenes Maieſtie. *Cum Priuilegio Regiæ Maieſtatis.* In *Quarto*, containing thirteen Pages, black Letter.

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*This political Queen*, Eliſabeth, *having diſcovered, that great Endeavours were carrying on by the* Papiſts *to reſtore their Religion by Force of Arms, under a Pretence of the Queen of* Scotland's *Title to the Crown of* England; *and that the Duke of* Guiſe *was to aſſiſt her rebellious Subjects, with a* French *Army, to execute their Treaſon*; *and that the Duke of* Guiſe, *with the Cardinal of* Lorrain, *had engaged the King of* Navarre, *or* Anthony *of* Bourbon, *to their Support*; *with a Promiſe to guarantee to the ſaid King the Crown of* England, *if he would aſſiſt in dethroning* Eliſabeth; *ſhe reſolved to ſupport the* French Huguenots, *in Oppoſition to the* Guiſes, *and procured for them a favourable Edict, called*, The Edict of January.

*The Duke of* Guiſe, *penetrating into the Queen's Intentions, concerted and aſſiſted in the execrable Maſſacre of* Vaſſy; *which at once deprived the Queen Regent of* France, *and her Son the King, of their Liberty, and obliged the* Huguenots, *or* French Proteſtants, *to deſire Succours from Queen* Eliſabeth; *promiſing to put her in Poſſeſſion of* Havre de Grace, *till ſhe had* Calais *reſtored to the Crown of* England.

*The Queen, glad of this Opportunity to declare againſt the* Guiſes, *agrees to furniſh them with an hundred-thouſand Crowns, and ſix-thouſand Foot; and then publiſhed the following Declaration, or Manifeſto,* viz.

ALTHOUGH the myſerable and afflicted Eſtate of the Realme of *Fraunce* is to be lamented of all *Chryſtien* Princes and Nacions, and requyrethe ſom good Remedie, not only for Preſeruation of the Kyng there, with the Quene his Mother, and the Subiectes of that Realme from Danger and Ruyne; but alſo for the Staye of the reſte of *Chriſtendome* in Peace, and to be free from the lyke Cyuyle Warre, into the whiche, as it appeareth by theſe ſtraunge Dealinges in the ſayde Realme, it is meant the ſame ſhall fall; yet there is no Prince, that hath more iuſte Cauſe to haue Regarde herunto, nor that hath more indifferently and earneſtly intended the Recouery of Quietneſſe and Accorde therin, than the Quenes Maieſtie of this Realme of *Englande*, both by her owne gracious Diſpoſition, and by Aduyſe of her Councell. For, as the Matter is nowe playnly diſcouered to the Worlde, and as her Maieſtie hath proued the ſame ſufficientlye by her owne late Experience, ſhe is not only touched, as other Princes ought to be, with great Compaſſion and Commiſeration for the vnnaturall Abuſyng of the *French* Kyng, her good Brother, by certen of his Subiectes, the Daunger of his Perſon and his Bloud, the lamentable and barbarous Deſtruction, Hauocke, and Spoyle of ſo manye *Chryſtien* innocente People beyonde all Meaſure: But her Maieſtie alſo euidently ſeeth before her Eyes, that, yf ſome good Remedye be not, by Gods Goodneſſe, prouided in Seaſon, the very Fyre, that is nowe kindeled and diſperſed there, is purpoſelye ment and intended to be conueyed and blowen ouer to inflame this her Crowne and her Realme. Whiche greate Peryll, although it be ſo playnly ſene to all wyſe and prouident Men, both at Home and Abrode, that they can not miſlyke her Care and Prouidence to remedye the ſame in Tyme; yet hath her Maieſtie thought not vnmeete to notifie ſome Parte of her Dealynges herin, ſo as it ſhall well appeare howe ſincerely her Maieſtie hath both hytherto proceaded with her Neyghbours, and how playnly and vprightly ſhe is determined to continue.

*Fyrſt*, It hath ben well ſene to the Worlde, howe well diſpoſed her Maieſtie was, euen at the Beginning of her Raigne *, to the Reſtitucion of Peace to *Chriſtendome*, that, for Loue therof, was contented to forbeare for certein Yeres the Reſtitucion † of a Portion of her auncient Dominion, when all other Parties to the ſame Peace, with whom, and by whoſe Alliaunce her Crowne ſuſteyned Loſſe, were immediatly reſtored to the moſt Parte of their owne in Poſſeſſion: And yet it can not be forgotten, within howe ſhort a Space, or rather no Space after, and by whom, and vpon howe greate, euidente, and iuſte Cauſes (aſwell by Meanes of Force and Armes firſt taken, as by other open Attemptes agaynſt her Maieſtie) ſhe was conſtrained to prepare like Armes of Defence only, euen for her whole Crowne and Kingdome, and ioyntly therwith for the Safetie of her nexte Neyghbours ‡ from a playne Tirrannye. And alſo howe ſincerely her Maieſtie proceaded therin ‖, *firſte*, by ſundry Requeſtes and Meanes made to forbeare theyr Attemptes; *next*, by open Declaration of her Intent to be onely for Defence of her ſelfe, and by the whole Handelyng of the Matter; and, *laſtly*, by the Euent and Iſſue of the Cauſe all the Worlde hath clerely vnderſtande.

After which daungerous Troubles pacified, the Quene of *Scottes*, at her Returne to her Countreye, felyng the greate Commoditie herof folowyng; both to her ſelfe and her Realme, and vnderſtandyng the ſincere Dealyng of the Quenes Maieſtie in all her former Actions, dyd by diuers Meanes geue Signification to her Maieſtie, of a greate Deſire to enter with her into a ſtrayghter Kynde of Amitie: Wherunto her Maieſtie, being of her owne Nature much enclined, redely accorded. And howe farre and proſperouſly they both proceded therin by many and ſundry mutuall Offices of Frendſhippe, aſwel the good Wyl ſhewed by her Maieſtie to the Quene of *Scottes*

* 1 *Apryl*, 1550. The Peace made at *Caſteau*, in *Cambreſy*.
† The Towne of *Callayſe*, which was to be reſtored to the Quene of *Englande*.
‡ The *Scots*.
‖ 20 *Apryll*, 1560.

Vncles,

Vncles, the *Guyſes*, and to all her Frendes and Miniſters paſſyng and repaſſyng through this her Realme; as alſo the Accorde of the Enteruiew intended betwixt them both, this laſt Sommer *, hath well declared.

But, in the Middeſt of theſe her Maieſties quiet and peacyble Determinations, ſhe hath ben, to her great Griefe, vtterly diſapoynted; and conſtrayned, for her owne Intereſt, to attende and intermedle in the Pacification of theſe great Troubles in *Fraunce* neare to her Realme, the ſame beyng ſtyrred vp by ſuche, as both were her laſte manifeſt greate Enemies, and haue alſo (they know howe) continued the Cauſe of Miſtruſt tyl this Day, by manifeſt Argumentes of Iniuſtice, which her Maieſtie is content to conceale, for the great Affection that ſhe beareth to the *Scottyſhe* Quene. *Fyrſte*, Her Maieſtie at the Beginning, doubting, by the Encreaſe of theſe *Frenche* Troubles, that not onely that Realme ſhould fall into Daunger of Ruyne † by Diuiſion, as it nowe is; but alſo that the reſte of *Chriſtendome*, and ſpecially her owne Realme, both for the Neareneſſe thereto, and for the Reſpectes of them which were the principall Auctʜours and Parties in theſe Troubles, ſhoulde be alſo diſturbed and brought to Daunger; vſed all the Meanes that might be, by Meſſages, by Solicitations, by Aduyſe, yea, by a ſpeciall Ambaſſade ‡ of a Perſon of good Credite, to haue ſome Mediation made betwixt theſe Parties beyng at Controuerſie. But ſuche was the Policie and Violence of the one Partie in haſtye Proceadyng, euen at the Firſte, as no Mediation coulde be harde of, or allowed. And yet coulde not her Maieſtie diſcontinue her good Intent, but, ſeyng the Cruelties encreaſe, the Bloudſheddyng and Murders continue; yea, which was moſt peryllous, the yonge Kyng, and the Quene his Mother, being ſodeynlye aſſayled, and founde without Force, were directed and drawen altogether, by the verye Auctʜours of the Troubles, to ſuffer theyr Name and Auctʜoritie to be abuſed, euen to the Kyllynge of the Kynges owne vnarmed innocente People, the Spoylyng of his ryche Townes, the Breakyng of his beſt aduyſed Edictes, the Perſecutyng of his owne Bloud and his Nobilitie, the Deſtroying of his faithfull approued ‖ Seruauntes, with many ſuche other Heapes of Miſchiefes; and all theſe for no o her Cauſe, but for the particuler Appetites of ſome, and to breake with Violence the Ordinaunces § of the Realme, ſpecyallye thoſe which were lately deuyſed by the long and great Councell of the Realme, both for Quietneſſe in Matters of Religion, and for the Reliefe of the Kynges Eſtate diuers Wayes **.

And, *Finally*, her Maieſtie vnderſtandyng very certeinly of an open Deſtruction and Subuertion †† there, put already in Vre, and lykewyſe intended againſt all States and Perſons profeſſyng the Goſpell Abroade, her Maieſtie thought it very nedefull to thynke of ſome other Meanes of more Efficacie to induce the Auctʜours of thoſe Troubles to geue Eare to ſome reaſonable Mocions of Accorde, and not to aduenture the Ruyne of a Realme for theyr particuler Appetites; and therefore determined ‡‡ to ſende a ſolempne Ambaſſade of a certeine Numbre of Perſonages of her Councell, being of great Auctʜoritie, Experience, and Indifferencie, to repayre into *Fraunce*, to aſſay howe ſome Staye myght be reaſonably deuyſed for theſe Extremities, by preſeruyng of both Partes indifferently, to the Seruice of the Kyng theyr Soueraigne, according to theyr Eſtates of Byrth and Callyng.

But thys Maner of Proceadyng alſo could no wyſe be lyked nor allowed, nether coulde Anſwere be hadde hereunto from the good yonge Kyng, nor the timerous Quene his good Mother, without the onely Direction of that Part, which both began and continued the Troubles from the Begynnyng.

And whyleſt her Maieſtie was thus well occupyed, meanyng principallye the Weale and Honour of the Kyng, her good Brother; and, *ſecondly*, well towardes both the Parties beyng at Deuiſion, without the Preiudice of eyther; a playne contrary Courſe and Proceadyng was vſed againſt her Maieſtie, by the

* 1562. † 1 *March*, 1562. The Slaughter of *Voſſy*. ‡ 29 *Aprill*, 1562, Syr *Henry Sidney*, Lord Preſident in *Wales*. ‖ *Proteſtant*. § Of the great Parliament at *Orleans*, in *Jan.* 1560.

** The Edict of 17 *Jan.* 1562. †† The Slaughters at *Vaſſy*, *Paris*, *Sens*, *Tholoſe*, *Blois*, *Tours*, *Angers*, and other Places, by credible Eſtimation reported out of *Fraunce*, to the Number of an hundred thouſand Perſons, between the 1ſt of *March* and the 20th of *Auguſt* laſt.

‡‡ 26 *July*, 1562.

whiche

whiche was made manifeſt what was further ment and intended by them that had ſo often tymes refuſed to heare her Maieſtie ſpeake for Mediation and Accorde. All her Maieſties Subiectes and Marchauntes, aſwell of her Cities of *London* and *Exceſter*, as of other Porte Townes in the *Weſt* Partes of the Realme, beyng at that very Tyme * in diuers Partes of the Countrey of *Bryttayne*, reſortyng thyther onely for Trade of Marchaundizes, and ready to returne to theyr owne Portes, were in the ſame Tyme † apprehended, ſpoyled, miſerably impriſoned; yea, ſuch, as ſought to defend themſelues, cruelly kylled, theyr Shyppes taken, theyr Goodes and Marchaundize ſeaſed, and nothyng ſayde nor deuyſed to charge them, but onely furiouſlye callyng them al *Hugenotz*: A Word, though very ſtrange and folyſhe to many of the honeſt Marchauntes and poore Maryners, yet fully ſufficient to declare from whence theſe Commaundementes came, and what their Intent is to proſecute, when theyr Tyme ſhall ſerue them. Neither were theſe Spoyles ſmall or few, but in Value and Numbre greate and many; neither done by private Furye, but by publique Officers, who were alſo mainteined by Gouernours of the Countreys; yea, none of her Maieſties Subiectes were there ſpared, that coulde be taken, though ſome eſcaped with great Hazarde. Well; herof Complaint was made ‡, where it ought to be, but therin hath ben as ſmall Regard had, as was before for Robbyng of her Maieſties owne Meſſengers with her Letters from her Embaſſadour, and yet the Fact vnpunyſhed, without any Satisfaction for the ſame: Wherin her Maieſtie ſurely noteth and pitieth the Lacke, rather of Auctoritie, then of good Wyll, in the Kyng, or the Quene his Mother, or the Kyng of *Nauarre* his Lieuetenaunt; but ſeethe manifeſtly, by this, and by al other Proceadinges, in what harde Tearmes the Eſtate of the yong Kyng is ſet, that can neither be permitted to preſerue his owne People and Seruauntes, his owne Lawes and Ordinaunces, neither to aunſwere to other Princes and People, in Fourme of Iuſtice, that which he ought to do.

Vpon theſe, and other former daungerous Enterpriſes agaynſte her Maieſtie and her Crowne, may it well appeare, to all Perſons of indifferent Iudgement, howe theſe violent Proceadynges in *Fraunce*, conducted at this Tyme by the Duke of *Guyſe* and his Adherentes, do touch the Quenes Maieſtie much nearer for her State and Realme, then anye other Prince of *Chriſtendome*. Wherfore, ſeyng the Auctoritie of the King, and the Quene his Mother, with theyr quiet good Councellours, can not at this Tyme haue Place to direct theyr Affayres, neyther towardes theyr owne People, nor towardes theyr Neyghbours; neither can any Mediation, ſought by her Maieſtie, for Concorde, be allowed; but, contrarywiſe, the tender Perſons of the King, and the Quene his Mother, be manifeſtlye abuſed, and daungerouſlye caried about, for the particuler Pleaſures onely of a fewe Perſons, and ſpecially thoſe of *Guyſe*, to waſte the Kinges Countreys, to ſacke and ſpoyle his ryche and greate Townes, to kyll and murder the Multitude of his good and true Subiectes: And, ſeyng alſo the Quarrell manifeſtly publyſhed, and proſecuted, both by Wrytyng and otherwyſe, by them, is to ſubuert the whole Profeſſion of true ‖ Religion through *Chriſtendome* by Force, without Mercy, and thereby to ſtirre vp a Ciuile blouddy lamentable Warre in all *Chriſtendome*. Laſtly, ſeyng they, whiche be the Auctheurs and Mainteyners of all theſe Diuiſions, are well knowen to the Worlde to be the ſame that when Tyme ſerued them, bent theyr whole Endeuours to offend and diminiſhe the Crowne and Dignitie of this Realme of *Englande* §; and of late Tyme, for the Exaltation of theyr particuler Houſe, deuyſed vniuſtly to aſſaile the whole Crowne of *Englande* ** by ſundry Wayes; though, by Gods Goodnes, theyr Practiſes and Counſels turned, for that Tyme, to theyr owne Confuſion, as, by the ſame Goodnes, they ſhall at all Tymes hereafter.

Howe may her Maieſtie, without Note of manifeſt Vnkyndnes to her deare yonge Brother and Confederat; of Vnmercifulnes to her next Neighbours, his Subiectes; of Vncarefulnes to the common Quiet of *Chriſtendome*;

* 30 *July*, † 19 *Aug.* 1562. ‡ 20 *Aug.* 1562. ‖ *Proteſtant* and *Euangelical*. § By denying the Reſtitution of *Calice*. ** From 1560, there were *French* Armies ſent by Way of *Scotlande*, and other Deuyſes, to clayme the Crowne of *Englande*, &c.

and,

and, laſtly, whiche is neareſt to her ſelfe, of mere Negligence to the Suertie of her owne Eſtate, her Countrey, and People, ſuffer theſe fewe troubleſome Men, *firſte*, to deſtroye and ſhedde the Bloud of a Number of *Chryſtien* People, whoſe Bloud, by Nearneſſe of Place to her Maieſties Realme, may be ſtopped, or ſome wyſe ſaued: *Nexte*, to ſurpriſe and take ſuch Townes and Hauens, whereby theyr former long intended and manyfeſt Practiſes agaynſt the Crowne of this Realme may be moſt eaſyly for them, and daungerouſly for this Realme, put in Vre and Execution. Wherfore, for theſe reaſonable, evident, vrgent, and neceſſary Conſiderations, and not without the lamentable and continuall Requeſt of the *Frenche* Kynges Subiectes, her Maieſties nexte Neyghbours, crying to her Maieſtie onelye for Defence of themſelues, their Portes, and Townes, from Tiranny and Subuertion, duryng this theyr Kynges Minoritie, or, at the leaſt, duryng this his Vnhabilitie to pacifie theſe Troubles; her Maieſtie hath put certayne Numbres of her Subiectes in Order, both by Sea and Land, to ſaue ſome Parte of her good Brothers innocent People from this Tiranny, Slaughter, and Ruyne; and to preſerue ſome ſpeciall Townes and Portes of Importaunce for the Kyng, her good Brother, that they come not into the Poſſeſſion of them; who, yf they hadde them, myght more eaſely therby proſecute theyr old particuler Practiſes againſt this Realme, as in Tymes lately paſte they dyd manifeſtly attempte; wherby of Neceſſitie they muſte nedes endaunger the Perpetuitie of the Peace betwixt the *Frenche* Kyng and her Maieſtie, and ſo, conſequentlye, though agaynſte the Meanyng of the Kyng, depriue her Maieſtie of her good Ryght to her Towne of *Callyce*, and the Membres thereof, wherof it] behoueth her Maieſtie, as Thinges be handled, to haue good Regarde. And in this Sort her Maieſtie doubteth not, but the Sinceritie of her Doynges, tendyng onely to procure *Chryſtien* Quietnes, by ſauing of *Chryſtien* Bloud, ſhal wel pleaſe Almyghtie God; content the Kyng her good Brother, when he ſhal be in Eſtate and Libertie, to ponder the ſame indifferentlye; and ſerue alſo for the iuſte and naturall Defence of her ſelfe, her People, and Countreys; and, *finallye*, by Gods Grace, ſhal eſtablyſhe the Continuaunce of ſome more aſſured Peace and Concorde betwixt both theyr Maieſties and Countreys, ſo as eyther of them quietly enioy and rule theyr own. And, in the meane Time, her Maieſtie aſſureth the ſayde Kyng, the Quene his Mother, the Kyng of *Navare*, and al his good Councellours and Subiectes, that, whatſoeuer anye malicious or miſcontented Perſon ſhall ſiniſterly report of her Intent and Doynges, her Maieſtie meaneth nothing herin, but ſincerely, and as the Neceſſitie of the Time and Cauſe requireth, without Vſurpyng any Thyng, or Doyng Wrong or Violence towardes any the *French* Kynges Subiectes; proteſting before God and all the Worlde, that her Meanyng is for a neceſſary Defence onely of the true and good Subiectes of the *Frenche* Kyng, whiche otherwyſe apparantly, in this troubleſome Tyme, ſhoulde be violentlye kylled or deſtroyed: And ſo, conſequentlye, her Maieſtie intendeth, by al Maner of Meanes poſſible, to kepe and continue good Peace with the ſayde Kyng and all his Countreys, and to neglect no reaſonable Meanes, that may procure Libertie to hym ſelfe, and Quietneſſe betwixt his Subiectes; which then ſhall ſucceede, when it ſhall pleaſe Almyghtye God to geue to the firſt and chiefe Aucthours * of theſe Troubles Grace to content them ſelues with theyr owne Eſtates, and to lyue within the Compaſſe of theyr Degrees, lyke quiet Subiectes, and Fauourers of the common Peace and Tranquillitie of *Chriſtendome*: A Matter more neceſſarye at this Tyme to be ſought for, rather by Coniunction of *Chriſten* Princes and States in Vnitie of Mynde, and Loue of Peace and Concorde, then in this Sorte by Sworde and Fyre, by priuate Deuiſes and ſecrete Factions to ſtirre a Deuiſion and Ciuile Warre in *Chriſtendome*, vnder the Cloke and Pretence of Religion.

* The *Guiſes*.

A Diſco-

# A Diſcouerie of the Treaſons practiſed and attempted againſt the Queenes Maieſtie and the Realme, by *Francis Throckmorton*, who was for the ſame arraigned and condemned in *Guyld-hall*, in the Citie of *London*, the one and twentie Day of *May* laſt paſt. 1584. *Quarto*, containing twenty-eight Pages.

*The following Narration has in Part been copied both by* Hollingſhead *and* Camden, *yet not without the Omiſſion of ſeveral uſeful and neceſſary Particulars to illuſtrate this Part of the* Engliſh *Hiſtory; which may be ſupplied by preſerving this true and genuine Account, there is ſufficient Reaſon to ſuppoſe was publiſhed by Authority.*

*When this Traytor was brought upon his Tryal, he denied what he had confeſſed at his Examination, affirming, as* Stow *relates, that he had invented it on Purpoſe to avoid the Rack. But, ſays* Camden, *after his Condemnation, upon the Evidence of his own Letters to the Queen of* Scots, *and the Papers found in his Coffers, he owned all, and even made a more circumſtantial Declaration than at firſt; and yet, in Favour to the Queen of* Scots, *leſt ſuch a Confeſſion ſhould influence the People againſt her Liberty, he again retracted and denied whatever he had confeſſed; to diſcover which Prevarication, and to prevent any Miſapprèhenſions of the Juſtice of his Tryal and Execution, this following true and faithful Account was publiſhed.*

## *To the* READER.

THere is in this ſhort Diſcourſe deliuered vnto thee, gentle Reader, a true Report of the Treaſons and Practiſes of *Francis Throckmorton*, and his Complices againſt the Queenes Maieſtie and the Realme; which comming to my Handes by Chance from a Gentleman, to whom it was ſent into the Countrey, I haue preſumed to commit the ſame to the Print, to the Ende that ſuch as in Opinion and Conceite are not ſatisfied, touching the Matters proued againſt him, and the Courſe of proceeding helde with him, might by the Sight thereof, if Trueth and Reaſon may perſwade them, bee reſolued of all ſuch Doubtes and Scruples as haue riſen by the variable Reportes made of the Qualitie of his Offences, and the Maner of Dealing vſed towards him; for the better Knowledge whereof, I referre thee to the Declaration following, and ſo commit thee to God.

## *A Letter ſent from a Gentleman of* Lions-Inne, *to his Friend, concerning* Francis Throckmorton, *who was arraigned and condemned of high Treaſon.*

'SYR, with my laſt Letters of the Firſt 'of *June*, I ſent vnto you in Writing 'the Arraignement of *Francis Throck-* 'morton, penned by a Gentleman of good 'Skill and Credite, being preſent at the ſame, 'and, becauſe it hath ſeemed vnto me, that 'here is ſome Scruple in your Conceite touch- 'ing the Sufficiencie of the Euidence produced

'againſt

'againſt him, I haue, for your better Satis-
'faction, endeuoured to attaine to more par-
'ticular Knowledge thereof, and by the Meanes
'of a ſecret Friend, there is come vnto my
'Hands a verie perfect Declaration of the
'whole Proceedings, helde by ſuch as were
'in Commiſſion for the Examining of him,
'before his Triall, containing the materiall
'Points of the Treaſons by him confeſſed;
'whereunto there is annexed a Submiſſion writ-
'ten by *Francis Throckmorton* to the Queenes
'Maieſtie, the Fourth of *June*, whereby he
'acknowledgeth that he hath vntruly and vn-
'duetifully denied his former Confeſſions, and
'vnder his own Hand Writing hath eftſoones
'repeated and confeſſed the ſame Confeſſions
'to be true (ſome fewe Things onely detract-
'ed, but of no Moment) which may in mine
'Opinion remooue all Matter of Doubt or
'Scruple conceiued by you or by any other of
'his iuſt Condemnation. You know howe
'well I haue always loued the Man, and de-
'lighted to converſe with him in Reſpect of
'the good Partes, wherewith he was indued,
'and of the pleaſant Humour that for the moſt
'Part did poſſeſſe him when hee came in
'Companie of Friendes, yeelding at no Time
'(to my Seeing) any Shew or Suſpition, to
'haue been a Dealer in Matters of that Qua-
'lity; and therefore, I cannot but pitie his
'Misfortune the more, wiſhing all Men to
'make Profite of his Fal, and to note, that
'Miſerie and Calamitie of this Kinde doeth
'for the moſt Part followe ſuch as forget
'God, to whoſe Protection I committe you.

From *Lyon's* Inne, the 15 of *June*, 1584.

*Your aſſured Friend,*

Q. Z.

## *A true and perfect Declaration of the Treaſons practiſed and attempted by* Francis Throckmorton, *late of* London, *againſt the Queenes Maieſtie and the Realme.*

WHereas there haue bene very lewde and ſlaunderous Bruites and Reportes given out, of the due and orderly Proceedings held with *Francis Throckmorton*, lately arraigned and condemned of high Treaſon at the *Guild-hall* in *London* the xxi. Day of *May* laſt, whereby ſuch as are euill affected toward her Maieſtie, and the preſent Gouernment, haue indeuoured falſely and iniuriouſly to charge her Maieſtie and her faithfull Miniſters with Crueltie and Iniuſtice vſed againſt the ſaid *Throckmorton*, by extorting from him by Torture ſuch Confeſſions as he hath made againſt himſelfe, and by inforcing the ſame to make them lawful Euidence to conuict him of the Treaſons therein ſpecified: Albeit her Maieſties Subiects in General, calling to Mind the milde and temperate Courſe ſhe hath helde all the Time of her moſt happie Reigne, might rather impute her Clemencie and Lenitie vſed towards all Sortes of Offenders to a Kinde of Fault, then tax her with the Contrarie; yet ſuch, as allowe of Practiſes and Treaſons againſt her Maieſtie, do alwayes interprete both of the one and of the other, according to the particular Affections that doe poſſeſſe them, that is, to the worſt. And foraſmuch as the Caſe of *Throckmorton*, at this Time, hath bene Subiect to their ſiniſter Conſtructions, and conſidering that Lies and falſe Bruites caſt Abroad are moſt commonly beleeued, vntil they be controlled by the Trueth; it hath bene thought expedient, in this ſhort Diſcourſe, to deliuer vnto your View and Conſideration a true and perfect Declaration of the Treaſons practiſed and attempted by the ſaid *Throckmorton* againſt her Maieſtie and the Realme, by him confeſſed before his Arraignement, whereby her Maieſtie was iuſtly and in Reaſon perſwaded to put him to his Triall. You ſhall likewiſe perceiue what Courſe hath bene helde with him by her Commiſſioners to bring him to confeſſe the Trueth; with what Impudencie, and how falſely he hath denied his Sayings and Confeſſions: And *laſtly*, how by a new Submiſſion and Confeſſion of his ſaid Treaſons, ſithens his Condemnation, he endeuoureth to ſatisfie her Maieſtie, and to ſhew the Reaſons that moued him to denie the firſt, which he affirmeth and confirmeth by the laſt; which may in Reaſon ſatisfie, though not all, yet ſuch as are not foreſtalled, or rather forepoyſoned and infected with the Lies and Vntruths alreadie ſpred and deliuered, in Fauour of the Traitor and his Treaſons. You ſhall therefore vnderſtand, that the Cauſe

of

of his Apprehenſion grewe firſt vpon ſecret Intelligence giuen to the Queenes Maieſtie, that he was a priuie Conueiour and Receiuour of Letters, to, and from the *Scottiſh* Queene *, vpon which Information neuertheleſſe diuers Moneths were ſuffered to paſſe on, before he was called to anſwere the Matter, to the End there might ſome Proofe more apparant be had to charge him therewith directly; which ſhortly after fell out, and thereupon there were ſent vnto his Houſes in *London*, and at *Leuſham* in *Kent*, to ſearch and apprehend him, certain Gentlemen of no meane Credite and Reputation; of whom, two were ſent to his Houſe by *Poules-wharfe*, where he was apprehended, and ſo by one of them conuayed preſently away, the other remaining in the Chamber to make Search for Papers, Writings, *&c.* which might give Proofe of his ſuſpected Practiſes.

In that Search, there were found the two Papers containing the Names of certain Catholique Noblemen and Gentlemen, expreſſing the Hauens for landing of forraine Forces, with other Particularities in the ſaid Papers mentioned; the one written in the *Secretarie* Hand, which he at the Barre confeſſed to be his owne Hand Writing; and the other in the *Romane* Hand, which he denied to be his, and would not ſhewe how the ſame came vnto his Hands: Howbeit in his Examinations he hath confeſſed them both to be his owne Hand Writing, and ſo they are in Trueth. There were alſo found, among other of his Papers, twelve Pedigrees of the Diſcent of the Crowne of *England*, printed and publiſhed by the Biſhop of *Roſſe*, in the Defence of the pretended Title of the *Scottiſh* Queene, his Miſtreſſe, with certaine infamous Libelles againſt her Maieſtie, printed and publiſhed beyond the Seas; which being found in the Hands of a Man ſo evil affected, comparing the ſame with his Doings and Practiſes againſt her Maieſtie, you wil iudge the Purpoſe wherefore he kept them.

Shortly after his Apprehenſion, hee was examined by ſome of her Maieſties Priuie-Counſell, how he came by the ſaid two Papers of the Hauens, and he moſt impudently denied with many Proteſtations, that he ever ſawe them, affirming they were none of his, but were *foiſted in* (as he termed it) among his Papers, by the Gentleman, that ſearched his Houſe: Notwithſtanding being more earneſtly preſſed to confeſſe the Trueth, he ſayd they had been left he (knew not how) in his Chamber by a Man of his, who long before was departed out of the Realme, named *Edward Rogers*, alias *Nuttebie*, by whome they were written. And, to make this Deuice to carie ſome Colour of Trueth, after his Committing to the *Tower*, he found the Meanes to get three Cards, on the Backeſide of which Cardes he wrote to his Brother *George Throckmorton*, to this Effect: 'I have bene examined, by 'whom the two Papers, conteining the Names 'of certaine Noblemen and Gentlemen, and 'of Hauens, *&c.* were written; and I haue 'alleaged them to haue bene written by *Ed-* 'ward *Nuttebie* my Man, of whoſe Hand 'Writing you knowe them to be:' Meaning by this Deuice to have had his Brother confirme his Falſehode. Theſe Cardes were intercepted, and thereby the Suſpition before conceiued of his Practiſes increaſed, whereupon, as vpon other iuſt Cauſe and Matter againſt him, hauing bin ſundrie Times brought before ſome of the principall Perſonages of her Maieſties moſt honorable Privie-Counſell, and by them with all Induſtrie examined, and perſwaded in very milde and charitable Maner, to confeſſe the Trueth, promiſing to procure Pardon for him, in Caſe he would bewray the Depth of his Practiſes; but, no Perſuaſion preuailing, her Maieſtie thought it agreeable with good Pollicie, and the Safetie of her Royal Perſon and State, to commit him ouer the Hands of ſome of her learned Counſell and others her faithfull Seruants and Miniſters, with Commiſſion to them, to aſſay by Torture to drawe from him the Trueth of the Matters appearing ſo waightie as to concerne the Inuading of the Realme, *&c.* Theſe Men by Vertue of that Commiſſion, proceeded with him, firſt as the Counſell had formerly done, by Way of Perſuaſion, to induce him to confeſſe; but, finding that Courſe not to preuaile, they were conſtrained to commit him to ſuch as are vſually appointed in the *Towre* to handle the Racke, by whom he was layd vpon the ſame, and ſomewhat pinched, although not much; for, at the End of three Days following, he had recouered himſelfe, and was in as good Plight as before the Time of his Racking, which if

* *Mary.*

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it had then or any other Time bene miniſtred vnto him with that Violence, that hee and his Favourers haue indeuoured ſlaunderouſly to giue out, the Signes thereof would have appeared vpon his Limmes for many Yeeres. At this firſt Time of Torture, he would confeſſe nothing, but continued in his former Obſtinacie and Deniall of the Trueth. The ſecond Time that he was put to the Racke, before hee was ſtrayned vp to any Purpoſe, hee yeelded to confeſſe any Thing, he knewe, in the Matters obiected againſt him; whereupon he was looſed, and then the Commiſſioners proceeded with him according to ſuch Interrogatories as had bene deliuered vnto them, which for the more Breuitie ſhall here bee omitted, the Intent of this Declaration tending onely to diſcouer vnto you the Treaſons, and treacherous Dealings of the ſaid *Francis Throckmorton*, aſwell before as ſithens his Impriſonment, for your better Knowledge of the Man, and Manifeſtation of the due and iuſt Proceedings held with him by her Maieſties Commiſſioners, appointed to that Seruice. And here you are to note, that when hee was firſt preſſed to diſcouer by whome the Plottes of the Hauens were ſette downe, and to what Purpoſe, he began (without any further Interrogation miniſtred) by Way of an Hiſtoricall Narration, to declare that, at his being at *Spaw* in the Countrie of *Leige* certaine Yeres paſt, he entred into Conference with one *Ienney*, a notorious knowen Traitor, touching the Altering of the State of the Realme here, and how the ſame might be attempted by forraine Inuaſion, and to the like Effect had ſundrie Conferences with Sir *Francis Engleſield* * in the *Low-Countreys*, who daily ſolicited the *Spaniſh* King in *Spaine*, and his Gouernours in the ſaid Countreyes, to attempt the Inuading of the Realme, continued a Courſe of practiſing againſt her Maieſtie and the State, by Letters betweene Sir *Francis Engleſield* and himſelfe, vntill within theſe two Yeres laſt paſt, and that he did, from Time to Time, acquaint Sir *John Throckmorton* †, his late Father, with his traiterous Practiſes who, as he ſaid, ſeeing no Probabilitie of Succeſſe in them, diſſuaded him from any further Medling with thoſe Practiſes.

He hath further confeſſed, that he vſed his Fathers Aduiſe and Opinion in ſetting downe the Names of the *Catholique* Noblemen and Gentlemen, and did acquaint him with the Deſcription of the Hauens for the Landing of Forces, which he conceiued, and put in Writing, onely by View of the Mappe, and not by particular Sight or Suruey of the ſaid Hauens.

*Item*, he hath alſo confeſſed, that vpon the Intermiſſion of writing of Letters, and the accuſtomed Intelligences paſſed betweene Sir *Francis Engleſield* and him, he was made acquainted by his Brother *Thomas Throckmorton*, by Letters and Conference, and by *Thomas Morgan*, by Letters (two of the principall Confederates and Workers of theſe Treaſons reſiding in *France*) with a reſolute Determination agreed on by the *Scottiſh* Queene and her Confederates in *France*, and in other forreine Partes, and alſo in *Englande*, for the Inuading of the Realme.

That the Duke of *Guyſe* ſhould be the principal Leader and Executer of that Inuaſion.

That the Pretention, which ſhoulde be publiquely notified, ſhould be to deliuer the *Scottiſh* Queene to Libertie, and to procure, euen by Force, from the Queenes Maieſtie a Tolerance in Religion, for the pretended *Catholiques*: But the Intention, the Bottome whereof ſhould not at the firſt be made knowen to all Men, ſhoulde be, vpon the Queenes Maieſties Reſiſtance, to remooue her Maieſtie from her Crowne and State.

That the Duke of *Guyſe* had prepared the Forces, but there wanted *two* Things, Money, and the Aſſiſtance of a conuenient Partie in *England*, to ioyne with the forraine Forces, and a *third* Thing, how to ſet the *Scottiſh* Queene at Libertie without Perill of her Perſon.

For, the *firſt* Thing wanting, *viz.* Money, Meſſengers were ſent from forraine Parts both to *Rome* and *Spaine*, and their Returne daily expected to their Liking: And the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador ‡, to encourage the *Engliſh* to

* Who had been of Queen *Mary*'s Privy-Council.

† Chief Juſtice of *Cheſter*; but lately put out of the Commiſſion; *Camden*, p. 497.

‡ *Mendoza*, who upon this Information was deſired to come to the Council, where, not being able to gainſay what *Throgmorton* had depoſed, he behaved very inſolently by Way of Recrimination, and was in a few Days after ordered to depart the Kingdom. *Camden.*

ioyne both in Purſe and Perſon, did giue out, that the King his Maſter would not onely make ſome notable Attempt againſt *Englande*, but alſo would bear halfe the Charge of the Enterpriſe. For the *ſeconde* Thing, *viz.* the Preparing of a ſufficient Partie in *England*, to receiue and to ioyne with the forraine Forces, one eſpeciall Meſſenger was ſent ouer into *England* in *Auguſt* laſt, vnder a counterfaite Name, from the Confederates in *France*, to ſignifie the Plotte and Preparation there, and to ſollicite the ſame here.

That *Thomas Throckmorton*, his Brother, made him priuie to his Negotiation, at his laſt being here in *England*, and that thereupon *Francis Throckmorton* tooke vpon him to be a Follower, and Meane for the effectuating thereof among the Confederates in *England*, with the Help of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour, whom he inſtructed howe, and with whome to deale, for the Preparing of a conuenient Partie heere within the Realme, for that himſelfe woulde not be ſeene to be a Sounder of Men, leſt hee might be diſcouered, and ſo endanger himſelfe and the Enterpriſe, knowing that the Ambaſſadour, being a publique Perſon, might ſafelie deale therein without Perill.

That the Duke of *Guyſe*, and other Heads of the Enterprize, had refuſed ſome Landing Places, and made ſpeciall Choice of *Suſſex*, and about *Arundel* in *Suſſex*, both for the neere Cutte from the Parts of *Fraunce*, where the Duke did, or beſt could aſſemble his Force, and for the Opportunitie of aſſured Perſons to giue Aſſiſtance, *&c.*

That hee, taking vpon him the Purſuite of this Courſe, ſhewed the whole Plotte and Deuiſe of the Hauens for Landing to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour, who did incourage him therein, he promiſing, that, if hee might haue Reſpite vntill the next Spring, the ſame ſhould be done more exactly.

That, at the Time of *Thomas Throckmortons* being here, leſt the Negotiation of the Enterpriſe, by ſome Caſualtie, might faile in the only Hand of one Man, *Thomas Throckmorton*, there was alſo, from the Confederates, ſent ouer into *Suſſex Charles Paget*, vnder the Name of *Mope*, alias *Spring*; and thereof an Aduertiſement courtly ſent to *Thomas Throckmorton*, both that *Thomas* might underſtande it, and not be offended that another was ioined with him in his Labour.

That the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour, by Aduertiſements from the Confederates, was made priuie to this Coming of *Charles Paget*, vnder the Name of *Mope*, and yet knowen to him to be *Charles Paget*.

That the ſayde Ambaſſadour did, according to his ſayde Aduertiſements, knowe and affirme, that *Charles Paget* was come ouer to view the Hauens and Countrey for Landing of ſuch forraine Forces about *Arundell*, and ſpecially to ſound and conferre with certaine principall Perſons for Aſſiſtance.

The ſame Ambaſſadour alſo knewe and affirmed, that *Charles Paget* had accordingly done his Meſſage, and had ſpoken with ſome principall Perſons heere, according to his Commiſſion, and was returned.

Hee moreouer confeſſed, that there was a Deuice betweene the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour and him; howe ſuch principall Recuſants here within the Realme, as were in the Commiſſion of the Peace in ſundrie Counties, might, vpon the firſt Bruite of the landing of forraine Forces, vnder Colour and Pretext of their Authoritie, and the Defence of her Maieſtie, leuie Men, whome they might after ioyne to the forraine Forces, and conuert them againſt her Maieſtie.

In theſe fewe Articles is briefly compriſed the whole Effect of his Confeſſion, made at large, without any Interrogatorie particularly miniſtred, other then vpon the two Papers before mencioned, contayning the Names of Men and Hauens. And heere you are to note, that, at the Time of his Apprehenſion, there was no Knowledge or Doubt had of theſe Treaſons, or of his Priuitie vnto them, but onely an Information and Suſpition deliuered and conceiued of ſome Practiſe betweene him and the *Scottiſh* Queene, as is before mentioned: For the Diſcouering whereof, after he had bene ſundrie Times, vpon his Alleagaunce, commanded to declare his Doings, in conueying and receyuing of Letters to and from her, he did voluntarily confeſſe, that he had written diuers Letters vnto her, and had conueyed many to and fro, betweene her and *Thomas Morgan* in *Fraunce*, by whoſe Meanes he was firſt made knowne vnto her, and that he had receiued as many Letters from her. Hee alſo declared the Effect of his Letters to her, and of hers to him: Which Letters betweene them were alwaies written in Cipher, and the Cipher, with the Nullities and

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Markes for Names of Princes and Counſailors, hee ſent vnto the Queenes Maieſty, written with his own Hand. He alſo deliuered the Names of ſome, by whome hee conueyed his Letters to the *Scottiſh* Queene, as by one *Godfrey Fulgeam*, who fled the Realme immediately vpon *Throckmorton*'s Apprehenſion, and one other Perſon, whom he deſcribed by his Stature, Shape, and Apparell, and the Man, ſithens apprehended and examined, hath confeſſed the ſame: The Man's Name is *William Ardington*.

The Summe and Effect of the moſt Part of theſe Confeſſions, although they were, at the Time of his Arraignement, opened and dilated by her Maieſties Sergeant, Atturney, and Sollicitor-Generall, at the Barre, and therefore ſeeme not needfull to be repeated heere; yet, becauſe the Purpoſe of this Diſcourſe is to ſhew ſufficient Proofe, that the Matters, contained in his ſayde Confeſſions, are neither falſe nor fayned (as *Frauncis Throckmorton* moſt impudently affirmed at his Triall, alleadging, that they were meere Inuentions of himſelfe, by Policie to auoyde the Torture) they haue bene here inſerted, to the Ende you may the better iudge of the Proofes, Preſumptions, and Circumſtances folowing, by comparing the Matters with their Accidents, and conſequently ſee the Falſehoode of the Traitor, the iuſt and honourable Proceedings of her Maieſtie, and the honeſt and loyall Endeuours of her Miniſters imployed in the Diſcouering of the Treaſons.

*Firſt*, it is true, and not denied by himſelfe, that he was at *Spaw*, about the Time by him mencioned, and had Conference with *Ienney* in that Place, and with Sir *Francis Enolefield* in *Flaunders*, and that he hath written Letters to Sir *Frauncis*, and receiued Letters from him: For, if he ſhould denie the ſame, he were to be conuinced by good Proofe, for it hath bin noted in him, by many of his Countrey-men *Engliſh* Subiects, that, both in thoſe Parts and in *Fraunce*, he did continually aſſociate himſelfe with *Engliſh* Rebels and Fugitiues. If then you conſider with whome he hath conuerſed beyond the Seas, and compare his Religion with theirs, you will iudge of his Conuerſation accordingly: And it is to be ſuppoſed, that thoſe Men, knowen to be continuall Practiſers againſt the Queenes Maieſtie and this Realme, from whence, for their Treaſons and vnnaturall Demeanures, they are worthily baniſhed, will not, in their Conuenticles and Meetings, forget to bethinke them of their Baniſhment, and howe they might be reſtored to their Countrey, whereunto no Deſert in her Maieſties Life Time (which God long continue) can wel (without her Maieſties great Mercie) reſtore them. Then, I pray you, what Conferences might M. *Throckmorton* haue with Sir *Francis Englefield*, with *Ienney*, with *Liggons*, with *Owen*, and with ſuch like, who were his daily Companions in *Fraunce*, and in the *Lowe Countries?* He hath written Letters to Sir *Frauncis Englefield:* To what Purpoſes? He haunted continually two Ambaſſadours in *London*, by whoſe Meanes he ſent and receiued Letters to and from beyond the Seas daily. To whom, and from whom? Euen to and from *Thomas Morgan* and *Thomas Throckmorton*, at *Paris*, Men knowen to her Maieſtie and her Counſell, to be notorious Practiſers, very inward with the Duke of *Guyſe*, and Contriuers of the Treaſons and Deuiſes for the Inuaſion intended: And, for very certaine Knowledge thereof, we neede not be beholding to *Frauncis Throckemorton* onely, although he hath ſaid much of them, but to others of better Credite then himſelfe.

That the Duke of *Guyſe* did vndertake the Enterpriſe to inuade the Realme with a forraine Power, to be defrayed by the Pope and King of *Spaine* (a Part of M. *Throckmortons* Confeſſion) and he, in Trueth, the firſt Diſcouerer thereof to her Maieſtie: If he will ſay that it was but Inuention, it will approve falſe. For, ſithens he diſcouered the ſame, there haue bene diuers Aduertiſements thereof ſent to her Maieſty from forraine Princes, her Highneſſe louing Neighbours and Allies, as alſo by other good Meanes and Intelligences from her Ambaſſadours and Seruants reſiding in other Countries.

If he denie, as he hath done, that he neuer had Knowledge of any ſuch Matter, when he confeſſed the ſame, it hath no Likelihood of Trueth; for *Throckmorton* was neuer knowne to be a Prophet to foretell Things *de futuro* *.

He reſorted often to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour, at leaſt twice in a Week, when he was

* *i. e.* to come.

in *London:* This often Repayre could not be to conferre with the Ambaſſadour for the Exchange of Money for his Brother, as he pretended at his Arraignement; there was ſome other Cauſe. When he was apprehended, he had a Caſket couered with green Veluet, very cunningly conueied out of his Chamber by a Maide Seruant of the Houſe, taken vp under a Beds Side in his Chamber, (one of the Gentlemen who were ſent to apprehend him then being in the Chamber, and vnknowing thereof) which Caſket, not long after his Apprehenſion, was, by one *Iohn Meredith*, a Follower of *Frauncis Throckmorton*, conueied to the Handes of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour: And why to him? If the Matters therein might well haue abidden the Light, Why ſhoulde not the Caſket haue bene kept ſtill at Home? And if not there, Why not ſent to ſome other Place of Safetie, as well as to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour? It is to be conceiued, that this Caſket was not conueied thither without the Direction of *Frauncis Throckmorton*, though caried by *Meredith*, who did well knowe of what Moment the Matters were, that were within the Caſket, and of what Danger to *Throckmorton*, if they had bene diſcloſed; and therefore meant to beſtowe them in a ſafe Place, where they could not readily be had, as he thought, and with a Perſon not vnacquainted with the Qualitie of them. After the Deliuerie of the Caſket, *Meredith* fledde; for, in Trueth, he was priuie to the Treaſons, and a fellowe Practiſer in them; to whom *Frauncis Throckmorton*, being taken ſhort at the Time of his Apprehenſion, and forced to runne vp a Staire to deface a Letter which he was then in writing to the *Scotiſh* Queene in Cipher, as he hath confeſſed, being ſuddenly apprehended, and ſo forced to depart away preſently out of his Houſe, deliuered priuily, into the Hands of *Meredith*, either the Cipher by which he was writing his Letter to the *Scottiſh* Queene, or a Letter in Cipher by him written vnto her; therefore he truſted *Meredith*, as a Man priuie to his Doings. You are alſo to vnderſtande, that *Throckmorton* was in very great Fear of the diſcouering of this Caſket, after his Apprehenſion; for, remayning two or three Daies Priſoner in the Houſe of one of the Gentlemen that were ſent to apprehend him, before he was committed to the *Tower*, he was permitted to talke with a Sollicitor of his Lawe Cauſes, who brought him certaine Bookes drawen, or other like Papers written, which he made Showe to peruſe: But that was not the Matter why he ſent for his Sollicitor; for, in peruſing the Bookes, he conueied into them a little Piece of Paper, vpon the which he had written with a Cole, *I would faine know whether my Casket be ſafe*, or to the like Effect. The Sollicitor departing from him, and reſorting to *Throckmortons* Houſe, not farre diſtant from the Place where he remained Priſoner, opening his Papers, did ſhake out this Piece of Paper, which he took vp and deliuered to one of *Frauncis Throckmortons* Men, but the Caſket was alreadie conueied to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour: Whereby you will perceiue what Care he had of the Caſket, and how much it might import him to haue the Writings, or Matters, within the ſame concealed. He being examined, touching the Caſket, and what was in the ſame, he denied, at the firſt, that euer he had any ſuch Caſket; but, finding afterwards that the Caſket was diſcouered, he confeſſed the Caſket, and ſaid that there were certaine Letters therein, that came to his Hands for the *Scottiſh* Queene from *Thomas Morgan* at *Paris*, and other Letters and Papers, but confeſſed not all, as it is ſuppoſed.

That *Charles Paget* came ouer into the Realme to euill Purpoſes, as *Throckmorton* doth declare in his Confeſſion, could not be inuented; for, euen at the ſame Time that he mentioneth, *Paget* came ouer, in ſecrete and ſuſpitious Manner, ſtaied not aboue fifteene Dayes, indeuoured in a Sorte to finde the Diſpoſition of *William Shelley*, Eſquier, how he might ſtand affected to giue Aſſiſtance to the Treaſons, although *Paget* diſcouered not directly his traiterous Intents to *Shelley*; therefore all *Throckmortons* Confeſſions were not forged or inuented.

But becauſe the two Papers, produced at his Arraignement, containing the Deſcription of the Hauens, for the commodious Landing of Forces, do moſt apparantly condemne him, and are a manifeſt Argument of his Priuity to the whole Treaſon: You may not forget, that he acknowledged one of the Papers, written in the *Secretarie* Hand, to haue bene of his owne doing, but denyed the other written in the *Romane* Hande; in the which, under the Title of *Cheſhire*, &c. is ſaid: *Vpon*

*on the Landing of forraine Supplies*, Cheſter *ſhal be taken.* But what, in your Opinions, might be vnderſtoode by that Sentence, Cheſter *ſhall be taken*, when you ſhal compare the Paper in *Secretarie* Hand with the other written in the *Romane* Hand, intituled, *The Names of Noblemen and Gentlemen, in euery Countie, fitte to bee dealt withall in this Matter*; which, in Trueth, were both one, although the *Romane* were ſomewhat more inlarged. The Queſtion is to be aſked, *What Matter?* The Anſwere followeth neceſſarilie, *To aſſiſt the forraine Forces that ſhall come to inuade the Realme*; for that there is an other Title in that Paper, ouer the Names of the Hauens, *&c. Hauens in euery Coaſt fitte for the Landing of Forces.* Now iudge you, to what End theſe Names of Men, and Deſcriptions of Hauens, their Entries, Capacities, what Windes bring vnto them from *Spaine*, *Fraunce*, and *Flanders*, were written and ſet downe by *Throckmorton*: The Papers are both of his owne Hand Writing, and the *Secretarie* but a Proiect or Copie of the *Romane.*

Is it not likely, thinke you, that he would acquaint the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour with theſe Papers, as he hath confeſſed, when he made him Partaker of the reſt of his traiterous Practiſes and Deuices, as you haue heard, and thought his Caſket of Treaſons to be moſt ſafely committed to his Hands? It may bee thought, that there is no Man of ſo ſimple Vnderſtanding, that will iudge to the Contrarie, vnleſſe he be partially affected to excuſe the Treaſons.

And now, to ſhew vnto you what Mynd this Man hath carried towards her Maieſtie, you are to be informed, that *Francis Throckmorton*, after he had diſcouered to her Maieſtie his Courſe of Practiſing, repenting himſelfe of his plain Dealing, in the Bewraying thereof, ſayd to ſome of the Commiſſioners, vpon Occaſion of Speach, *I woulde I had bene hanged, when I firſt opened my Mouth to declare any of the Matters by me confeſſed.* And, being at other Times ſent vnto by her Maieſtie with Offer of Pardon, if he would diſcloſe the whole Packe and Complices of the Treaſons, he vſed this Argument to perſwade her Maieſtie that he had confeſſed all, ſaying, That, ſithens hee had alreadie brought himſelfe, by his Confeſſions, within the Danger of the Lawes, to the vtter Ruyne of his Houſe and Familie, he wondered why there ſhould be any Conceite in her Maieſtie, that he had not declared all. But, to perſwade ſuch as were ſent vnto him for theſe Purpoſes, the rather to beleeue that he could diſcouer no more, at one Time he vſed theſe Speaches following with great Vehemencie: "Nowe I "I haue diſcloſed the Secrets of her who "was the deereſt Thing to me in the Worlde "*(meaning the* Scottiſh *Queene)* and whome "I thought no Torment ſhould haue drawen "me ſo much to haue preiudiced, as I haue "done by my Confeſſions: I ſee no Cauſe "why I ſhould ſpare any one, if I could ſay "ought againſt him: And, ſith I haue failed "of my Faith towards her, I care not if I "were hanged." And when he began firſt to confeſs his Treaſons, which he did moſt vnwillingly, after hee was entered into the Declaration of them, before al the Commiſſioners, vpon Aduiſement, hee deſired he might deliuer his Knowledge but to one of them onely, whereunto they yeelded; and therevpon, remouing aſide from the Place where he ſate by the Racke, he vſed this Prouerbe in *Italian*, *Chi a perſo la fede, a perſo l' honore*, that is, *He that hath falſed his Faith, hath loſt his Reputation:* Meaning thereby, as it may be conceiued, that he had giuen his Faith to bee a Traitor, and not to reueile the Treaſons, and then began to confeſſe, as you haue heard.

By this Diſcourſe, contayning the principall Heads of his Treaſons, and the Proofes and Circumſtances of the ſame, you, that are not tranſported with vndutifull Myndes and Affections, will cleerely perceiue howe impudently and vntruely he denyed, at his Arraignement, the Trueth of his Confeſſions, charging her Maieſtie with Crueltie, and her Miniſters with Vntrueths, in their Proceedings againſt him.

But the Cauſe, that moued him thereunto, was a vaine Conceite he had taken, that his Caſe was cleere in Lawe, by the Intermiſſion of the Time betwene his Confeſſion made and his Arraignement, grounding himſelfe vpon a Statute of the thirteenth Year of her Maieſties Reigne; in the which, there are certaine Treaſons ſpecified and made, of that Nature, that no Perſon ſhall be arraigned for any of thoſe Offences committed within anie of the Queenes Maieſties Dominions, vnleſſe the Offendor be thereof indicted *within ſixe Monthes* next after the ſame Offence committed,

mitted, and ſhall not be arraigned for the ſame, vnleſſe the Offence be proued by the Teſtimonie and Othe of two ſufficient Witneſſes, or his voluntarie Confeſſion, without Violence; wherein he was greatly deceiued; for it was made manifeſt vnto him by the Lord Chiefe Iuſtice, and other of the Iudges in Commiſſion at his Trial, that his Treaſons were puniſhable by a Statute of the twenty-fifth of *Edward the Third*, which admitted no ſuch Limitation of Time or Proofe.

Herein his Skill failed him, and he forgot the Aduice giuen vnto him by ſome of the Commiſſioners, who, pitying his Misfortune for ſundrie good Gifts of the Minde appearing in him, aſſured him, that there was no Way ſo readie for him to redeeme his Life, as by Submiſſion and Acknowledging of his Offence; which, for a Time after he had confeſſed his Treaſons, he was contented to followe, and now eftſoones after his Condemnation, by a new Submiſſion to the Queenes Maieſtie the Fourth of *Iune*, hath reſumed that Courſe. The Submiſſion *verbatim*, written with his owne Hand, followeth.

## To her moſt excellent Maieſtie, euen to her owne Royall Handes.

" MOST excellent Prince, and my moſt " gratious Soueraigne, ſith to me, " the moſt miſerable of all your " Maieſties poore diſtreſſed Subiects, be- " ing iuſtly condemned, by the ordinarie " and orderly Courſe of your Maieſties " Lawes, there reſteth no further Meane of " Defence but Submiſſion: Vouchſafe, moſt " excellent Prince, graciouſly to accept the " ſame, which, proſtrate in all Humilitie, I " here preſent vnto the Hands of your moſt " excellent Maieſtie; beſeeching the ſame, " that as Iuſtice hath been deriued from your " Highneſſe, as from the Fountaine, to the " Triall of mine Actions; ſo I may receiue " from the ſame Spring ſome Droppe of " Grace and Mercie for the great and grie- " uous Offence whereof I reſt, by your " Maieſties Lawes, iuſtly condemned: Some " Part, I ſay, of that your accuſtomed gra- " tious Clemencie, whereof moſt of your diſ- " treſſed Subiects haue taſted, and few haue " bene depriued. And albeit the inconſiderate " Raſhneſs of vnbridled Youth hath with- " drawen me from that loyal Reſpect, which " Nature and Duetie bounde me to owe vnto " your Maieſtie, as to my lawfull and natu- " rall dread Soueraigne; and that the natu- " rall Care in me, of the Defence of my Life, " mooued me lately to the vntrue and vn- " duetifull Gainſaying of ſome ſuch Pointes " as had bene before by me, in moſt hum- " ble Sorte, confeſſed: Neuertheleſs, I moſt " humblie beſeech your moſt excellent Ma- " ieſtie, that in Imitation of God, whoſe " Image (both in Reſpect of the happie Place " you holde, as alſo in Regarde of your ſin- " gular Wiſedome, and other the rare and " ſingular Vertues and Perfections, where- " with God and Nature hath plentifully en- " dewed you) you repreſent vnto vs here in " Earth, it may pleaſe your Maieſtie to com- " miſerate the lamentable Eſtate of me, now " the moſt miſerable of all your Maieſties " Subiects, and gratiouſly to graunt vnto me " Remiſſion and Forgiueneſs, that not only " doe moſt humblie confeſſe my ſelfe wor- " thie of Death, but alſo, in Shewe of my " Repentance, and ſorrowful afflicted Minde, " do not craue at your Maieſties Handes the " Prolonging of my Life, if the ſame ſhall " not ſtande with your gratious good Plea- " ſure, but rather deſire the Trebling of the " Torment iuſtly, by your Maieſties Lawes, " impoſed vpon me, if the ſame may be any " Satisfaction to your Maieſtie, for the hayn- " ous Cryme whereof I remaine, by your " Maieſties Lawes, iuſtly condemned; " any Mitigation of your Maieſties Indigna- " tion worthily conceiued againſt me; that " deſire not to liue without your Fauour, and, " dying, will wiſh from my Heart, that my " Ende may bee the Beginning of your Ma- " ieſties Securitie, and my Death the Preſer- " uation of your Life, and the Increaſe, both " to your Maieſtie, and to this your moſt " flouriſhing Common Wealth, of all the moſt " happie Bleſſings of Almightie God.

*Your Maieſties moſt woful Subiect, in that he hath offended you,*

Francis Throckmorton.

He

He ſent vnto her Maieſtie, together with the ſayd Submiſſion, a Declaration written likewiſe with his owne Hand, contayning the Effects of the moſt principall Pointes of his Treaſons formerly confeſſed: Retracting onely the Accuſation of his Father, and ſome other Particularities of no Moment to cleare him of his Treaſons, the Effect whereof followeth in his owne Words, as he ſet them downe:

THE onely Cauſe why I coyned the Practiſe firſt by me confeſſed, and vniuſtly touched my Father, was, for that partly I conceiued that the Paper, written ſo long ſithens, could not now by Lawe haue touched me: But principally, for that I was willing thereby to colour the Setting downe of thoſe Names and Hauens in *Romane* Hand, which were written long after the Time by me confeſſed, vpon Occaſion of Conference betweene the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour and me of this later Practiſe.

Mine Intelligence with the *Scottiſh* Queene began a little before *Chriſtmas* was two Yeres: The Cipher I had from *Thomas Morgan* in *Fraunce*; the firſt Letter I receiued by *Godfray Fulgeam*, by whom alſo came all ſuch others as I after receiued for the moſt Part, vnleſſe it were ſuch as came to me by *F. A.* * his Hands, who, as he tolde me, receiued them of the Fellowe, by me ſpoken of, in my former Confeſſions, whoſe Name, I proteſt before God, I knowe not, nor whence he is. And for ſuch Letters as came vnto me, in the Abſence of *Fulgeam*, they were incloſed vnder a Couerture from *Fulgeam*, and were deliuered me by the Hands of *Robert Tunſtead*, his Brother-in-Law, to whom I deliuered ſuch as I had for the *Scottiſh* Queene, couered with a Direction to *Fulgeam*; and once I remember or twiſe I ſent, by one of my Men called *Butler*, Letters for the *Scottiſh* Queene to the Houſe of the ſaid *Tunſtead*, in *Buckſtones*, couered with a Direction to *Tunſtead*, and vnder a Letter to *Fulgeam*. In ſuch Letters as came to me from the *Scottiſh* Queene were indoſed Letters to *F. A.* many Times, and moſt Times ſome for *Thomas Morgan*. Her Letters to me contayned, &c. But, before I retourned mine Anſwere to her, I vnderſtoode of the Death of the Duke of *Lenox*, and withall heard from *Morgan*, with whom all mine Intelligence was (for with my Brother I neuer had any, other then that the Matters, by me written to *Morgan*, were by him imparted to my Brother moſt Times) that, by the Perſwaſion of the Pope and the King of *Spaine*, the Duke of *Guyſe* had yeelded to performe the Iourney in Perſon, and that it was thought, that the next Way to attayne Libertie for the *Scottiſh* Queene, and to reforme *Scotlande*, was to begin here in *England*; and therefore he deſired to knowe from me, whether in mine Opinion *Catholiques* woulde not backe any ſuch Force as ſhould be ſent, conſidering a Demaunde of Tolerance in Religion for them ſhould inſue the wel Performing of the ſaid Enterpriſe, and what I thought the Force would amount vnto, both of Horſe and Footemen, and where I thought to be the fitteſt Landing. Mine Anſwere was, that, as then, I ſawe no great Probabilitie of the good Succeſſe of ſuch an Enterpriſe, for that the *Catholiques* were timorous, diſperſed, the Matter perilous to be communicated to many, without which I ſaw not how any Eſtimate could be made of the Forces: beſides, that it was an eminent Danger to the *Scottiſh* Queene, whereof I ſawe no Remedie.

I tooke Notice of this Matter in my next Letters to the *Scottiſh* Queene, whoſe Anſwere was, that ſhe lately heard of that Determination, &c.

Vpon my former Anſwere to *Morgan*, he deſired me, that I would conferre with the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour, to whom I ſhould bee recommended from thence; hereupon the ſayd Ambaſſadour ſent for me, and brake with me, in this Matter, aſſuring me, that in his Opinion he found it verie eaſie to make great Alteration here, with very little Force, conſidering the Diſuſe in Men to Warre, and Troubles woulde ſo amaſe them (as he thought) that they woulde be aſſoone ouerthrowen as aſſailed, and he could not thinke but in ſuch a Caſe *Catholickes* woulde ſhewe themſelues, ſith the Purpoſe tended to the Obteyning for them Libertie of Conſcience: And therefore he deſired me to acquaint him, what I thought Men would doe in ſuch a Caſe, and where I thought the fitteſt Landing, and what Holdes in theſe Partes were eaſieſt to be ſurpriſed.

I anſwered him, that, as it ſeemed, the Enterpriſe ſtood vpon great Incertainties, if it depended of the Knowledge of a certaine Force to

* *William Arcington.*

be

be found here *, which no Man could aſſure him of, vnleſſe he had founded all the *Catholickes*, which was not poſſible without a maniſeſt Hazarde of the Diſcouerie of the Purpoſe: For, as for any great Perſonage, I know no one to be drawen into this Action, that could carie any more then his ordinarie Retinew: The onely Way in ſuch a Caſe was (I tolde him) for ſuch as woulde bee drawen into this Matter, and were of Credite in their Countreys, to leuie Forces vnder Colour of the Princes Authoritie.

But for that theſe Things depended vpon vncertaine Groundes, which was not fit to be vſed in ſo great an Action, I ſaid it was to be reſolued, that the Force to bee ſent ſhould be of that Number, that, what Backing ſoeuer they ſhould finde here, they might be able of themſelues to encounter with any Force that might be prouided to be ſent againſt them, and therefore they could not bee leſſe then Fifteen-thouſand Men. For the Place of their Landing, I ſaid, it depended much vpon the Force that ſhould be ſent; for, if that were in great Number, it mattered not where they landed; if in a ſmall Companie, then was it requiſite that it ſhoulde be in the Countreys beſt affected, and furtheſt from her Maieſties principall Forces, which I ſaid to be in the *Northern* Parts, on either Side.

To the Danger of the *Scottiſh* Queene by me obiected, he ſaid he knewe no Remedie, vnleſſe ſhe might be taken away by ſome Two-hundred Horſe; which I tolde him I ſawe not to be poſſible, for that I knewe not any Gentleman in thoſe Partes (which were Men, if any, to perfourme it) that I durſt wiſh to bee made acquainted with the Matter beforehande.

*Finally*, our Concluſion was, that I ſhoulde informe him of the Hauens as particularly as I could; and within fewe Dayes after, finding by him that the Force, intended hither, was farre inferiour to that I ſpake of, and that there was ſome Differens betweene the Pope and the King of *Spaine* for the Charge, I tolde him that the ſureſt Courſe, and of leaſt Danger, were, to ſend a Supplie into *Scotland*, where a ſmall Force would breede a great Alteration, and, Things being there eſtabliſhed by the good Liking of the King, I thought it was in him by a continuall Warre, and by Incurſions, ſo to anoy this State, as her Maieſtie here ſhoulde be forced to yeelde the Libertie of the *Scottiſh* Queene, and what ſhould thereupon haue bene reaſonably demaunded for the Benefite of *Catholickes* here. And herein I ſaid it would be a great Furtherance, if, at the ſame Time, ſome fewe were landed in *Irelande*, where, although they abid the ſame Hazarde that the former Forces ſuſtained, yet would the Charge be ſo great to her Maieſtie, and ſo great an Occaſion of Diſperſing of her Forces, as a much leſſe Companie, then was ſpoken of firſt by me, would (being landed here in a conuenient Place) ſhake the Mindes of Men generally, and be of Force (if any Thing) to drawe them to ſhewe themſelues, in the Furtherance of the Purpoſe.

He vtterly reiected the Purpoſe for *Irelande*, and disliked not the Purpoſe for *Scotlande*: But ſtill he was in Minde to haue Forces landed here, and therefore deſired me verie earneſtly to inquire particularly of the Hauens on the Side of *Cumberland* and *Lancaſhire*, and what Men were dwelling there that were well affected in Religion †, and what Places eaſie to be taken, and what apt for Fortification.

The next Time that I went to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour, he found himſelfe agrieued that he vnderſtood Matters were determined in *Fraunce*, without his Priuitie; and told me that *Parſons* the *Ieſuite* was gone to *Rome*, ſent, as he thought, to vnderſtand the *Popes* Minde.

Soone after came ouer my Brother *Thomas*, to make an Ende of our Accompt, and to perſwade me to come ouer, aſſuring me that, for ought he could ſee in Likelihood, the Enterpriſe was neuer like to take Effect. In the Time of his being heere, and while I entertained Intelligence with the *Scottiſh* Queene, concerning her Libertie, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour ſent for me, and tolde me of the Comming ouer of *Mope* to view *Suſſex*, and the [redacted] and as he thought, to take the beſt of Accompt there: Whereat he ſeemed to bee agrieued, for that ſuch Matters had not bene left to him, beeing one that they in *Fraunce* made beleeue that they relyed vpon principallie in this Enterpriſe. Afterwardes, the Ambaſſadour tolde me, that it was *Charles Paget*, and that he was retourned, but, where he had bene, hee knewe not, and, at the ſame Time, I receiued a Let-

* See this largely proved on Page 138, Vol. I.

† viz. *Popiſh*.

ter

ter from *Morgan*, that it was *Paget*; but aſſuring me, and ſo willed me to aſſure the Ambaſſadour, that his Comming was not to moue any Man, but onely to viewe the Countrey, for that the Mooving of any Man was referred to him. I did ſo, and he intreated me to remember him for thoſe foreſaide Names and Hauens, ſaying that, ſo it were done exactly by the Spring, it would ſuffice; for that ſooner he ſaw no Likelihoode of the Execution of the Enterpriſe.

My Brother, hauing made an Ende of his Accompt with me, retourned with this Reſolution betweene vs, I proteſt before God, that, if the Enterpriſe ſucceeded not betweene this and the next Spring nowe paſt, that I woulde ſettle my Things here and goe ouer. And for this Cauſe, he being gone, I went downe into the Countrey, both to ſell and take Order for my Land in thoſe Partes, as alſo to fetch the Draught of Gentlemen and Hauens for the moſt Part of *England*, which had bene ſet downe by me, aboue two Yeres ſince, and left behinde me at *Feckenham* in my Studie.

Not finding the Draught at *Feckenham*, I retourned to *London*, where I founde the Note of Names in *Secretarie* Hande, which I caried to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour, and there drewe that other in *Romane* Hande in his Studie, putting downe *Cheſter* to be taken, in Reſpect of the Eaſineſſe, as I thought, and the rather to giue him Incouragement in the Matter. I left it with him, promiſing him that by the next Spring I woulde perfect it, if I taried ſo long, making knowen vnto him, that I was had in Suſpition, and my Determination to be gone; but he preſſed the Contrarie of me, aſſuring me that, if the Enterpriſe proceeded not, he would then alſo depart.

Whether Sir *Frauncis Englefielde* were a Dealer in this Practiſe or no, I know not; but ſure I am (for ſo the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour told me) that Sir *Frauncis* had Intelligence with the ſaid Ambaſſadour all the Time of his being here.

The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour tolde me, that he heard the People of *Northwales* were generallie wel affected *, and therefore he deſired to haue the Hauens of that Countrie: I tolde him, that hereafter I would help hime thereunto, although no Good might be expected there, for the Reaſons by me ſet downe in my firſt Confeſſion: And hereupon, the Day before mine Apprehenſion, the Ambaſſadour ſent me backe the ſaid Paper in *Romane* Hand, deſiring me to ſet downe the ſame at my Leaſure more exactly, which was the Cauſe that it was not in my greene Veluet Casket. The Writings in my Casket were ſuch as were by me confeſſed, and came vnto my Hands as I haue confeſſed.

I Moſt humbly beſeeche her moſt excellent Maieſtie, that the Extremitie which I haue alreadie ſuſtained, and the Cauſes by me diſcouered, to the Safetie of her Maieſtie and the State, not made knowen (as hath appeared) by any other Meane then by my ſelfe, maye craue at her Handes the Extending of her gratious Commiſeration towardes the Relieuing of the lamentable Eſtate of me, her Maieſties poore diſtreſſed Subiect, and mine, if God for mine Offences forbid not the ſame.

Nowe iudge all yee, that be not peruerſly affected, whether *Throckmorton* be iuſtly condemned, and whether his Confeſſions, though, as he pretended, extorted from him by Violence, be of Force in Lawe againſt him: He hath conſpired to ouerthrowe the State, to bring in Strangers to inuade the Realme, to remoue her Maieſtie from her lawfull and naturall Right and Inheritance to the Crowne of *England*, and to place a Stranger in her Seate: But this laſt Point, for Placing of a Stranger, will (perchaunce) be denied; then note, that, in the whole Courſe of the Practiſe, the greateſt Barre to the Proſecution of the Enterpriſe was, they found no Way how to put the *Scottiſh* Queene in Safetie. Then, if theſe dangerous Treaſons be diſcouered by Torture (the onely Meanes left vnto Princes to diſcouer Treaſons and Attemptes againſt their States and Perſons, where they finde apparant Matter to induce Suſpition, as in the Caſe of *Throckmorton*, vpon Sight of the Plottes of Hauens, *&c.*) May the Law touch the Traitour or not? If any Man holde this Queſtion negatiuely, holde him for a Friend to Traitours and Treaſons, and an Enemie to the Queene's Maieſtie, whome God long preſerue, and confound her Enemies.

* To the *Popiſh* Faction.

The trve Report of the lamentable Death of *William* of *Naſſawe*, Prince of *Orange*; who was trayterouſlie ſlayne with a Dagge, in his owne Courte, by *Balthazar Serack*, a *Burgunian*, the Firſt of *Iuly*, 1584. Herein is expreſſed the Murtherers Confeſſion, and in what Manner he was executed, vpon the Tenth of the ſame Month: Whoſe Death was not of ſufficient Sharpnes for ſuch a Caytife, and yet too ſowre for any Chriſtian. Printed at *Middleborowgh*, by *Derick van Reſpeawe*, *Anno* 1584. In *Octavo*, containing eight Pages.

G. P. His Proheme to the Inhabitaunts of *Flaunders*.

*WHO ſo conſidereth the State of Princes (although they are as Gods vpon Earth, beeing anoynted of God, hauing theyr Authoritye from God, and ſitting in Gods Seate, to rule the Sword with the Law, may perceaue that they liue in more Care, and greater Daunger, than the ſimpleſt Subiect. Lamentable therefore is their late Example of the Prince of* Orange, *ſlayne (by a treacherous Villain) in his owne Courte: His Death, and the Manner thereof, may forewarne other Princes to be carefull, whome they retaine into the Preſence of theyr Perſon. Great is thy Loſſe, and greater wil be thy Miſery* (O Flaunders) *for the Want of thy Prince, who did guide thee, and gouerned thy People, with Wiſedome, Loue, Policie, and continuall Care for thy Quietnes: He was thy Comfort, and the Stay of thy State in all Extremities.*

*The cheefeſt States of thy Countrey ſhall miſſe him; the Widdowe, the ſucking Babe, and the fatherleſſe Childe ſhall haue Cauſe to bewayle his Death. Yea Rich and Poore altogether may lament his Miſhap, and cry Woe vpon that Man that bereaued him of Life, whoſe Nobleneſſe deſerued Fame, and whoſe woorthy Acts and Enterpriſes, beeing honourable, are meete to be regiſtred among the moſt lawdable Reportes of learned Hiſtoriographers. If the* Romaines *did bemone the Death of* Cæſar, *the* Troyans *the Loſſe of* Hector, *and the* Lacedemonians *the Want of* Alexander, *then haſt thou (O* Flaunders*) more Cauſe to lament the Loſſe of thy good Prince, who with Wiſedome, Force, and great Care (ayded by the Power and Prouidence of God himſelfe) did keepe thy Countrey, from the Handes of him that woulde make a Monarchie of Realmes in his owne Handes, to the vtter Spoile of thee and thine, and to draw other Realmes vnder his Subiection. O moſt accurſed Wretch that he was, ſo ſubiect to the Subtilties of Sathan, to worke the untimelye Death of ſo gracious a Prince, that hetherto he hath defended your Liberties, and maintayned your Right theſe many Yeeres, to the great Glory of God, the Aduauncement of your Wealth, and the Mayntenaunce of true Religion. It were too tedious to ſet downe, in what Subiection all the Lowe Countreys of* Flaunders *hath beene many Yeeres yoked in by their Enemies; the Effect whereof is ſo notorious and apparant to all the World, and*

*the*

*the ſame ſo truely layd open by many, that it is heere needeleſſe to touche it; as alſo to handle the great Care of this Prince from Time to Time, who continually ſought to maintaine your Liberties, and to defend your Countrey from extreme Miſery; which doubtles hath ſharply pinched you; and now, hauing loſt him who was the principal Prop of the* Lowe Countreys, *it is like to fall out to the viter Ouerthrowe, Ruine, and Deſtruction of that poore Cominaltye (a Matter moſt lamentable) except God (the onelie Defender of thoſe that truſte in him) doo ſpeedely procure and ſtirre vp a carefull and godly Prince, to bee the Defendor of that People and Countrey, that there by the Townes and Villages there about may become more populous and thorowly repleniſhed (now greeuouſly impoueriſhed through Civill Diſſention) to the Quietnes, Wealth, and Peace of the ſame.*

*And, conſidering it is moſt neceſſary to publiſh a true Diſcourſe of this late lamentable Miſhappe, I have thought it good breefely and plainely to ſet downe the true Circumſtaunce thereof; and that for one ſpeciall Cauſe, which is, that conſidering the untrue Imaginations, and fayned Reportes, of this Princes Death, now blaſed abroade, as well to hys Freendes as to hys Enemies; the Trueth being layd open, and made manifeſt to all Men, that then thoſe Reportes may be accounted fryuolus, and to be trodden vnder Foote. I therefore admoniſh you, O yee People of* Flaunders, *that, hauing loſt the Stay and Staffe of your Countrey, that you yet vouchſafe, with Patience, to remaine content wich GODS Workes, who prouideth wonderfully for you. It is your Sinnes that is the Cauſe of al your Care; wherefore call vpon God in this your Time of Affliction, and with Prayer and hearty Repentance, to turne vnto the Lorde, who no doubt will deliuer you from Danger, as he did the Children of* Iſraell; *and aſſure yourſelves, that he will ſo eſtabliſh your Countrey, in ſhort Time, powring thereon Peace and Plenty, that the Remembraunce of your great Extremity, now fallen vpon you, ſhall in ſhort Time grow out of Memory, and be made a floriſhing Common Wealth, which God the Father with al Speede graunt to confirme.* Amen.

## *The Dyſcourſe of the Treaſon wrought againſt* William *of* Naſſawe, *Prince of* Orange, *by* Balthazar Serack, *a baſe born Gentleman of* Burguni, *of the Age of twenty-five Yeeres.*

VPON the 12. Day of *Iune* laſt paſt, 1584. there came to the Prince of *Orange*) a baſe borne Gent. of *Burguni*, who brought certain Letters from the States of *Fraunce*, conſe[illegible]ning Matters of Newes, touching the Death of the *Frenche* Kinges Brother, who died a litle before; which Letters the Prince in moſt thankful Manner did receiue, and gaue the Meſſenger ſuch freendly Entertainement in his owne Courte, as became a Prince in ſuch Cauſes. The Prince, liking well of this Meſſenger, would ſundry Times vſe Conference with him, touching the Gariſon of the Prince of *Parma*, whoſe Souldiers greatly impoueriſhed the Countries round about. This Meſſenger (in whom there remained nothing but Subtilty and ſecret Miſchiefe) dyd ſhow vnto the Prince, howe he coulde at any Time bring him or his Souldiers into the Prince of *Parmaes* Gariſon, whereby he might take the Aduantage of the Prince of *Parmaes* Power; for that this Meſſenger, beeing a cunning Penman, coulde finely counterfet the Prince of *Parmaes* owne Hand, ſo neere that the one ſhould not be known from the other. The Prince, notwithſtanding, woulde not ſo deale by his Deuiſe, but yet he woulde enquire of him how al Thinges ſtood, aſwel in the Prince of *Parmaes* Gariſon, as of the Princes Pretence towards the *Low Countreys*, who continually certefied vnto the Prince of *Orange* the Trueth; which cauſed the Prince to repoſe a greater Truſt and Confidence in him, ſo that he remained in the Court without Suſpition of any Trechery. But behold what followed, on the 1. Day of *Iuly* laſt paſt, which,

by the newe Computation of the *Romiſh* Churche, was the tenth Day of the ſame Moneth, this Traytor, thus harbored and lodged in the Courte of this good Prince, ſeeing a ſmall Piſtoll or Dagge in the Hands of one of the Princes Seruaunts, did demand what it might coſt him, ſaying, I haue Occaſion to ryde a Iourney ſhortly, and that Dagge would be a good Defence for me vpon the High Way Side; wherefore he requeſted the Princes Seruaunt that he might bye it of him, who, thinking nothing of that which hapned afterward, did ſel it to him for the Some of 10. Shillings of *Engliſh* Mony. The Prince then being in his Court at *Delph* (a Town of great Strength, where the cheefeſt States doo inhabite) who beeing gon to Dinner, and the Garde attendaunt about his Perſon, this Traytor, ſeeing it a meete Time to compaſſe his pretended Miſchiefe (which was to bereaue the Prince of his Life, as he did) went into his Chamber, and charged the Piſtoll with Powder, and put three Bullets in the ſame; that doone, he placed it priuelye in his Pocket, and went downe to Dinner; who, after he had dyned, hearing that the Prince would anon goe vp into his Priuie Chamber, deuiſed in his Minde where he might beſt plant himſelfe, for the Finiſhing of his wicked Entent; who, finding a priuie Corner vpon the Stayres, where he might be ſhadowed and not be ſeene, placed himſelfe vntill the Princes Comming.

The Prince, ſo ſoone as he had dyned (which was betweene one and two of the Clocke in the Afternoone) came forth of the great Chamber, with his Lady and Gentlewomen attendaunt; his Lady, purpoſing to walke abroade, took her Leaue of the Prince, who going towards the Stayres which did leade to the Priuie Chamber, and ſeeing an *Italian* named Ma. *Carinſon*, who had ſtayed to ſpeake with the Prince, to whom the Prince very freendly ſpake, ſaying, *Carinſon* welcome, and tooke him by the Hand, willing thys *Italian* that he ſhould goe vp with him into his Priuie Chamber, propoſing there to vſe ſome Conference with the *Italian* Gentleman; and, before the Prince entred the Stayres, there came an *Engliſh* Captaine, called Captaine *Williams*, who, dooing Reuerence unto the Prince, was entertained in moſte freendly Manner, laying his Hand vpon Captain *Williams* Head, wylling him alſo to come vp with him.

The Garde then attendant vpon the Prince, Maiſter *Carinſon* and Captain *Williams* followed: But the Prince going vp the Stayres, not thinking of any ſuch Matter as happened, no ſooner came directly againſt this villenous Traytor, but he preſently diſcharged his Piſtoll (wherein, as before mentioned) he hauing put 3. Bullets, two of thoſe Bullets went through the Princes Body, and the third remained in his Bellie; through which wicked Stroke, the Prince fell downe ſuddainly, crying out, ſaying, *Lord haue Mercy upon me, and remember thy little Flocke.*

Wherewith he changed this Life, to the great Griefe of his Lady, who greatly lamented his Death, as alſo to the great Sorrowe of the whole Countrey. The Garde purſued the Murtherer, and ſought to ſlaye him; but he ouerſcaped the firſt Garde, and was ſtaied by the ſecond Watch Garde, which was within the Princes Court.

When he was taken, they demaunded of him, What he had doone, who very obſtinatly anſwered, That he had doone that Thinge, which hee would willingly doo, if it were to doo againe. Then they demaunded of him, For what Cauſe he did it? Hee anſwered, For the Cauſe of his Prince and Countrey; more Confeſſion at that Time they could not get of him. Forthwith they committed him to Pryſon, where he remained aliue, to the Pleaſure of the Eſtates of the Country; who ſhortly after deuiſed a Torment (by Death) for this Murderer, which was reaſonable ſharpe, yet not ſo terrible as he deſerued.

Greeuous was the Cry of the People that came flocking to the Princes Gates, to heare the Report and Trueth of what had happened; which knowne, euery Houſhold was filled with Sorrowe, who powred forth their Plaintes, and did ſhedde Teares, for the Loſſe of ſo good a Chriſtian, and ſo carefull a Prince.

The Murtherer, while he remayned in Pryſon, was ſundry Times examined by the chiefe Eſtates of the Countrey, upon what Procurement he committed the ſaid Fact; who anſwered, At the Prince of *Parmaes* Requeſt, and other Princes, at whoſe Hands he ſhoulde receiue for dooing the ſame 25000. Crownes.

The Order of the Torment, and Death of the Murtherer, was as followeth, which was foure Dayes: He had the 1. Day the Strappado, openly in the Market; the ſecond Day whipped and ſalted, and his Right Hand cut off; the third Day, his Breaſtes cut out and Salt throwne in, and then his Left Hand cut off:

The

The laſt Day of his Torment, which was the 10. of *Iuly*, he was bound to 2. Stakes, ſtanding vpright, in ſuch Order, that he could not ſhrinke downe, nor ſtirre any Way. Thus ſtanding naked, there was a great Fire placed ſome ſmall Diſtaunce from him, wherein was heated Pincers of Iron; with which Pincers, two Men, appointed for the ſame, did pinch and pul his Fleſh in ſmal Peeces from his Bones, throughout moſte Partes of his Body. Then was he vnbound from the Stakes, and layd vpon the Earth, and againe faſtened to fowre Poſtes, namely, by his Feete and Hands; then they ripped vp his Belly, at which Time he had Life and perfect Memorye; he had his Bowels burned before his Face, and his Bodie cutt in foure ſeueral Quarters. During the whole Time of his Execution, he remained impenitent and obſtinate, rejoycing that he had ſlaine the Prince.

Vpon the 16. Day of *Iuly*, the Prince was very royally buryed, in the new Churche at *Delph*, being lapped in Seare Cloth and Leade, according to the Manner of other Princes in Time paſt.

The Cittizenes of *Antwerp* are many Times driuen to ſhut vp theyr Gates, by reaſon of theyr Enemies, who wold gladly take the Citty at ſome Aduauntage: The Enemie hath built a Forte vpon the Banke, between *Antwerp* and *Lullo*, ſo that they doo what they may to ſtop the Paſſage of the Riuer from them.

There is not as yet any Gouernour choſen for the *Lowe Countries*: But they are in Hope that ſome Order will be taken for them very ſhortly.

God for his Mercy Sake ſende Quietnes in thoſe Partes, that the People may enjoy theyr owne, to the Health, Wealth, and Comfort of them all now diſtreſſed. *Amen.*

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## The Preſent State of *England*, expreſſed in this *Paradox*,

*Our Fathers were very rich with little,*
*And We poor with much.*

Written by *Walter Carey*. *London*: Printed by *R. Young* for *William Sheffard* in *Popes-head Alley*. *Anno Dom.* 1627. *Quarto*, containing twenty-one Pages.

WHereas I intended to ſhew the preſent State of *England*, by the Expoſition of this Paradox; yet would I have none to think, that I intend to meddle or ſpeak of any Matter of Government thereof, *Quia Jovem tangere periculoſum* *; but only to expreſs the Manners and Conditions of the People, and to ſhew the Difference of this preſent Time, and of that which was 60 Yeares ſince, when I was (as it were) but a ſpringing *Cima* † of ſixteen Years old: Neither will I therein uſe any long Diſcourſe, but with all poſſible Brevitie deliver only this Pamphlet, as a Glaſs, wherein Men of this preſent Age may ſee their monſtrous Deformities; or as a Theme for wiſer Wits to play upon, ſetting aſide, in Effect, whatſoever I ſhall write more than the Words of the very Paradox itſelf; for, *Verbum ſapienti ſat eſt* ‡. The Duty alſo, which by the Law of God, and the Law of Nature, I owe unto my native Soil, and the great Heart-ſorrow I I have to ſee the Follies, Miſdemeanours, and ill Behaviour of many of this Time, hath moved me, now in my withered Age, to leave theſe few Lines, as Tokens of my Love; with great Hope, that, if the ſame, perhaps, ſhall come to the Hands of our wiſe, religious, virtuous, learned, and moſt gracious Sovereign King, the bleſſed Peace of *England*, he will thereby be put in Mind, *Scabra hæc noſtra dolare*, that is, *to make theſe our rugged Ways plain.*

* *i. e.* It is dangerous to meddle with *Jupiter*. † *i. e.* Bud. ‡ *i. e.* A Word to the Wiſe is enough.

As

## *The Expoſition of the Paradox.*

AS in all others, ſo, in this Paradox, the Words carry a ſtrange Senſe, and ſeem to import a meer Contrariety and Untruth: For, according to the Word, how can it be, that one having *little*, ſhould be *rich*; and another *much*, ſhould be *poor*: Wherefore we muſt ſeek another, and more ſecret Meaning; knowing, that every Paradox hath both an outward and inward Senſe: The one, as I may term it, ſuperficial, the other eſſential; the one left to the Gazing of Fools, with Admiration; the other to the Wiſe, with deep Conſideration: The one to the Eye and outward Appearance only; the other to the inward Senſe and Judgment. For my promiſed Brevity's Sake (omitting many) I will ſpeak only of three Things, with their Appurtenances; wherein our then wiſe Fathers did greatly differ from us now Fools.

Theſe three, which have turned Things upſide down, and ſtrangely altered our Eſtate, are Suits of *Law*, Suits of *Apparel*, and *Drunkenneſs*; which being well conſidered, with Matters ſubſequent, it will appear, that theſe three foul Stains, in our fair Commonwealth, do plainly lay open and prove the inward Truth of my Paradox; for, to ſpeak firſt in general, our Fathers in Apparel were very plain; Drunkenneſs was abhorred; and, as it is a moſt baſe Trade, ſo uſed only of the moſt Baſe, and ſome ſome few of the very abject Sort. They did not ambitiouſly ſtrive to get that which they could not compaſs, to borrow that which they could not repay, neither to contend for every Trifle in Law, which, at this Day, are Cauſes of infinite Suits; but, living quietly and neighbourly with that they had, they were ever rich, able to give and lend freely. But now, on the Contrary (our Rents being generally five Times as much as our Fathers received for the ſame Land) the idle and ſenſeleſs Expences of ſenſeleſs Drunkards; the outrageous Charge of Suits in Law; the monſtrous Prodigality in Apparel, maketh us (ſeeming great and rich in outward Shew) to be full of Care, Trouble, ever needy, and very beggarly: For, by theſe three Means, we ſtrive to ſeem Kings, but contend, indeed, who ſhall be firſt Beggars; ſo that the old Proverb is in this Age moſt truly verified. *Stultorum plena ſunt omnia*, i. e. *The World is full of Fools.* Now of theſe three particularly; and firſt,

## *Of Drunkenneſs.*

THIS moſt monſtrous Vice is thus defined: *Ebrietas eſt privatio motus recti & intellectus*, i. e. *Drunkenneſs is the Privation of orderly Motion and Underſtanding.* This Definition agreeth in Part with that which *Galen* hath, *lib.* xxx. *de locis affectis.* of Natural Folly, which is, *Stultitia eſt amiſſio intellectus*, i. e. *Folly is the Loſs of Underſtanding*; and another ſaith, it is *abſentia intellectus*, i. e. *The Abſence or Want of Underſtanding:* But I need not ſtand much about the Definition of Drunkenneſs, or to ſhew what it is: For (with Grief I ſpeak it) the Taverns, Alehouſes, and the very Streets are ſo full of Drunkards, in all Parts of this Kingdom, that, by the Sight of them, it is better known, what this deteſtable and odious Vice is, than by any Definition whatſoever. God hath made all Things for Man; hath made him Ruler and Governor over all; which Office that he may the better perform, he hath given him Reaſon (a moſt Divine Thing and precious Jewel) to govern his Actions, whereby he far excelleth all other Creatures. This is well compared to a Carpenter's Rule; for without a Rule the Carpenter can never orderly compoſe his Work; but every Part will be out of Frame; ſo that theſe Drunkards (having expelled Reaſon, that moſt excellent Rule) are in far worſe Caſe than Brute Beaſts; for they have neither Reaſon nor Nature to direct them, but ſhew themſelves either Fools or Mad-men, as they are formerly defined. I would to God, they would conſider how many Murders have been, and daily are committed by Drunkards; ſo that ſome of them are killed and taken away in the Midſt of their Wickedneſs; others hanged, loſing Lands and Goods, to the Overthrow of their Houſes. This Sin is (in a Word) in itſelf damnable, and the very Pathway leading to all other Wickedneſs whatſoever. *Inter alia, hoc me miſtificè excruciat, quòd Academiæ noſtræ morbo hoc pernicioſo laborare dicuntur:*

*cuntur: nam fontes ſi inficiantur, rivi omnes non niſi aquam putidam præbere poterint* *. But (ſtill mindful of my promiſed Brevity) I will only ſet down Notes, as it were, or ſhort Speeches of Drunkards or Drunkenneſs, and ſo take my Leave of that, wherewith I was never acquainted.

I read of one brought up from his Infancy in a Wilderneſs, at laſt coming to a City, and ſeeing a drunken Man go up and down the Streets, uſing clamorous and outrageous Words, far from Reaſon, in his Gait ſtaggering, and in all his Actions fooliſh and rude, aſked what Creature that was, being ſo like in Shape to a Man, and no Man.

Another, ſeeing one come drunk out of a Tavern, falling down in the Street, and vomiting up in great Abundance the Wine with which he had overcharged his Stomach, ſaid, Look, look, I will ſhew you a ſtrange Sight; this Man hath in this Sort vomited many goodly Lordſhips, and great Treaſure, left him by his Father; and now he hath neither Wealth, nor Wit, but is a Beggar, and a beſotted Fool.

It is written, that, one coming into a Place where many were drunk, one of them offered him a full Cup; to whom he ſaid, there was Poiſon in it, or worſe than Poiſon; for it hath bereft you all of your Wits and Underſtanding. I will none, I thank you.

One, ſeeing a Man extremely drunk, and ſtill drinking exceſſively, ſaid, Alas! let him drink no more. To whom another anſwered, Let him drink ſtill, for he is good for nothing elſe; and it is not fit for a Man to live, that is good for nothing.

They, that force others to Drunkenneſs, are like ſtinking Sinks, which receive all filthy and loathſome Things, and therewith infect others.

One being aſked, What he thought of a Man often drunk, ſaid, He is a Piece of Ground good for nothing, which bringeth forth nothing but Weeds.

A drunken Man ſleeping ſoundly, one ſaid, It is Pity he ſhould ever wake; for now he doth no Harm; but, when he is awake, he is ever ſpeaking or doing ſomething that is naught.

I have heard, that, in *Spain*, if one be drunk, his Oath is never after to be taken before a Judge.

A Philoſopher, hearing one brag of his great Drinking (as many do in theſe Days) ſaid, My Mule doth far excel thee in that Virtue.

It were very fit that Drunkards, having Lands, ſhould be made Wards, of what Age ſoever; for they are not able to govern themſelves nor their Livings, more than Children.

*Sentences of wiſe Men, touching Drunkenneſs and Drunkards.*

*Comes ebrietatis paupertas*, Beggary is the Companion of Drunkenneſs.

*Qui ſunt crebrò ebrii, citò ſeneſcunt*, They that often drink, are quickly old.

*Nulla fides ebrio danda, nec huic negotium committendum*, There is no Truſt to be given to a Drunkard, neither any Buſineſs to be committed to him.

*Ebrietas contentioſa*, Drunkenneſs is full of Quarrels.

*Ebrietas fomes libidinis*, Drunkenneſs is Fuel for filthy Luſt.

*Ebrioſi Pſittacorum more modo loquuntur*, Drunkards ſpeak but like Parrots.

*Vino repletus, vinum habet, ſeipſum non habet*, He that is full of Wine, hath Wine, himſelf he hath not.

*Ebrietas dulce venenum*, Drunkenneſs is a pleaſant Poiſon.

*Neſcit ebrietas vel imperàre, vel parere*, Drunkenneſs knoweth neither to govern, nor to be governed.

*Ubi ebrietas, ibi ſola fortuna; ubi ſola fortuna, ibi nulla ſapientia dominatur*, Where Drunkenneſs is, there only Fortune; where only Fortune is, there no Wiſdom doth bear Rule.

*Ebrioſus ſemper in præcipiti ſtat*, A Drunkard ſtandeth always as it were in a Place ready to break his Neck.

*Ebrium noli conſulere*, Never aſk Counſel of a Drunkard.

*Ebrietas non minor quàm inſania, ſed brevior*, Drunkenneſs is no leſs than Madneſs, but ſhorter.

So have you heard, what the wiſeſt Men long ſince have ſaid of this filthy Vice, and the vicious Followers of the ſame.

* *i. e.* Amongſt other Things, I am ſore grieved, that our Univerſities are reported to be infected with this ſore Diſeaſe: For, if the Fountains are infected, all the Rivers can give us no better than corrupt Water.

To

To conclude, I wiſh all Drunkards to read this, every Morning as ſoon as they riſe, that thereby they may be perſuaded to Reformation that Day; and to remember how greatly that beaſt-like and loathſome Sin hurteth the Soul, the Body, the Purſe, and the Name or Reputation. It is in itſelf ſo odious and deteſtable before God, and all civil Men, that, as one ſaying, Lo, yonder is a cruel Lion; which Words cauſe a Man preſently to fly and ſhift away: So, if I had but named *Drunkenneſs*, that only Word ſhould be a ſufficient Perſuaſion for wiſe Men to avoid the ſame. For the Lion is not ſo dangerous, who killeth only the Body, as Drunkenneſs, which killeth Body and Soul.

## *Of the exceſſive Abuſe in Apparel.*

THERE are Profeſſors of a rare and ſtrange Art or Science, who are named *Proportionaries*; but ſeldom ſet to work. If you deliver one of theſe a Bone of your Grandfather's little Finger, he will by that find the Proportion of all his Bones, and tell you to an Inch how tall a Man your Grandfather was: So I herein mind to uſe ſome of their Skill; for, ſeeing it is an infinite Matter, *ſigillatim* to write all the peeviſh, childiſh, and more than fooliſh coſtly Ornaments now uſed (eſpecially being object to every Man's Sight) I will only take the Head with the Neck, and, by theſe, tell you what Proportion all the reſt of the Body holdeth, down to the loweſt Part of the Foot. I ſaw a compleat Gentleman of late, whoſe Beaver Hat coſt thirty-ſeven Shillings, a Feather twenty Shillings, the Hatband three Pounds, and his ten double Ruff four Pounds; thus the Head and Neck only were furniſhed, and that but of one Suit, for nine Pounds ſeventeen Shillings. Now taking the Proportion of the Bravery for the reſt of the Body; the Cloke lined with Velvet, daubed over with Gold Lace two Fingers broad; the Sattin Doublet and Hoſe in like Sort decked; the Silk Stockings, with coſtly Garters hanging down to the Small of the Leg; the *Spaniſh* Shoes, with glittering Roſes; the Girdle and Steletto: I leave it to thoſe that herein know more than I, and can ſpeak of greater Bravery than this, to caſt up the total Sum; wherein alſo, as an Appurtenant, they may remember his Miſtreſs ſuited at his Charge, and caſt up both Sums in one. But, on the Contrary, I obſerved, but ſixty Years ſince, generally a Man full as good or better in Ability than this compleat, luſty looking Lad, whoſe Hat and Band coſt but five Shillings, and his Ruff but twelve Pence at moſt. So you ſee the Difference of theſe Sums; the one is nine Pounds ſeventeen Shillings, the other ſix Shillings. Then, after this Proportion, the whole Attire of the one coſt above thirty Times as much as the Attire of the other; forget not alſo, that the one laſteth three Times as long as the other; ſubject to change, as Faſhions change. There is another Appurtenant to this gilded Folly; for, if his Miſtreſs ſay it doth not become him, or if the Faſhion change, that Suit is preſently left off, and another bought. I will not forget, but touch a little the fooliſh and coſtly Faſhion of changing Faſhions, noted eſpecially, and objected againſt our *Engliſh* Nation; and in one Thing only (I mean the Hat) I will expreſs our prodigious Folly in all the reſt. Of late the broad-brimmed Hat came ſuddenly in Faſhion, and put all others out of Countenance and Requeſt; and happy were they that could get them ſooneſt, and be firſt ſeen in that Faſhion; ſo that, a Computation being made, there is at the leaſt three-hundred thouſand Pounds, or much more, in *England* only, beſtowed in broad-brimmed Hats, within one Year and an half. As for others, either Beaver or Felts, they were on the ſudden of no Reckoning at all; inſomuch that myſelf (ſtill continuing one Faſhion) bought a Beaver's Hat for five Shillings, which the Year before could not be had under thirty Shillings. The like, or more, may be ſaid of the Change from plain to double Ruffs: But, if you will ſee the Effect of theſe Follies, and what lamentable Eſtate it bringeth many unto, go to the *King's-bench* Priſon, to the *Fleet*, to the *Compters*, and like Places; where you ſhall find many, that in golden glittering Bravery have ſhined like the Sun, but now (their Patrimonies and all being ſpent, and they in Debt) their Sun is eclipſed, and they reſt there in very miſerable Caſe, bewailing their vain and more than childiſh Courſe of Life; and ſome of them call to mind, how they have heard, that their Forefathers, on that Living, which they have in lewd

lewd Sort ſpent, and diſinherited their Family for ever, lived bountifully, quietly, pleaſantly, and, as I may truly ſay, like Kings in their little Kingdoms: They ſeldom or never went to *London*, they did not ſtrive for Greatneſs, they did not long for their Neighbour's Land, neither ſold of their own, but (keeping good Hoſpitality, and plainly ever attired) were very rich. Well, if the Hat alone, and, in ſo ſhort a Time, hath put *England* to that Charge, by Change of Faſhion only; What hath Lawns, Cambricks, Silks, Sattins, Velvets, and the reſt done, and Change of Faſhion in them? I will deliver you my Opinion (out of Love to my Country, and Deſire of Reformation) and leave it to the Correction of the Wiſer. The Money, which is moſt ſuperfluouſly beſtowed in Apparel in this little Iſland, is thought able to maintain a Navy, to command the Sea-forces of all our Neighbours bordering on the narrow Seas, of *Spain*, and of the Pirates, and all others in the *Mediterranean* Sea. How far they further may ſhew their Force in the Sea leading to *Conſtantinople*, I will not take upon me to judge. Yet one other Effect theſe Peacocks Feathers (in this gilded, not golden Age) worketh: The moſt Part of the Gentry of this Kingdom are ſo far in the Uſurers Books, by their over-reaching Heads to climb to Greatneſs, and they and their Wives to exceed their Neighbours in Bravery and Place, that they live in continual Care, and, like Fiſhes in Nets, the more they ſtrive to get out, the faſter they hang. I could bring many Sentences of the Wiſe and Learned againſt theſe vain, peeviſh, childleſs, thriftleſs, and painted Fools, as I did againſt Drunkards; but I will only tell you an old Tale, and ſo conclude this Part: A Knight named *Young*, a Man of an excellent Mother Wit, very pleaſant, and full of delightful and merry Speech, was commended to our late Sovereign Queen *Eliſabeth*, who cauſed him to be brought to her, took great Pleaſure to talk with him; and, amongſt other Things, ſhe aſked him, How he liked a Company of brave Ladies that were in her Preſence? He anſwered, As I like my Silver-haired Conies at Home; the Caſes are far better than the Bodies. Theſe our named Gallants are well compared to ſuch Conies, and are deceived much, to think they better their Reputation by their Bravery; for many, even ordinary Taylors in *London*, are in their Silks, Sattins, and Velvets, as well as they: And, in *Italy*, every baſe ordinary Blackſmith doth exceed, on the Sabbath-day and other Holidays, or equal the braveſt of them. I wiſh them therefore to compare the ſweet Country with the unſavoury *London*, wherein they are moſt reſident, which is the Cauſe of great Expence, in Bravery, in Gaming, Drinking, Reſorting to Plays, Brothel-houſes, and many other great Follies; and I dare ſay, they ſhall find more true Pleaſure in one Year, living like their Fore-fathers in the Country, than in twenty living in *London*.

## *Touching Suits in Law.*

HErein I muſt bear an even Hand, and ſpeak nothing that ſhall give juſt Cauſe of Offence; yet *Veritas non culpanda* *.

In our Law Proceedings, I find (in my ſimple Judgment, ever ſubject to the Correction of the Wiſer) ſundry Inconveniences. The firſt is, that although they have in their Law a Maxim, *De minimis non curat Lex* †, yet they admit every trifling Action for Gain; even of ſuch poor Clients alſo, as have ſcarcely Bread to give their Children; wherein oftentimes is more ſpent, than thrice the Value of that they ſtrive for.

I heard of two Men, who fell at Variance about an Hive of Bees, and went to Law, until he, that had ſpent leaſt, had ſpent five-hundred Pounds.

I heard alſo of two Brethren, who contended in Chancery for a Chain of Gold worth ſixty Pounds. The Elder, being Executor, kept the Chain; the Younger had Proof, that his Father ſaid often in his Life-time, that the Chain ſhould be his: The Suit proceeded, until they had ſpent above an hundred Pounds. And, on a Day, being both at the Chancery Bar, they touched one another; and the elder Brother deſired to ſpeak with the younger, and ſaid, Brother, you ſee how theſe Men feed on us, and we are as near an End of our Cauſe, as when we firſt began; come and dine with me,

* *i. e.* Truth ought not to be blamed. † *i. e.* The Law takes no Cogniſance of Trifles.

and I will give you the one Half of the Chain, and keep the other, and ſo end this endleſs Cauſe: And, I pray you, let us both make much of this Wit, ſo dearly bought. Thus was this Cauſe ended.

There was a Widow and a Gentleman, that contended for a Seat in the Church, at the Civil Law; and this Gentleman, talking of his Suit for his Seat, proteſted, that it had coſt him ſo great a Sum, as that (for the Credit of theſe Courts) I am loth to name. One wondering thereat, he ſaid, It was moſt true; and ſaid further, They have ſpun me, at length, like a Twine Thread; and named the Number of Courts he had been twiſted in, and the ſtrange Number of chargeable Commiſſions which paſſed between them. Thus you ſee the old Saying true: *If you go to Law for a Nut, the Lawyers will crack it, give each of you half the Shell, and chop up the Kernel themſelves.*

There is a Thing which long ſince happened in *France*, very memorable, touching the endleſs Cauſes in the Civil Law: A Stranger, having ſold great Store of Merchandiſe there, and not paid, entered Suit againſt his Debtors, wherein he ſpent more than his Debts came unto; and thereupon greatly perplexed, eſpecially ſeeing no Likelihood of an End of his Suits, or obtaining his Debts; he went to the King, and ſaid, I have a great Complaint againſt one in your Kingdom, and I humbly deſire you to hear me patiently: The King ſaid, Tell me againſt whom, I will very patiently and willingly hear thee. My Lord, ſaid he, it is againſt yourſelf: Againſt me, ſaid the King, How ſo? Whatſoever it be, ſpeak it freely, and fear nothing: Whereupon the Merchant told him, That he did ſuffer moſt intolerable, coſtly, and tedious Courſes in the Proceedings of Law in his Kingdom (which is there only the Civil Law) and ſuch as, I think, will never have an End, as long as the Clients have Money to give the Lawyers; and told him withal, of all his Proceedings. Well, ſaid the wiſe King, I will firſt ſee thee fully ſatisfied, and then reform this foul Abuſe: And preſently thereupon did take ſuch excellent Order for the quick and juſt End of Cauſes, that his Subjects did name him, *Pater Patriæ*; and he was ſo admired, and ſo heartily loved of them, as, I think, never King was before or ſince.

I could ſpeak further of two Citizens of *London*, who fell out for the Kicking of a Dog, and went ſo long to Law, until their Books could not be contained in two Buſhel Bags. This Cauſe, thus ſtanding without Shew of End, our late gracious Sovereign Queen *Eliſabeth* cauſed to be arbitrated. I could ſpeak of many more like vain and trifling Suits, which, as little Springs, firſt creep out at the Foot of an Hill, and, by long Running, grow to be great Rivers: But theſe ſhall ſuffice, *Quia in infinitis inſtare, infinitum**.

I have heard of a very laudable Order in *Spain*: There are appointed certain Men, called *Juſtices*, which are diſperſed over the whole Kingdom; every one limited to certain Pariſhes, in which he hath Authority to hear Complaints of Miſdemeanours, and trifling Quarrels, and to puniſh Offenders, either by Fine (whereof he hath Part, and the King the reſt) or corporal Puniſhment, as he ſeeth good; and to end alſo Cauſes for trifling Debts, and other Matters (being of no great Moment) whatſoever, without Suit: Whereas, in *England*, there are an infinite Number of Suits tolerated for Words, for the leaſt Blow, for Cattle breaking into Ground, for trifling Debts, and ſuch like; ſo that, if one have ten Shillings owing him, nay five, or leſs, he cannot have it but by Suit in Law, in ſome petty Court, where it will coſt thirty or forty Shillings Charge of Suit. But, to end this Chapter, I could wiſh that our Juſtices, by Commiſſion, were authoriſed to ſit in ſeveral Parts, to which they dwell neareſt; and, before any Suit be brought, the Plaintiff ſhould ſhew his Cauſe of Complaint, and thereupon, if it were for Title of much Land, or Matter of great Moment, he ſhould be ſuffered to proceed in Law; but, if otherwiſe, they ſhould determine it themſelves, or refer it to others, as (the Perſons and Cauſes conſidered) they thought good, and likewiſe to puniſh Miſdemeanours; which would breed great Peace in this Land, and prevent the utter Undoing of many.

*A Second Inconvenience.*

This is the Multiplicity of Attornies at the Common Law or Chancery, Under-clerks, and many Petty-foggers dwelling and diſperſed over all this Kingdom; which may well be

* *i. e.* Becauſe there would b no End of ſuch endleſs Matters.

compared

compared to ſuch as ſtand with Quail-pipes, ever calling the poor ſilly Bird into the Net.

I heard it credibly reported, that, a few Years ſince, there were not above two or three Attornies in the *Iſle of Wight*, and not many more Cauſes or Suits at Law; but now there are (ſaid the Reporter) at the leaſt Sixty, and many more Suits in Law. The Reaſon, he added, was this: If any be angry with his Neighbour, he hath one of theſe ready and near at Hand, to whom he openeth his Grief; who is alſo as ready preſently to ſet him on for his own Gain, telling him his Cauſe is clear, and he ſhall never wag his Foot, but he will do all for him, and fetch his Adverſary about well enough. On the Contrary, the other hath one as ready to tell him, how well he will defend his Cauſe. So theſe two enter Combate, and, when both are weary, then Neighbours end the Cauſe; and to that End, for the moſt Part, come all Suits of *England*. How much better, then, were it, at the firſt, to commit Cauſes to Neighbours? For no Cauſes ſeldom have ſo good End by Law, as by Neighbours: *Iniquiſſima pax juſtiſſimo bello anteferenda*, i. e. *The moſt unjuſt Peace is preferable to the moſt juſt War.*

### *The Third is, Motions made in the Courts, eſpecially in the Chancery.*

There are ſome Counſellors, who will, in their Motions, report whatſoever their Client telleth them, be it true or falſe; and theſe are well ſaid to have *voces venales*, that is, to be ſuch, as that, for Money, you may have them tell what Tale you will*. Theſe alſo abuſe the Courts, and cauſe divers Orders to be made, by their falſe Suggeſtions, which make Suits very tedious, and more coſtly; inſomuch that, about Orders only, there is oftentimes more Money and Time ſpent, than ought to be about the whole Subſtance of the Cauſe.

### *The Fourth.*

This is the great Fees which Counſellors take, whereby the Clients are much impoveriſhed; for they, not looking into their Conſciences, what they deſerve, or how hardly their Client (perhaps poor) may ſpare it, take all that comes, and are like Gulfs without Bottoms, never full. And further, if you have a Day of Tryal, or Hearing, and fee your Counſellor, although he be abſent, and do you no Good, yet he ſwalloweth your Fee, as good Booty. There is a Remedy by Law for exceſſive Fees, as I have heard; but it taketh no good Effect.

### *The Fifth.*

This is Making long Bills in the *Engliſh* Courts, full of Matter impertinent, from the Fulneſs of their Malice, to put the Defendant to greater Charge. Theſe Men are often in like Sort requited, and beaten with their own Rods; wherefore I compare them to one, that will put out one of his own Eyes, to do his Enemy the like Harm. I wiſh that ſuch a Man may pay well for his Folly to his Enemy.

### *The Sixth.*

This is eſpecially in the *Engliſh* Courts alſo, where the Under-clerks, with their large Margins, with their great Diſtance between their Lines, with Protraction of Words, and with their many Daſhes and Slaſhes, put in Places of Words, lay their Greedineſs open to the whole World; and I have heard many ſay, that they are as Men void of all Conſcience, not caring how they get Money, ſo they have it; and that, with as good a Conſcience, they may take a Purſe by the High-way, but not with ſo little Danger; and that is all the Difference. I did ſee an Anſwer to a Bill of forty of their Sheets, which, copied out, was brought to ſix Sheets; in which Copy there was very ſufficient Margin left, and good Diſtance between the Lines. Hereby every Man may ſee how infinitely, by the Abuſe of Petty-clerks (the Court of Chancery ſwelling, and ready to burſt with Cauſes, the Star-chamber, and the reſt) the whole Kingdom is robbed, as it were; for that Copy, which ſhould have coſt but four Shillings, coſt four Nobles. There was one preſented our late worthy Lady and Queen, *Eliſabeth*, with a Piece of Paper, no bigger than a Penny, whereon were written the *Pater-noſter*, the Creed, and a Prayer for her. Now I wiſh, that all ſuch Clerks ſhould be Apprentices a While to ſuch a Scribe; for ſo, falling from one Extream to

* *Quere*, Do not the Council, who plead for a Brief, do the ſame?

another, they may be brought to a Mean: But, as for the higher Clerks and Officers, they would fain have this foul and unconſcionable Fault amended, becauſe it maketh nothing for their Profit.

*The Seventh.*

This laſt that I will ſpeak of, but not the laſt, yet leaſt by many, is touching Interrogatories, and Examinations of Witneſſes. There are many, that ſet down vain and frivolous Interrogatories, nothing at all to the Matter in Queſtion, and thereupon cauſe many to be examined, whoſe Teſtimony maketh nothing to any Purpoſe, neither is ever read or heard, but only cauſeth long, tedious, needleſs, and coſtly Books, to the Grievance and exceſſive Charge of the Subject. Thus have I, as it were, only nominated Seven Inconveniences, to perſuade Men to Peace, and to end at Home ſuch Quarrels as ariſe, without great Vexation of Mind, without great Trouble of Body in Riding and Running, and without exceſſive Expences; all which, together with Neglect of all Buſineſs, do neceſſarily follow Suits and Controverſies in Law: *Ictus piſcator dixit.* As for many others, which are greater, and whereof the laſt Parliament began to ſpeak, with Intent to reform the ſame, I will ſay nothing. But theſe ſeven Motes I deſire to be picked out of their long Gowns.

So have I briefly, without our new-born Ink-pot Terms, delivered to the View of the World my Paradox, and Expoſition thereof, with Hope to perſuade ſome of the wiſer Sort to avoid Drunkenneſs, Exceſs in Apparel, and Controverſies in Law, with Matters ſubſequent; which are three of the moſt common, coſtly, and offenſive Evils now reigning; that, by their Example, others may learn to live a civil, plain, quiet, and contented Life; whereby, ſeeming poor, they ſhall be rich; whereas others, beſtowing much in Feaſting and Drunkenneſs, braving it out with a glorious Outſide only, and painted Apparel, living in Controverſy, and ſparing no large Fees, or great Bribes, to overcome their Adverſaries, ſeem only to be rich, but are indeed very beggarly. Wherefore I conclude, as I begun, *Our Fathers were rich with Little, and we Beggars with Much*; for we uſe our Much ill, and they uſed their Little well.

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# An Hiſtorical Account of the Life and Tryal of *Nicholas Anthoine*, burnt for *Judaiſm* at *Geneva*, in the Year 1632. *Quarto*, containing fifteen Pages.

*Nicholas Anthoine* was born of Popiſh Parents, at *Brieu* in *Lorrain*. His Father took a particular Care of his Education, and ſent him to the College of *Luxemburg*, where he ſtudied five Years. From thence he was removed to *Pont-à-Mouſſon*, *Triers*, and *Cologne*; where he went on with his Studies under the Direction of the *Jeſuits*, till he was about twenty Years of Age. Being returned to his Father's, and diſliking the Church of *Rome*, he repaired to *Metz*, and applied himſelf to M. *Ferry*, an eminent Divine of that City, who inſtructed him in the Proteſtant Religion, which he heartily embraced. From that Time he profeſſed himſelf a Proteſtant, and endeavoured to convert his Relations to the Reformed Religion. From *Metz*, he was ſent to *Sedan*, in Order to ſtudy Divinity; and from thence to *Geneva*, where he continued his Theological Studies. He applied himſelf particularly to the Reading of the Old Teſtament; and finding ſeveral Difficulties in the New, which ſeemed to him unanſwerable, he inwardly embraced the *Jewiſh* Religion, about five or ſix Years before his Tryal. His firſt Doubts were occaſioned by his comparing the two Genealogies of *Jeſus Chriſt*, as they are related by St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke*: But when he came to examine the Paſſages of the Old Teſtament, that are applied to the *Meſſias* in the New, he proved ſo weak as to renounce his Chriſtianity. And, as new Notions of Religion frequently make a greater

greater Impreſſion, than thoſe wherein Men have been bred up from their younger Years, he grew ſo zealous for *Judaiſm*, that he reſolved to make an open Profeſſion of it. Accordingly he left *Geneva*, and returned to *Metz*, and immediately diſcovered his Opinions to the *Jews* of that City, and deſired to be admitted into their Synagogue: But they refuſed him, for fear of bringing themſelves into Trouble; and adviſed him to go the *Jews* of *Amſterdam*, or *Venice*. Whereupon he reſolved to take a Journey to *Venice*, and earneſtly intreated the *Jews* of that Town to circumciſe him. But he was again diſappointed; for thoſe *Jews* refuſed to comply with his Deſire, and told him the Senate had forbid them to circumciſe any Body that was not born a *Jew*. *Anthoine*, longing to receive the Seal of the *Jewiſh* Covenant, went quickly to *Padua*, in Hopes that the *Jews* of that Place would be more favourable to him; but they gave him the ſame Anſwer. The *Jews* of that City, and thoſe of *Venice*, told him, that he might be ſaved, without making an outward Profeſſion of *Judaiſm*, provided he remained faithful to God in his Heart. This made him reſolve to return to *Geneva*, where he had more Acquaintances than any where elſe. M. *Diodati*, Miniſter and Profeſſor of that City, took him into his Houſe, to be Tutor to his Children. He pretended to go on with his Theological Studies, and was for ſome Time Teacher of the firſt Claſs. Afterwards he diſputed for the Chair of Philoſophy, but without any Succeſs. All that Time he lived outwardly like a true Chriſtian; for he confeſſed at his Tryal, that he had conſtantly received the Communion; but, in private he lived, and performed his Devotions, like a *Jew*. At laſt, being poor, and weary of the Condition he was in, and wanting a Settlement, he deſired a Teſtimonial of the Church of *Geneva*, which was granted him, and went to the Synod of *Burgundy*, held at *Gex*, in Order to be admitted into the Miniſtry. He was admitted according to Cuſtom, promiſing to follow the Doctrine of the Old and New Teſtament, the Diſcipline and Confeſſion of Faith of the Reformed Churches of *France*, &c. and was appointed Miniſter of the Church of *Divonne*, in the Country of *Gex*.

He had not been long there, when the Lord of that Place perceived he never mentioned *Jeſus Chriſt* in his Prayers and Sermons; that he took his Text only out of the Old Teſtament, and applied to ſome other Perſons all the Paſſages of the Old Teſtament, which the Chriſtians underſtand of *Jeſus Chriſt*. This raiſed great Suſpicions againſt him: When he came to hear of it, he was very much perplexed; and, being naturally of a melancholy Temper, he fell into a Fit of Madneſs, in the Month of *February*, 1632. Which was looked upon as a manifeſt Judgment of God, becauſe it happened the very next Day after he had expounded the Second *Pſalm*, without applying it to our Saviour. He grew ſo diſtracted, that he moved upon his Hands and Feet in his Chamber, publickly exclaimed againſt the Chriſtian Religion, and particularly in the Preſence of ſome Miniſters of *Geneva*, who went to ſee him. He horribly inveighed againſt the Perſon of Chriſt, calling him an Idol, *&c.* and ſaying that the New Teſtament was a meer Fable. He called for a Chafing-diſh full of burning Coals, and told the Divines, who were in his Chamber, that he would put his Hand into the Fire to maintain his Doctrine, bidding them do the like for their Chriſt. His Madneſs increaſed to ſuch a Degree, that he ran away in the Night from thoſe under whoſe Cuſtody he was, as far as the Gates of *Geneva*, where he was found the next Morning half naked, and lying in the Dirt; and having pulled off his Shoes in the Name of the true God of *Iſrael*, he worſhiped him barefooted, proſtrated upon the Ground, and blaſpheming againſt Chriſt.

The Magiſtrates of *Geneva* ordered him to be carried into an Hoſpital, where the Phyſicians took Care of him, and he was viſited by ſome Divines. His Mind was compoſed by Degrees, and then he left off ſpeaking injuriouſly of Chriſt, and the Chriſtian Religion, but ſtoutly maintained *Judaiſm*. Being thus recovered from his Madneſs, he was committed to Jail, where he remained a conſiderable Time before the Magiſtrates took Cogniſance of that Affair; being only viſited by ſeveral Divines, who uſed their utmoſt Endeavours to make him ſenſible of the Falſity of his Doctrine, and the Enormity of his Conduct, and to bring him over to the Chriſtian Religion; but he perſiſted in his Opinions.

M. *Ferry*

M. *Ferry* *, a Miniſter of *Metz*, who, as I have ſaid before, had converted *Anthoine* to the Proteſtant Religion, hearing of the ſad Condition, and the great Danger he was in, writ a Letter about him, the 30th of *March*, to the Miniſters and Profeſſors of the Church and Academy of *Geneva*. It contains ſeveral Particulars relating to the Hiſtory of that unhappy Man; and therefore, I think it neceſſary to inſert it in this Place, and I hope no curious Reader will blame me for it. The Letter runs thus:

*Gentlemen, and moſt honoured Brethren,*

'I Beg your Pardon for the Fault I am going to commit, if you take it to be ſuch: And indeed, I do not pretend to repreſent any Thing to you, but in Order to ſubmit it to your Cenſure. I have heard, with an unſpeakable Grief, what has happened to that poor Wretch, who is amongſt you; and I beſeech you to forgive my Freedom in writing to you about it. I do not do it altogether without the Requeſt of others. Beſides, one muſt not expect a Call to preſerve an unfortunate Man, who runs himſelf into Deſtruction; ſince God and Nature, and our ancient Acquaintance and Friendſhip, may be a ſufficient Motive for me to do it. To which I add, that having been inſtrumental in bringing him to Salvation, I think I have great Reaſon to deſire that he may not undo himſelf, and to endeavour, with your Leave, to prevent it. I thank God, ſince he has thought fit to make him a new Example of human Frailty, that he has brought him amongſt you, that you might prevent his doing Miſchief, and endeavour to reclaim him. I think, Gentlemen, that Mildneſs and Patience will be the moſt proper Means to ſucceed in it. I make no Doubt that his Illneſs proceeds from a black and deep Melancholy, to which I always perceived he was very much inclined; eſpecially after he had ſeduced a young Man, whom he brought hither from *Sedan*, in Hopes to get ſomething by teaching him Philoſophy, and then he privately carried him farther, though I had earneſtly deſired him to ſend him back, and exhorted the young Man to return to *Sedan*, which was M. *Du Moulin*'s Deſire, to whom he had been recommended. From that Time he could not bear the Light in any Room of a Gentleman's Houſe, where I had placed him, being always uneaſy, reſtleſs, and ſilent. Nay, he had much ado to expreſs himſelf, and it was a hard Matter to make him ſpeak, tho' I earneſtly deſired him to be more free, and ſent for him, and made him dine with me now and then, and took all poſſible Care of him. Which we aſcribed to the ill Succeſs he had in a Synod of the Iſle of *France*, whither he had been ſent with a Teſtimonial, and Recommendation of the Church and Academy of *Sedan*, notwithſtanding which, he did not appear ſufficiently qualified for the Miniſtry. After he had enticed away that young Man, he writ ſeveral Letters to me, wherein he expreſſed a great Grief for it; and in all of them he uſed many Words, which ſhewed his Mind was very much dejected, being above all Things ſenſible of the Reproofs he had received for it. So that I thought myſelf obliged to write to him now and then, to clear his Mind of thoſe needleſs Scruples, and of ſuch an unreaſonable and dangerous Vexation, and to exhort him to apply himſelf to his Study with Chearfulneſs, and a Reſolution to do better for the Time to come. It is therefore highly probable that his Melancholy has been heightened by thoſe cloudy Thoughts, and likewiſe by the Poverty and Want of many Things, into which he fell ſoon after, and whereof he complained to me in his Letters, ſo far as to mention the Temptations under which his Mind was almoſt ready to ſink. To this I may add the Nature of his Studies bent upon the Old Teſtament, on which he writ to me, that he was drawing up a Concordance. However, tho' thoſe Things were not the true Cauſe of his Illneſs, you know, Gentlemen, that there is a Sort of Melancholy, in which the Phyſicians acknowledge θεῖον τι, which is neither a Crime, nor a Divine Puniſhment, but a great Misfortune. Certainly, that, which he lies under, is very deplorable; but, Gentlemen, I think I may ſay that, though Nature is the Inſtrument of God's Providence, yet all Accidents ought not to be looked upon as

* A large Account of that eminent Divine may be ſeen in the *Hiſtorical and Critical Dictionary*, lately publiſhed in *Engliſh*.

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'Puniſhments, or Signs of a wicked Life, 'nor the Madneſs of that poor Wretch as a 'formal Chaſtiſement for his Error; there 'being ſo many Reaſons to believe that it 'proceeds from the Diſorder of the Brain, and 'from Melancholy. His Madneſs ſeems to 'be only an exorbitant Fit of Melancholy, 'which being allayed by Remedies, he appears 'now in his former State: And, though he 'errs only in the ſingle Point, for which he 'is proſecuted, there is no Reaſon to infer 'from it, that he ſpeaks in cold Blood, and 'with a ſound Mind. For it is the Proper-'ty of that Sort of Melancholy, to have but 'one Object, leaving the Mind free in all 'other Things, as you know better than 'I. There are ſome who ſpeak upon any 'Subject with great Learning and Sedateneſs, 'and have but one Grain of Madneſs, which 'they diſcover only by Intervals, to thoſe 'who hit upon it. I am the more willing to 'compare that unfortunate Man to them, be-'cauſe, in that very Thing, wherein he pre-'tends to be wiſe, he appears moſt ridiculous; 'for he ſays what he would be aſhamed of 'out of his Fit, though he were no *Chriſtian*; 'ſince he denies, as I hear, what the very '*Heathens* and *Jews* acknowledge. And 'therefore it is not a Hereſy, but a Blaſphe-'my, which proceeds from a Mind rather 'diſtempered than perverted. His uſual 'Frights and Horrors are, in my Opinion, a 'certain Sign of it; and there is no Reaſon to 'aſcribe them to a Divine Judgment, and to 'infer from thence that he is a Reprobate. 'After all, Gentlemen, it is certain he im-'poſes upon you, when he tells you that he 'believed, eight or ten Years ago, what he 'believes now: For, ſince that Time, he has 'not only given all Manner of Proofs of his '*Chriſtianity*, but alſo brought over to the 'Reformed Religion his eldeſt Brother, who 'lives honeſtly among us; and he has endea-'voured to work the ſame Effect upon his 'Father, to whom he has writ many Letters, 'ſeveral of which I have opened; wherein 'he expreſſed a great Zeal, and a wonderful 'Love for *Jeſus Chriſt*, and the *Chriſtian* 'Truths, that are taught in our Churches. 'And, in Order to bring over his Relations 'to our Religion, he writ to them, That he 'was ready to die for it, if God required it of 'him. Nay, when he was admitted into the 'Miniſtry, he acquainted me with it, in a 'Letter from *Geneva*, dated the Twenty-'ninth of *November*; being uſed to call me, 'as he did then, his *dear ghoſtly Father*, 'whom God had been pleaſed to make Uſe 'of, in Order to bring him to the Know-'ledge of the true Religion: And he deſired 'me to acquaint his Relations with it, being 'fully reſolved for the Future to lead a better 'Life, and to perform his Duty to the Ut-'moſt of his Power. And therefore, Gen-'tlemen, and moſt honoured Brethren, I 'think he ought not to be believed in what he 'ſays, during ſuch a Diſorder of his Mind; 'and I hope, that, if you allow him ſome 'Time to recover from his Phrenſy, as I 'underſtand you do, he will no longer blaſ-'pheme, and God will give you Comfort 'after your Labour and Patience. To that 'End, I wiſh none may have Acceſs to him, 'but ſuch as are familiarly acquainted with 'him, or for whom he has a particular Re-'ſpect and Veneration, and by whom he may 'be gently uſed; leſt his Mind be exaſperated 'by too many Viſitants, or by an unſeaſon-'able, though juſt Severity.

'Gentlemen, give me Leave to tell you, 'that it ſeems highly neceſſary, for the Edifi-'cation of the Church, that this Affair ſhould 'be managed with great Prudence. If you 'make an Example of him, it will, doubt-'leſs, prove extremely prejudicial. I intreat 'you to conſider the great Scandal, it will 'occaſion far and near, and what might be 'ſaid againſt the Office and Profeſſion of a 'Man converted from Popery, who has learn-'ed to *judaize* among us, in the moſt fa-'mous Academies, converſing every Day with 'ſeveral Paſtors. Beſides, *Judaiſm* being no 'dangerous Sect, it does not ſeem neceſſary 'to prevent the ill Conſequences of it by a 'publick Puniſhment; nay, perhaps every 'Body would not approve of it. There are 'ſome extraordinary Crimes, for which when 'the guilty Perſon is to be puniſhed, it is not 'done in Publick; and the Proceedings are 'ſuppreſſed, to clear the preſent Age from 'ſuch an Infamy, and to leave no Marks of 'it to Poſterity. However, there is no Need 'of being too haſty in a Thing, that may be 'done as well in Time, and when a Delay 'cannot be prejudicial, but rather uſeful. '*Servetus* had a long Time allowed him for 'his Amendment, though he had dogmatiſed 'above twenty Years in cold Blood, and in

'ſeveral

'several Places, both by Word of Mouth, 'and in written and printed Books, about 'Things much more subtle and dangerous; 'and yet, Gentlemen, you know the various Discourses, that were occasioned by his 'Execution. I do not say this, because I 'find Fault with it; on the Contrary, I 'think such pernicious Errors could not be 'better suppressed, than by committing the 'Author to the Flames. But this Man cannot be compared to *Servetus*, I pray God to 'give him a better End. And I beseech you, 'Gentlemen and most honoured Brethren, 'not to grow weary in this Work of your 'great Charity, wherein he will direct you 'to use such Remedies, as are necessary to 'reclaim that unfortunate Man, and to preserve the Church from such an Infamy. 'This is the Design of this Letter, which I 'humbly beseech you not to be offended with; 'otherwise I should be sorry to have writ it, 'excepting the Wishes I have just now made, 'and my further Prayers to God, That he 'would plentifully bless you and your holy 'Labours, increase your Church, and ever 'keep you under his Protection. I beg of 'you the Continuance of your Benevolence, 'being, with great Sincerity, Gentlemen,

*Your most humble,*
*most obedient, and most*
*affectionate Servant,*
FERRY.

*Metz, March* 30, 1632.

M. *Mestrezat*, a learned Divine of the Church of *Paris*, writ two Letters to M. *Chabrey*, his Brother-in-Law, and Minister of *Geneva*; wherein I find two Passages, that deserve likewise to be imparted to the Publick. M. *Mestrezat* thought *Anthoine* had been a Monk. His first Letter is dated from *Paris*, *March* 12, 1632.

'I am troubled for you (says he, in that 'Letter) about your *Antitrinitarian*. The 'Writings of our Predecessors, *de puniendis Hæreticis*, have not been very edifying, and 'prove very prejudicial to us, in the Countries 'where the Magistrates are our Enemies. It 'is true, the Enormity of that Man, his 'Blasphemies, his Profession of *Christianity*, 'and his Ministry aggravate his Crime. May 'God Almighty direct your Magistrates in 'the Matter! If every Body had the same 'Thoughts of Monks, as I have, none of 'them should ever be admitted into the holy 'Ministry. I pray God to remove, by the 'Efficacy of his Word, the Scandal occasioned by that profligate Man, and to keep 'you under his Protection.'

The second Letter of M. *Mestrezat* is only dated *March* 30, 1632, but it was likewise written from *Paris*. The following Passage is to be found in it:

'As to what concerns your *Jewish* Monk, 'and revolted Minister, the most judicious 'Persons in this Town wish he may be confined to a perpetual Imprisonment, and not 'be allowed to see any Body, but such as are 'qualified to reclaim him. They are very 'much afraid of the Consequences of a publick 'Execution, lest it should be inferred from it, 'by our Adversaries in these Parts, that 'Words spoken against the Pope (the pretended Vicar of *Jesus Christ*) or against the 'Host of the Mass, are likewise Blasphemies 'against Christ, and ought to be punished in 'the same Manner; for they talk in the same 'Strain, and all supreme Magistrates are 'Judges of Consequences, in their Jurisdictions.'

Whilst *Nicholas Anthoine* was a Prisoner, he presented three Petitions to the Council. The First is dated *March* 11, 1632, and begins thus: *In the Name of the great God of Heaven, who is the mighty God of* Israel: *His holy Name be blessed for ever.* Amen. He beseeches the Council to get some Papers concerning his Faith restored to him, which he had delivered to a Divine, who asked for them in their Name; that he may revise, correct, and finish them, before any Thing be inferred from them. And then he adds: *Enquerez vous de ma vie*, &c. That is, 'Enquire into my Life; I have always endeavoured to live in the Fear of God, and to 'seek and follow the right Way to Salvation. 'God discovers his Secret to those who honour 'him. What I do is only to give an Account of my Faith, to the Glory of God, 'and for the Salvation of my Soul. God 'knows my Heart, and is a Witness to my 'Integrity and Innocence. Do not draw innocent Blood upon your Heads, nor upon your 'Families, and your City; and God, in whose 'Hands we all are, will bless you, if you

'love

‘ love his holy Ways. I beſeech him with ‘ all my Soul to bleſs you, and to touch your ‘ Hearts, that you may be moved with Pity ‘ and Compaſſion towards me, the poor and ‘ afflicted Servant of the Lord, *&c.*’

*Anthoine* preſented his ſecond Petition the next Day, *March* 12; which I ſhall inſert at Length.

*In the Name of the Lord, the God of* Iſrael.

*Magnificent and moſt Honoured Lords,*

‘ WHAT I am going to repreſent to you ‘ is not with an Intent to avoid Death. ‘ According to God, I do not deſerve it; for ‘ I fear him, I love him, and bleſs him, and ‘ will bleſs and worſhip his holy, glorious, ‘ and adorable Name to my laſt Breath. Ne- ‘ vertheleſs, according to your Laws and Be- ‘ lief, and what is commonly objected to me, ‘ you will think I juſtly deſerve it. If God ‘ would be pleaſed to do it, he would ſhew ‘ his great Wonders, by delivering me; not ‘ for my Sake, who am a poor and miſerable ‘ Sinner, but to glorify his great and adorable ‘ Name, and that all the Earth might know, ‘ that he is the Almighty God, who reigns in ‘ the World. I invoke his holy Name, and ‘ implore his Grace and Mercy. Whoſoever ‘ puts his Truſt in the Lord ſhall never be ‘ aſhamed. Why ſhould we be afraid of ‘ Men? God is above all, and nothing comes ‘ to paſs without his Permiſſion.

‘ Magnificent and moſt Honoured Lords, ‘ Since two Things are commonly objected, ‘ to me, 1, That I have ſtrayed from the ‘ Way to Salvation. 2. That, though I were ‘ in the right Way to Salvation, yet, having ‘ ſuch a Belief, I ſhould not have embraced ‘ the Office of Miniſter, nor come into your ‘ City to give you Offence; by your Leave, ‘ I ſhall endeavour to anſwer thoſe two Points ‘ in a few Words.

‘ As to the *firſt* Point, I believe I am in the ‘ Way to Truth and Salvation, and ſhall per- ‘ ſevere in it, till I am ſhewed the Contrary ‘ by good Reaſons taken from the Old Teſ- ‘ tament. I worſhip one only God; I endea- ‘ vour to follow the Law, to the beſt of my ‘ Power; I will fear, love, and bleſs the ho- ‘ ly Name of God to the End of my Life.

‘ As to the *ſecond* Point, Your Lordſhips ‘ muſt know, that the People of *Iſrael* re- ‘ fuſed to admit me among them, and told me, ‘ that I might live every where, and among ‘ all Nations, in the Fear of God, without ‘ diſcovering my Opinions. I have endured ‘ a Thouſand Hardſhips in my Way to *Venice*, ‘ and in that City, where I have been, for ‘ ſome Time, in a very miſerable Condition; ‘ and I came away more afflicted ſtill, and ‘ more miſerable; nevertheleſs, I always put ‘ my Truſt in the Lord. I could not reſolve ‘ to live among the Papiſts, for I had ſworn ‘ to do it no more, having a great Abhorrence ‘ for their Idolatry. Beſides, I was afraid of ‘ being charged with Inconſtancy. Nay, ‘ had I been diſcovered among them, they ‘ would have been more cruel to me, than ‘ your Lordſhips uſe to be towards thoſe, who ‘ are not accuſed of any Crime, but only pro- ‘ ſecuted for Religion. I have embraced the ‘ Miniſtry, becauſe I thought I was ſuffici- ‘ ently qualified for it; becauſe I was far in ‘ Years; becauſe I was willing to keep Houſe, ‘ and, perhaps, to marry in Time; and I had ‘ no Mind to diſcover myſelf at that Time. ‘ How many are married, and perhaps have ‘ quite another Belief than yours, and yet will ‘ not leave and forſake their Children upon ‘ ſuch an Account! As for what is ſaid, That ‘ I have ſcandaliſed you and your City by my ‘ ſtrange Proceedings, it was through a diſor- ‘ dered Mind; it is not I; I do not know ‘ who it was; God knows it; and therefore, ‘ I think, I deſerve to be pardoned in that ‘ Reſpect, ſince it was not I, but a terrible, ‘ dreadful, and ſupernatural Power, as the ‘ whole Town may witneſs, and no Body will ‘ be offended at it. Rather than come and ‘ ſurrender myſelf into your Hands, of my ‘ own Motion, I had rather have fled to the ‘ remoteſt Part of the World.

‘ Magnificent and moſt Honoured Lords, ‘ Have a Care you do not draw innocent ‘ Blood upon your Heads, and your Families, ‘ and City, by putting me to Death; for, ‘ perhaps, you know not the Wonders of ‘ God, the mighty God of *Iſrael*, and why ‘ he has ſo miraculouſly tranſported me into ‘ this Town. If the Beginning of it has been ‘ miraculous, perhaps the End will be more ‘ miraculous ſtill. I ſhall never be aſhamed, ‘ becauſe the Lord is my Truſt and Refuge. ‘ Let the holy Name of the Lord, the great ‘ God of *Iſrael*, be for ever bleſſed and glori- ‘ fied by all Men, and in all Places.

‘ Magnifi-

'Magnificent and moſt Honoured Lords, 'If you think I deſerve to be put to Death, 'and if the Lord God is pleaſed it ſhould be 'ſo, his Will be done. If you releaſe me, 'you will releaſe an innocent Soul, which 'fears the God of Heaven. I pray God with 'all my Heart, that he would be pleaſed to 'pour his moſt holy Bleſſings upon you, and 'to move your Hearts, if it be his good 'Will; being,

*Magnificent and moſt Honoured Lords, Your moſt humble Servant and Priſoner,*

Geneva, March 12, 1632.

N. ANTHOINE.

On the Eleventh of *April*, *Anthoine* was brought to his Tryal, and, beſides ſeveral other Things, which I have already mentioned, he declared that he was a *Jew*, beſeeching God to grant him, that he might die for the *Jewiſh* Religion; that he believed there had been ſuch a Man as *Jeſus Chriſt*, but he knew not whether he had been crucified; that he did not believe him to be God, nor the Son of God, nor the *Meſſias*, ſince there is but one God, without any Diſtinction of Perſons, and the Time of the *Meſſias* was not come yet; that he rejected the New Teſtament, becauſe he found many Contradictions in it, and becauſe it did not agree with the Old; that he got himſelf admitted into the Miniſtry, becauſe the *Jews* told him he might outwardly profeſs any Religion, without Endangering his Salvation, and becauſe he wanted a Livelihood; that, when he took the uſual Oaths, *it was with a mental Reſervation to what was true and reaſonable*; that, being ſo far engaged, he could not avoid Reciting the Apoſtles Creed, and Adminiſtering the Communion; that he never pronounced diſtinctly the Articles of the Creed, which concern our Saviour; that he took his Texts out of the *Pſalms*, and the Prophet *Iſaiah*; that the next Day, after he had preached upon the Second *Pſalm*, without Applying it to *Jeſus Chriſt*, he fell into a Fit of Madneſs, as he was ſinging the Seventy-fourth *Pſalm*; that he was mad when he came to *Geneva*, and called *Jeſus Chriſt* an *Idol*, &c. that it was true, he had affirmed, that the Paſſages of the Old Teſtament, quoted in the New, were ſtrained, far-fetched, and wretchedly applied; that he had renounced his Baptiſm, and continued to do ſo.

Afterwards they ſhewed him a Paper written with his own Hand, but not ſubſcribed by him, which contained theſe Words: 'I ac-'knowledge and confeſs, that *Jeſus Chriſt* 'crucified is the true God, Saviour, and 'Redeemer of the whole World; and that 'he is the ſame with the Father and the Holy 'Ghoſt, as to his Eſſence, but diſtinct, as to 'his Perſon.' His Anſwer was: That he had been forced to write that Confeſſion; and he diſowned the Doctrine contained in it. Then the famous Paſſage of *Joſephus*, concerning *Chriſt*, was alledged againſt him; to which he made no Anſwer. Being aſked, Whether he perſiſted to renounce his Baptiſm? He ſaid he did. Being exhorted to confeſs, Whether he had frequented the Bawdy-houſes at *Venice*, he anſwered, That he could make no ſuch Confeſſion, and prayed God to diſcover his Innocence; adding, that the moſt beautiful Woman in the World would not have tempted him; and then, bending his Head, he intreated God to take Pity on him, *&c.* The firſt Syndic alledged to him ſeveral Paſſages of the Old Teſtament concerning *Chriſt*, and then the Priſoner was recommitted.

On the Sixteenth of *April*, he was brought again to the Bar. His chief Anſwers were: That he had never dogmatiſed at *Geneva*; that, when he gave the Communion in his Church at *Divonne*, he uſed theſe Words: *Remember the Death of your Saviour*; that he adminiſtered Baptiſm, as other Miniſters did; that he was in the Way to Salvation, and fully reſolved, with God's Aſſiſtance, to die for the Truth of his Doctrine.

Whereupon, the Council condemned him, on the Twentieth of *April*, to be ſtrangled and burnt, and their Sentence was executed on the ſame Day. It imports, that 'Nicholas 'Anthoine, laying aſide all Fear of God, was 'guilty of Apoſtaſy and High-Treaſon towards 'God, having oppoſed the Holy Trinity, de-'nied our Lord and Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, 'blaſphemed againſt his holy Name, renoun-'ced his Baptiſm to embrace *Judaiſm* and 'Circumciſion, and perjured himſelf. Which 'are great and horrid Crimes, *&c.*' The abovementioned Letter of M. *Ferry* had ſuch an Effect upon the Miniſters of *Geneva*, that they went in a Body to the Council, and intreated the Magiſtrates to put off his Execution for ſome Time; but it was to no Purpoſe.

A Second.

A Second and moſt exact Relation of thoſe ſad and lamentable Accidents, which happened in and about the Pariſh Church of *Wydecombe*, near the *Dartmoors*, in *Devonſhire*, on *Sunday* the 21ſt of *October* laſt, 1638. *Come, behold the Works of the Lord, what Deſolations he hath made in the Earth. Pſal.* xlvi. 8. Imprimatur *Thomas Wyke* R. P. *Epiſc. Lond.* Cap. Domeſt. Printed at *London* by *G. M.* for *R. Harford*, and are to be ſold at his Shop in *Queen's-head-alley*, in *Pater-noſter-row*, at the *Gilt Bible*, 1638. *Quarto*, containing thirty-ſeven Pages.

*Though this is called properly the* Second *Relation of this wonderful Accident; yet it includes the former* verbatim, *and adds and explains ſome Paſſages, either omitted or left obſcure, by way of Appendix.*

*As for the Veracity of this Relation, I am in no Doubt, being ſo well atteſted, and licenſed to be printed by the Biſhop of* London's *Domeſtick Chaplain: But I could wiſh that theſe Terrors of the Lord would perſuade Men to be more afraid of his Judgments, and to ſeek for his Mercy and Protection, in the Time of Need, by a juſt Diſcharge of their reſpective Duties.*

## *To the* READER.

I Here preſent thee with a ſecond Relation of that wonderful Accident, which the Printing of the former Book hath given Occaſion of. Having now received a full and perfect Relation, as is poſſible to be hoped for, or procured, aſſuring thee it is not grounded on Information taken up at ſecond Hand; but thoſe Perſons being now come to *London*, who were Eye-witneſſes herein, and the chiefeſt Diſcoverers of the Effects of theſe terrible Accidents: Although thou hadſt the Truth in Part before, yet not the Tythe thereof, the full Relation whereof thou ſhalt find here annexed, following after the former Relation, ſupplied in all thoſe Particulars, wherein there was any Defect before, ſuppoſing it better to annex it, than to diſſolve and blend it with the former. What thou hadſt not before, ſhall only be ſupplied now, and no more; and what thou findeſt not here, take to be true, as they are expreſſed there; and, although it be larger than our former, yet we deſired, in penning thereof, not to trouble thee with many Words, but only the Subſtance of this ſad Matter, as conciſely as we could; and, though the Price be more, yet ſuſpend thy Cenſure till thou haſt peruſed it, and then, it may be, thou wilt give him Thanks, who hath been at the Pains to add this to the former; which he would not have done, unleſs he could tender it upon very good Authority, and Teſtimony of Witneſſes, more than needful. We know Fame and Report vary exceedingly, not knowing wherein to pitch our Belief, for it much increaſeth or diminiſheth by flying, according

cording to the Apprehenſion and Memory, both of the Givers out, and Takers up; but take this on his Word, who only wiſheth and intendeth thy Good. *Farewell.*

## *A true Relation of thoſe moſt ſtrange and lamentable Accidents, happening in the Pariſh Church of* Wydecomb, *in* Devonſhire, *on* Sunday *the 21ſt of* October, 1638.

GOD's viſible Judgments, and terrible Remonſtrances, which every Morning are brought to Light, coming unto our Knowledge, ſhould be our Obſervation and Admonition, *that thereby the Inhabitants of the Earth may learn Righteouſneſs* *; for to let them paſs by us, as Water runs by our Doors, unobſerved, argues too much Regardleſneſs of God, in the Way of his Judgments †; not to ſuffer them to ſink into our Affections, and to prove as ſo many terrible Warning-pieces, which are ſhot off from a Watch-tower, to give Notice of an Enemy's Approach, to awaken and affright us, are but a Means to harden our Hearts againſt the Lord, and to awaken his Juſtice to puniſh us yet more: But *to hear and fear* ‡, and to do wickedly no more; to ſearch our Hearts, and amend our Ways, is the beſt Uſe that can be made of any of God's remarkable Terrors manifeſted among us. When God is angry with us, it ought to be our Wiſdom to meet him, and make Peace with him: And, where we ſee legible Characters of his Power and Wrath, to learn to ſpell out his Meaning, touching ourſelves; to leave off all buſy, malicious, cauſleſs, and unchriſtianly Cenſuring of others, and to turn in upon ourſelves, remembering, *Vel pœnitendum, vel pereundum, Except we repent, we ſhall likewiſe periſh* ‖. Certain it is, that we do, in vain, expect Immunity from God's Judgments, by ſlighting, or contemning them, or increaſing in our Sinnings againſt him. If *Pharaoh*, by the Terror of Thundering and Lightning, was ſo affrighted, that he ſaith to *Moſes*, *Intreat the Lord, for it is enough, that there be no more mighty Thunderings and Hail* §. And if *Caligula*, out of the Fear of Thunder, would run under his Bed to hide himſelf: How much more ſhould we Chriſtians learn to fear and tremble before the moſt mighty God, *whoſe Voice only can ſhake the Mountains, and rend the Rocks, and divide the Flames of Fire* **; rends Churches, amazeth, and ſtrikes dead at his Pleaſure, the Sons of Men? As the Prophet *David* ſaith, *He doth whatſoever he pleaſeth in Heaven and Earth; he cauſeth the Vapours to aſcend from the Ends of the Earth, and maketh Lightnings for the Rain, and bringeth the Wind out of the Treaſures of the Earth; ſo unſearchable is his Wiſdom, and his Ways paſt finding out.* Therefore, this ſhould awe and humble our Hearts before the Lord, riſing up unto more Perfection in Godlineſs, doing unto our God more and better Service than ever hitherto we have done, reverencing and ſanctifying his dreadful Name in our Hearts; eſpecially when his Judgments break in upon Men, even in his own Houſe, *mingling their Blood with their Sacrifices*, and that, in a moſt terrible Manner, ſmiting, and wounding, and killing, as, in this enſuing Relation, may appear; which, for the Suddenneſs and Strangeneſs thereof, and, in a Manner, Miraculous, conſidering the many Circumſtances, I believe few Ages can parallel, or produce the like. The Lord teach thee to profit thereby, that it may be as a Sermon preached to thee from Heaven by the Lord himſelf.

Upon *Sunday* the twenty-firſt of *October* laſt, in the Pariſh Church of *Wydecombe*, near the *Dartmoors* in *Devonſhire*, there fell, in Time of Divine Service, a ſtrange Darkneſs, increaſing more and more, ſo that the People, there aſſembled, could not ſee to read in any Book; and ſuddenly, in a fearful and lamentable Manner, a mighty Thundering was heard, the Rattling whereof did anſwer much like unto the Sound and Report of many great Cannons, and terrible ſtrange Lightning therewith, greatly amazing thoſe

* *Eph.* iii 5. † *Iſa.* xxvi. 9, 11. ‡ Pœna paucorum terror omnium.
‖ *Luke* xiii. 5. § *Exod.* ix. 28. ** *Pſal.* xxix.

that

that heard and ſaw it, the Darkneſs increaſing yet more, till they could not ſee one another; the extraordinary Lightning came into the Church ſo flaming, that the whole Church was preſently filled with Fire and Smoke, the Smell whereof was very loathſome, much like unto the Scent of Brimſtone; ſome ſaid, they ſaw, at firſt, a great fiery Ball come in at the Window, and paſs through the Church, which ſo affrighted the whole Congregation, that the moſt Part of them fell down into their Seats, and ſome upon their Knees, ſome on their Faces, and ſome one upon another, with a great Cry of Burning and Scalding, they all giving up themſelves for dead, ſuppoſing the laſt Judgment-day was come, and that they had been in the very Flames of Hell.

The Miniſter of the Pariſh, Maſter *George Lyde*, being in the Pulpit, or Seat where Prayers are read, however he might be much aſtoniſhed hereat, yet, through God's Mercy, had no other Harm at all in his Body; but, to his much Grief and Amazement, beheld, afterward, the lamentable Accidents; and, although himſelf was not touched, yet the Lightning ſeized upon his poor Wife, fired her Ruff, and Linnen next to her Body, and her Clothes, to the Burning of many Parts of her Body, in a very pitiful Manner. And one Miſtreſs *Ditford*, ſitting in the Pew with the Miniſter's Wife, was alſo much ſcalded, but the Maid and Child, ſitting at the Pew-door, had no Harm. Beſides, another Woman, adventuring to run out of the Church, had her Clothes ſet on Fire, and was not only ſtrangely burnt and ſcorched, but had her Fleſh torn about her Back almoſt to the very Bones. Another Woman had her Fleſh ſo torn, and her Body ſo grievouſly burnt, that ſhe died the ſame Night.

Alſo one Maſter *Hill*, a Gentleman of good Account in the Pariſh, ſitting in his Seat by the Chancel, had his Head ſuddenly ſmitten againſt the Wall, through the Violence whereof he died that Night, no other Hurt being found about his Body; but his Son ſitting in the ſame Seat had no Harm. There was alſo one Man more, at the ſame Inſtant, of whom it is particularly related, who was Warrener unto Sir *Richard Reynolds*, his Head was cloven, his Skull rent into three Pieces, and his Brains thrown upon the Ground whole, and the Hair of his Head, through the Violence of the Blow at firſt given him, did ſtick faſt unto the Pillar or Wall of the Church, and in the Place a deep Bruiſe into the Wall, as if it were ſhot againſt with a Cannon-bullet.

Some other Perſons were then blaſted and burnt, and ſo grievouſly ſcalded and wounded, that ſince that Time they have died thereof, and many others not like to recover, notwithſtanding all the Means, that can be procured, to help them. Some had their Clothes burnt, and their Bodies had no Hurt; and ſome, on the Contrary, had their Bodies burnt, and their Clothes not touched, and ſome their Stockings and Legs burnt and ſcalded, and their outward Buſkings not one Thread ſindged. But it pleaſed God, yet, in the Midſt of Judgment, to remember Mercy, ſparing ſome, and not deſtroying all, yet very many were ſorely ſcalded in divers Parts of their Bodies; and, as all this Hurt was done upon the Bodies of Men and Women, ſo the Hurt alſo that was then done unto the Church was remarkable.

There were ſome Seats, in the Body of the Church, turned upſide down, and yet they which ſat in them had little or no Hurt; alſo a Boy, ſitting on his Seat, had his Hat on, and near the one Half thereof was cut off, and he had no Hurt. And one Man, going out at the Chancel-door, a Dog running out before him, was whirled about towards the Door, and fell down ſtark dead; at the Sight whereof he ſtepped back within the Door, and God preſerved him alive. Alſo the Church itſelf was much torn and defaced by the Thunder and Lightning; and thereby, alſo, a Beam was burſt in the Midſt, and fell down between the Miniſter and Clark, and hurt neither; and a weighty great Stone, near the Foundation of the Church, is torn out and removed, and the Steeple itſelf is much rent; and there, where the Church was moſt rent, there was leaſt Hurt done to the People, and not any one was hurt either with the Wood or Stone, but a Maid of *Manaton*, which came thither, that Afternoon, to ſee ſome Friends, whom Maſter *Frynd*, the *Coroner*, by Circumſtances, ſuppoſed ſhe was killed with a Stone. There were alſo Stones thrown from the Tower, and carried about, a great Diſtance from the Church, as thick as if a hundred Men had been there throwing, and a Number of them, of ſuch Weight and Bigneſs, that the ſtrongeſt Man cannot

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liſt them. Alſo, one Pinnacle of the Tower was torn down, and broke through into the Church.

Moreover the Pillar, againſt which the Pulpit ſtandeth, being but newly whited, is now, by this Means, turned black and ſulphury. Furthermore, one Man that ſtood in the Chancel, with his Face toward the Bell-fry, obſerved, as it were, the Riſing of Duſt or Lime, in the lower End of the Church, which ſuddenly, as with a Puff of Wind, was whirled up, and caſt into his Eyes, ſo that he could not ſee in twelve Hours after, but now his Sight is reſtored, and he hath no other Hurt. The terrible Lightning being paſt, all the People being in wonderful Amaze, ſo that they ſpake not one Word, by and by one Maſter *Ralph Rouſe*, Vintner in the Town, ſtood up, ſaying theſe Words: *Neighbours, in the Name of God, ſhall we venture out of the Church?* To which, Mr. *Lyde* anſwering, ſaid: *It is beſt to make an End of Prayers, for it were better to die here, than in another Place.* But they looking about them, and ſeeing the Church ſo terribly rent and torn, durſt not proceed in their publick Devotions, but went forth of the Church.

And as all this was done within the Church, and unto the Church, ſo there were other Accidents without the Church, of which I will give you a Touch. There was a Bowling-alley near unto the Church-yard, which was turned up into Pits and Heaps, in Manner almoſt as if it had been plowed. At the ſame Time alſo, at *Brickſtone* near *Plymouth*, there fell ſuch Store of Hail, and ſuch Hail-ſtones, that, for Quantity, they were judged to be as big as ordinary Turky-eggs; ſome of them were of five, ſome of ſix, and others of ſeven Ounces Weight.

We are alſo certainly informed, that, at the ſame Time, as near as it can be gueſſed, there fell out the like Accident unto the Church at *Norton* in *Somerſetſhire*, but as yet we hear of no Perſons hurt therein: Alſo it is related by a Gentleman who travelled in thoſe Parts at that Time, he being ſince come to *London*, that, where he was, the Lightning was ſo terrible, fiery, and flaming, that they thought their Houſes, at every Flaſh, were ſet on Fire, inſomuch that their Horſes in the Stable were ſo affrighted that they could not rule them.

## The Addition to the former Relation.

THIS Church of *Wydecombe* being a large and fair Church newly trimmed, there belonging to it a very fair Steeple or Tower, with great and ſmall Pinnacles thereon, it being one of the famouſeſt Towers in all thoſe Weſtern Parts; and there being gathered a great Congregation, to the Number, as is verily believed, of at leaſt three-hundred Perſons.

Maſter *Lyde*, with many others in the Church, did ſee, preſently after the Darkneſs, as it were, a great Ball of Fire, and moſt terrible Lightning, come in at the Window, and therewithal, the Roof of the Church, in the lower Part againſt the Tower, to rend and gape wide open; whereat he was ſo much amazed, that he fell down into his Seat; and unſpeakable are the mighty ſecret Wonders the Lord wrought immediately, of which, becauſe thou haſt the general Relation before, I will give thee this, as near as can be diſcovered, in the Order and Courſe thereof, which firſt began in the Tower, and thence into the Church; the Power of that vehement and terrible Blaſt ſtruck in at the North Side of the Tower, tearing through a moſt ſtrong ſtone Wall into the Stairs, which goes up round with ſtone Steps to the Top of the Leads; and, being gotten in, ſtruck againſt the other Side of the Wall, and, finding not Way forth there, it rebounded back again, with greater Force, to that Side next the Church, and piercing through, right againſt the higher Window of the Church, took the greateſt Part thereof with it, and likewiſe ſome of the Stones, and Frame of the Window, and ſo ſtruck into the Church, coming with a mighty Power; it ſtruck againſt the North-ſide Wall of the Church, as if it were with a great Cannon-bullet, or ſomewhat like thereto, and not going through, but exceedingly ſhaking and battering the Wall, it took its Courſe directly up that Iſle, ſtrait to the Pulpit or Seat where Maſter *Lyde* ſat; and in the Way, thence going up, it took all the Lime and Sand of the Wall, and much grated

the Stones thereof, and tore off the Side Deſk of the Pulpit; and, upon the Pulpit, on the Side thereof, it was left as black and moiſt as if it had been newly wiped with Ink.

Then it goes ſtrait up in the ſame Iſle, and ſtruck off all the hinder Part of the Warrener's Head (the Brains fell backward, intire and whole, into the next Seat behind him, and two Pieces of his Skull) and daſhed his Blood againſt the Wall; the other Piece of his Skull fell into the Seat where he ſat, and ſome of the Skin of his Head, Fleſh, and Hair was carried into the Chancel, and ſome of his Hair, to the Quantity of a Handful, ſtuck faſt, as with Lime and Sand newly tempered, upon one of the Bars of the Timber-work Partition between the Church and Chancel. And one Man, who ſat next to the Warrener in the ſame Seat, was ſcalded, and all burnt on that Side next the Warrener, from the very Head to the Foot, and no Hurt at all on the other Side. And, in the ſecond Seat behind him, was another ſtruck, in a moſt fearful Manner; for he was ſo burnt and ſcalded all over his Body, from his Forehead downward below his Knees, inſomuch that he was all over like raw Fleſh round about; and, which is moſt wonderful, his Clothes not once hurt, neither his Head nor Hair, who, notwithſtanding, died not then, but lived in great Miſery above a Week after.

But to go on in our Relation. It is ſuppoſed, it having been ſince by divers judiciouſly viewed, that here the Power or Force divided itſelf two Ways; one Part whereof ſtruck out of the Window over their Heads, which tore out, and carried away, ſome great Stones out of the Wall with the Window, and further they could not trace it; but, with the Force of the Stroke, at Going forth, it ſtruck the Lime and Sand on the Wall with many ſmall Stones, or Grit, ſo forcibly, that the Lime, Sand, and Grit returned back, like Hail-ſhot, to the other Side of the Wall where Men did ſit, and ſtruck into their Faces, much diſfiguring them, and ſmote into the Wall, and into the Timber of the Partition, ſome of which Stones could not be picked out till the next Day following.

But the other Part of the Force deſcended to the Bottom of the Wall, juſt before the Warrener's Seat, and there pierced in, heaving up all the Wall in that Place, rending and tearing it from the very Ground, as high almoſt as the Height of a Man; there it broke through into the Chancel, and, about the Number of eight Boys ſitting about the Rails of the Communion Table, it took them up from the Seats, and threw them all on Heaps within the Rails, and not one of them hurt; and, one of them having his Hat lying upon the Rail, it was cut and burnt half Way.

Then it went directly over to the other Side of the Chancel, and ſtruck Maſter *Hill* mortally in his Head, ſo that he died that Night; but his Son, ſitting as cloſe by him as one Man can ſit by another, for the Seat would hold but two, had no Harm at all, not ſo much as once findged. But it ſtruck againſt the Wall ſo forcibly, that it beat in the Wall behind him, as if it had been ſhot againſt with a Cannon-bullet, as it is expreſſed in the former Relation; but there, not going through, it recoiled back again, coming about the Chancel, as it is conceived, and tore out violently one of the great Side-ſtones of the Chancel Door, againſt which it ſmote, cleaving it all to Pieces, and there it is ſuppoſed it went forth; but ſome Reaſons there are to think it did not, for none of the Pieces of the Side-ſtone were carried out with it, but fell down within the Chancel; beſides, the Conſideration of the mighty ſtrange and ſecret Works thereof in the Body of the Church, for there it had rent and tore, and flung about marvellouſly.

The Seats, where Men and Women ſat, were rent up, turned upſide down, and they that ſat in them had no Harm; alſo, many of thoſe Pews and Seats rent quite from the Bottom, as if there had been no Seats there, and thoſe that ſat in them, when they came to themſelves, found that they were thrown out of their own into other Seats, three or four Seats higher, and yet had no Harm. And, moreover, all the Wood, Timber, and Stones were torn all to Pieces, and violently thrown, every Way, to the very Walls of the Church round about.

One Man ſitting upon the Church-bier, at the lower End, the Bier was ſtruck and torn, and he that ſat thereon was thrown into one of the Pews by the Wall-ſide, a good Diſtance off.

Many alſo, both Men and Women, being very much burnt and ſcalded in divers Pla-

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ces of their Bodies, and after divers Manners, to the Number of fifty or ſixty, among whom, Mrs. *Lyde*, the Miniſter's Wife, was one, who ſuffered herein, as it is related in the former. And alſo Mrs. *Ditford*, her Gown, two Waiſtcoats, and Linnen next her Body, burnt clean off, and her Back alſo very grievouſly down to her Waiſt burnt and ſcalded, and ſo exceedingly afflicted thereby, ſhe could neither ſtand nor go without Help, being led out of the Church. And one ancient Woman was ſo terribly burnt, and her Fleſh torn, eſpecially her Hand, the Fleſh was ſo rotten and periſhed, that her Hand is cut off that it might not endanger her Arm; and many of thoſe, that were then burnt and ſcalded, have ſince died thereof.

And, furthermore, all the Roof of the Church is terribly torn, and a great Part thereof broken into the Church by ſome great Stones, that were torn off the Tower; and all the other Part hangs fearfully, all ragged and torn in divers Places, ready to drop down; it tore likewiſe all the Windows, ſhook and rent the Church Walls in divers Places, but the Chancel Roof had little or no Hurt. Moreover, a Beam was burſt in ſunder, which fell down between the Miniſter and Clerk, yet hurt neither. Nor was there, in all this Time, any one hurt either with Stick or Stone, but only one Man that had a little Bruiſe on his Back; and, as there was leaſt Hurt done where the Timber and Stone fell moſt, ſo, on the Contrary, where no Timber nor Stone fell, there was moſt Hurt done. And all this While, after the firſt terrible Noiſe and Lightning, not one in the Church can remember they either heard or ſaw any Thing, being all deadly aſtoniſhed.

And, when the Lightning was paſt, the People being ſtill in a Maze, not one could ſpeak a Word to another; but by and by Maſter *Rouſe* came a little to himſelf, ſtanding up, and ſpake as in the former Relation; and, ſpeaking to Maſter *Lyde*, he alſo thereupon began to recover himſelf, and anſwered as well as he could trembling, as is expreſſed before, not knowing of any Hurt that was done, either to his Wife or any elſe; but they, looking about them, ſaw a very thick Miſt, with Smother, Smoke, and Smell, inſomuch that they, nor any there, ſaw the Danger over their Heads. But, they two going forth together at the Chancel Door, they ſaw a Dog whirled up ſome Height from the Ground, taken up and let down again three Times together, and at laſt fell down Stone-dead, all the Lightning being paſt, neither could they ſee any Thing at all near the Dog.

Then preſently the reſt of the People ſcrabled forth the Church as well as they could; the Miſt and Smother went away by degrees, but was not quite gone in half an Hour after: And, being come forth, they ſaw their Danger, which before they knew not; for the Tower and Church were grievouſly cracked and ſhattered, and ſome of the Stones on the Church and Tower torn off, and thrown every Way round about, and huge weighty Stones ſplit all to Pieces, ſome thrown diſtant from the Church at leaſt an hundred Yards. And one great Stone, like a maſſy Rock, was carried off the Pinnacle all over the Eaſt-end of the Church, and over the Church-yard, and into another Cloſe over the Hedge; there it grazed, breaking up the Ground deeply, and, as it is imagined, it was done by that maſſy Stone, which was carried, at leaſt, ten Yards beyond, and there bruiſed the Ground very deep, where it lay immoveable.

And, on the other Side of the Church, there is a Bowling-green, torn up and ſpoiled with Stones as before; among many others there fell therein one great broad Stone, like a Table, and in the Fall was broken all to Pieces, they being ſtruck edge-ways into the Ground, alſo many great Stones were ſunk ſo deep on all Sides the Church, that ſome were ſtruck in even with the Ground, and ſome lower. Some Stones were thrown over Maſter *Rouſe*'s Houſe an hundred Yards from the Church, and ſunk into the Earth not to be ſeen, but only the Hole, where the Stone went down; and Maſter *Rouſe*'s Houſe, on that Side next the Church, was torn up, the Covering carried off, and one of the Rafters broke into the Houſe.

Then a While after, before Night, they adventured into the Church to fetch out the dead Bodies, ſome whereof being brought forth, and laid in the Church-yard; there was then preſent a Woman, being till that Time, much aſtoniſhed, coming better to herſelf, upon Sight of the dead Bodies remembered, that ſhe brought her Child to Church with her; they then, going in to ſeek for it, found her Child going Hand in Hand with another little Child, being met coming down one of the Iſles,

and

and had no Hurt, nor ſeemed not to be any Thing frighted by their Countenances; neither were there any Children in the Church hurt at all; but the other Child's Mother was gone Home, never remembering ſhe had a Child, till it was brought to her.

But as ſtrange a Thing as any of theſe was that, concerning *Robert Mead* the Warrener; he being not miſſed all this While, immediately, Maſter *Rouſe*, his dear Acquaintance, remembered him, and ſeeing him not, nor none knowing what was become of him, Maſter *Rouſe*, ſtepping to the Window, looked into the Church where the Warrener uſed to ſit, and there ſaw him ſitting in his Seat, leaning upon his Elbow, his Elbow reſting upon the Desk, before him; he ſuppoſed him to be a-ſleep, or aſtoniſhed, not yet come to himſelf; he, calling to awake him, wondered he made no Anſwer; then his Love to him cauſed him to venture into the Church, to jog him awake, or to remember him, and then to his much Grief he perceived his Friend to be a dead Man; for all the hinder Part of his Head was clean cut off, and gone round about his Neck, and the Forepart not disfigured, as they ſuppoſed when they drew near him.

The Lord of the Manor of *Wydecombe*, hearing of this ſad Accident, ſent his Man, *David Barry*, that Night thither, to hear what News, and to ſee what Hurt was done; but, it being dark, he could ſee Nothing that Night, but only hear their Relations. But on *Monday*, the Day following, they came to take Notice, and view the Ruins of the Church, and what Accidents had fallen out; then all this Relation was made apparent to him, and, I may ſafely ſay, to Thouſands more of Witneſſes, that are ready to give Teſtimony to all this Relation.

But having ſeen, and obſerved, as much as they could about the Church, the Tower being locked up, what Hurt was done there, was as yet unknown: There being then a Motion made to open the Door to ſee what Hurt, no Man was found willing to adventure, much leſs aſcend up therein, all the People being as yet in a terrible Fear; the Remembrance of their great Hurts and Dangers being ſo freſh in their Minds; for, ſome being to be buried in the Church that Afternoon, as namely, Maſter *Hill* and *Robert Mead*, their Graves being cloſe by one another, the Miniſter read the Burial to both at once, and when he came to thoſe Words, *Earth to Earth*, *Aſhes to Aſhes*, *Duſt to Duſt*, the Fall thereof, making a ſudden Noiſe upon the Coffins, made them all in a great Fear run out of the Church, tumbling over one another, ſuppoſing that the Church was falling on their Heads.

But the ſaid *David* reſolved to venture himſelf to diſcover what he could, and, calling for the Key to open the Door, it was brought by the Sexton, yet they all perſuaded him not to venture, for the Tower was ſo crazy, torn, and ſhattered, that they were all of Opinion, it might fall, as they might well judge by the Outſide; but, he putting in the Key to open the Door, it would not unlock it, but run quite through; then the Sexton, he trying alſo, could find no Lock, and yet the Door ſtill faſt; then, an Iron-bar being uſed to force it off the Hinges, it could not be done thereby, till at laſt he, eſpying the Bolt of the Lock ſhot into the Staple, deſired them to hold the Door up with the Bar, that he might put in his Arm to put back the Lock, and found there all the Wood and Wards of the Lock gone; then, the Door being with much ado forced open, the ſaid *David* was to go up firſt, and the Sexton to follow him, where he found ſo much Rubbiſh and Stone tumbled down, that he could hardly creep up; he having his Sword by his Side, it troubled him, he put it off, wiſhing the Clark to hold it, while he made Way; but, as they aſcended, there came down the Stairs a moſt loathſome Smell beyond Expreſſion, as it were of Brimſtone, Pitch and Sulphur; he notwithſtanding adventured higher, but, the Sexton's Stomach and Courage being overcome, partly by his Fear, and alſo by the Smell, he returned back in a great Fright, complaining he was poiſoned.

A Multitude of People being there to obſerve the Diſcovery, come from divers Places thereabouts, to ſee and hear of this ſpreading ill News, as daily Multitudes do reſort thither for that Purpoſe, they all ſtood at a Diſtance, waiting what could be found, but they not knowing what was become of him, becauſe the Sexton was ſo frighted, none daring to come near to look after him. But he getting (with great Difficulty, and Danger of his Life at every Step) up to the firſt Story, there he viewed it, and found no Hurt done; but, getting with greater Difficulty up to the Bell-room, he tolled all the

Bells, to ſee if they were ſound or no, then the People much rejoiced, ſuppoſing he was well.

Then looking over Head he ſaw all the Joyces and Timber under the Leads carried away, all rent and torn fearfully, except one Beam under the middle, which was bowed down, and a great Number of Stones lying on the Leads, in a very ſtrange and dangerous Manner; but, his Heart encouraging him to venture yet higher, he attempted the Leads, and, getting up to the Door, he ſaw a great Danger, over his Head, at the Sight whereof his Heart began to fail him, for the Stones were carried clean away, under the Inſide next the Church, and, on the Outſide, ſo ſhaken that very little upheld them; then eſpying yet more Danger than before, he ſaw a great Stone over his Head, as he ſuppoſed, ready to drop down upon him, that he knew not whether to ſtay or go down, for Fear of the Falling thereof; then, attempting to throw it down, cried as loud as he poſſibly could, being at the Top, to ſtand clear, for Fear of Danger; he catching hold on ſomewhat over his Head, hung by his Hands, and with his Feet touched the weighty Stone, which tumbled down the Stairs, never reſting till it came to the Bottom; then all the People, at the Fall thereof, thought he was killed, but he, preſently coming down into the Bell-room, tolled the Bells again, and thereby removed their Fear.

Then coming down lower, in one Place in the Stairs, cloſe by the Place, where the Tower was moſt rent and ſhaken, there he eſpied a Thing very ſtrange to him, as if it had been a Cannon diſcharged full of Powder, and as if a Bullet withal ſtruck and ſhook it, and, finding no Way out, recoiled back to another Side, and there rent out a great Part of the Tower, with mighty Stones; and, but a little above it, there was a round Patch as broad as a Buſhel, which looked thick, ſlimy, and black, and black round about it, to which he put his Hand, and felt it ſoft, and, bringing ſome thereof in his Hand from the Wall, came down the Stairs to the People, and ſhewed them that ſtrange Compound; all much wondered thereat, and were affrighted, none knowing what it might be; it was like ſlimy Powder tempered with Water; he ſmelling thereto, it was ſo odious even beyond Expreſſion, and in a far higher Degree of Loathſomneſs, than the Scent which was in the Church or Tower when they firſt ſmelt it, it being of the ſame Kind; they ſuppoſing that ſtrong Smell came from that, which did overcome the Sexton's and this Searcher's Stomach almoſt.

Yet all this While he found himſelf reaſonable well, though much offended with Smells; and, going Home with Maſter *Lyde* to Supper, he lodged at Maſter *Rouſe*'s, and went well to Bed, and, an Hour after, he felt ſomething come upon him, as he thought, on the Outſide of his Waiſt and Belly, as if it were a Cord twiſted about him, two Men pulling it with great Strength, which griped him in that unſpeakable Manner three or four Times, that he thought himſelf cut in ſunder therewith, not having any Breath, nor none knowing what to do to him; he could take Nothing down, at preſent to eaſe him, but by and by, ridding his Stomach by Vomiting, being in a great and terrible Sweat all this While, inſomuch that the Sheets, wherein he lay, might have been wringed; at laſt came up ſuch a loathſome Vomit, that ſmelt of the ſame Nature that that did which he brought out of the Steeple, and after this, taking ſome Reſt, he was very well, in the Morning.

All which moſt ſad and lamentable Spectacles were done, as it were, in a Moment of Time.

This is the Sum of thoſe diſmal Accidents and terrible Examples happening in the Place aforeſaid. And the main Drift, in the Publication of this great Judgment, is for thy Humiliation and Edification, not only to acquaint thee with the great and mighty Works of God's Power and Juſtice, who in a Moment can do mighty Things to us, and arm the Creatures againſt us at his own Pleaſure, but alſo to move Pity and Compaſſion in us towards our Brethren who were Patients therein, not judging them greater Sinners than ourſelves; but believing, *That except we alſo repent and ſin no more, we ſhall likewiſe periſh, or worſe Things befall us.* Which Relation you can difficultly read without Sighs, nor underſtand without Tears. I know it is the Faſhion of too many to queſtion and talk, and make Things of this Nature but *a nine Days Wonder:* But let us not deceive ourſelves any longer, but conſider, we have been Lookers on a great While, and others have been made our Examples, and felt the Smart at Home and Abroad, whilſt we have gone free; but we know not how ſoon our Turns and Changes may come; theſe Accidents

cidents might as well have happened to us, as them; the Lord therefore in much Mercy fit us both for the worſt of Times and the beſt of Ends. I end all with that Prayer in our *Litany*, commending thee, and this, to the Bleſſing of the Almighty.

*From Lightning and Tempeſt, from Plague, Peſtilence, and Famine, from Battle and Murder, and from ſudden Death,*

*Good Lord deliver us.*

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*Vox Borealis:* Or, the *Northerne* Diſcoverie: By Way of Dialogue, between *Iamie* and *Willie*. Amidſt the *Babylonians*. Printed by *Margery Mar-Prelat*, in *Thwackcoat-Lane*, at the Signe of the *Crab-tree Cudgell*, without any Privilegde of the *Cater-Caps*, the Yeare coming on, 1641. *Quarto*, containing twenty-eight Pages.

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*This is one of the earlieſt, and, I think, the moſt humorous and odd of all the Pamphlets written againſt King* Charles the Firſt, *and his Party; and, though it is a ſevere Invective againſt Prelacy, carries with it ſo much merry Conceit, that it cannot be read without affording a pretty Deal of Mirth and Entertainment; eſpecially in the Poetical Will of a dying Soldier, which may be accounted one of the beſt Pieces of its Kind, that ever was publiſhed.*

## The EPISTLE.

MOST kind and courteous Countrey-men: Being at *Berwicke*, it was my Chance to meet with two of my Countrey-men there, the one of them being lately come from *London*, and the other had been in the Camp; where, after *Salutations* paſt amongſt us, they deſired me to write down their ſeverall Collections of Paſſages, which, I confeſſe, are not ſuch as they would have been, if Miſchances had not happened: For, it ſeems, the one was forced to burn his Noates at *London*, and the others were ſpoyled with Water at *Berwicke*; and, therefore, they are but Fragments, not whole Relations; yet, ſuch as they are, accept of them, in Regard of the good Will of the Giver, who may one Day make Amends for what is here omitted: Which (as he is truely bound) ſo he will duely indeavour to performe; and will not ceaſe to informe you of any Thing which may tend to the Advancement of the Cauſe, and Good of the Countrey, whoſe Peace and Proſperity is dayly wiſhed of

Your truely affected Friend.

## The PRINTER to the READER.

MArtin Mar-Prelat *was a bonny Lad,*
*His brave Adventures made the Prelats mad :*
*Though he be dead, yet he hath left behind*
*A Generation of the* Martin *Kind.*
*Yea, there's a certaine aged bonny Laſſe,*
*As well as he, that brings Exploits to paſſe ;*
*Tell not the Biſhops, and you s' know her Name,*
Margery Mar-Prelat, *of renowned Fame.*
*But now, alas, what will the Prelats doe ?*
*Her Tippit's looſe, and* Boreas *'gins to blow ;*
*Shee'l ſcould in* Print, *whole Volumes till they roare,*
*And laugh to ſee them ſtrangled in their Goare ;*
*While* Boreas *blows, ſhee'll put his Wind in* Print,
*And venture Life to ſtrike their fatall Dint :*
*Shee'll doe as much for South, for Eaſt, or Weſt,*
*If they'll but venture to blow at the* Beaſt :
*For 'tis high Time the Winds ſhould joyne as one,*
*To bluſter Vengeance on that curſed Throne ;*
Margery *will joy, to ſee that happy Day,*
*The Winds conjoyn'd to blow the* Beaſt *away :*
*How e're the North ſends forth a luſty Gale :*
*A Board ye Prelats, and goe hoyſt up Sayle :*
*This Wind will drive you to the* Romiſh *Coaſt,*
*Fear not to goe, the Pope will be your Hoſt ;*
*To ſpeed your Voyage, if you want ſome Wind,*
Margery *will helpe you, though ſhe break behind.*
*If this Verſe (Reader) doe offend thy Noſe,*
Vox Borealis *brings perfumed Proſe,*
*Which is ſo pleaſant, that you cannot chuſe*
*But laugh to read this merry* Northerne News.

*Willie.*

BROTHER *Iamie*, welcome to *Berwicke :* What hath drove you hither ſo ſoon ?

*Iamie.*

O *Billie Willie*, thee does little kenn the Cauſe, but Ile tell ye : When our Brother *Scouter* came to *Scotland*, he left me to ſupply his Place ; but I have had a hard Taſk of it ; for the Search at *London* was hotter then the Preſſe at *Paris*, and the new invented Oathes exceeded the *Spaniſh* Inquiſition : For all *Scots* Men ſhould have been ſworn to fight againſt the Cauſe of God, his Conſcience, and his Countrey. And I will tell thee truly, they were three ſuch Enemies, as I durſt not venture againſt them, and therefore took my Heels and ranne away.

*Willie.* Now well away fall them was the Cauſe of that ; on't ! there's *London* News, indeed ; have you no better ?

*Iamie.* I had once good Store of News in my Pocket-Book, but wae betyde them made me burn it.

*Willie.* Burn it, Brother, how came that to paſſe.

*Iamie.* Marie, I was forced to doe it, or els the Hangman had done it for me, and, perhaps, burnt me with it ; for all *Scots* Men are counted *Heretiques* by the Popes Publication, and

and there's ſome of Biſhop *Bonners* * Brood alive at *London*, that faine would make Marie-boneſiers of us.

*Willie.* Oh, this moves me much, and the more, becauſe my Noates had almoſt as bad Luck as yours; for one Day, being riding to water my Horſe, he ſtumbled, and I fell over Head and Luggs in the River, where I was like to be drowned; and all my Papers (being in my Pocket) were quite ſpoyled, inſomuch as I cannot read them: But now, ſeeing our Brother is here, let us rubbe up our Memories, and recollect our Collections, and he ſhall put it down in the beſt Order we can deliver it; and you ſhall begin firſt, quoth *Willie*. Content, quoth *Iamie*; and thereupon he began as followeth:

*My Fellow Scouters,*

I mean not to trouble you with any forraigne News, as of the Conveening of the Conclave of Cardinalls at *Rome*, and of their Conſultations about the *Scots* Buſineſſe; nor how they have had a ſolemne Proceſſion, with Prayers, for the good Succeſſe of the *Catholique* Cauſe; nor how they have agreed to give a Cardinalls Cappe to † ſuch as ſhall have the Fortune to bring Home the loſt Sheep againe to the *Romiſh* Pitfold.

Nor will I trouble you with the mighty *Spaniſh* Fleet now preparing (that in *Eighty-eight* being but like a few Fiſher-boats unto it) which, for a While, meanes onely to hover up and down the Seas; or, perhaps, to dance the *Canaries* a Turn or two, and, when they ſee who is like to carry away the moſt Knocks, then they mean to ſhuffle in for a Share.

Nor how *Baneir* is gone to *Bohemia*, plundred *Pragge*; and, if Generall *Leſlye* were once come to him with 10000 *Scots*, he then would give the Emperour a Viſit at *Vienna*.

Nor how the *French* Embaſſadour hath importuned the Hyring of ſome *Venetian* Gallies for *Marcellus*, which is conceived had been imployed for the Recoverie of the Ilands of *Gernſey* and *Gerſey*, to which his Maſter layes a little, and is out of Hope ever to have them, unleſſe now, when the King was buſie in this Expedition for *Scotland*.

Nor of the King of *Denmarks* Dealing at the *Sound* and elſwhere, in detayning all *Scots* Commanders and Proviſion from them that came there.

Neither will I inſiſt how little the *Hollanders* obſerve either Confederacie or Conſpiracie in theſe *Troubles*, they ſelling Powder and Shot to the one, to kill the other; and Armour to the *Engliſh*, for Defence againſt the *Scots*, ſhewing themſelves right Juglers, that can play with both the Hands, ſo they may have Profit. But I leave all theſe Things to the News-mongers at *London*, and onely tell you what I heard concerning our own *Troubles*.

They ſay at *London*, that the Cauſe of this Combuſtion proceedeth from a Quarrell for Superiority, between Black-capps and Blew-capps; the one affirming, that Cater-capps keep ſquare Dealing; and the other tells them that Cater-capps are like Cater-pillars, which devoure all where they may be ſuffered; and the Round Cappe tells the other, that their Cappe is never out of Order, turn it which Way you will; and they ſtand ſtiffly to it, that Blew-capps are true Capps, and better then Black ones.

That they are, quoth *Willie*, and, if it comes once to the Hurling of Capps, we ſhall have Ten to their One, let all the Cater-capps in *Chriſtendome* take their Parts.

Others tell us, quoth *Iamie*, that there aroſe ſuch a Heat of Hierarchie at *Lambeth*, as melted all the Monopoly-money ‡ in the *Exchequor*: And it is thought, if the River had not been between, it would have quite conſumed the Power of the Parliaments. But, however, it hath caſt ſuch a Myſt among the Courtiers, as they cannot diſcerne what the Quarrell is, but are led on hoodwincked, like ſo many blind Buzzards, they not knowing whether, nor for what, nor to what End.

When a Warre was concluded upon, then they began to differ about the Generall, ſome alledging that it required one that had been in Service; and others conceived, Greatneſſe of Perſons might aſmuch availe, as Goodneſſe of Commanders: But the Papiſts, fearing that their Patron ſhould be juſted out by another, hung their Lippe, and vowed they would not contribute, unleſſe a Papiſt were preferred; which was yielded unto, for Fear the Expedition ſhould have miſcarryed.

We heard from *Scotland*, how the *Covenant-*

* Who, with Queen *Mary*'s Commiſſion, burnt, and otherwiſe perſecuted, all that oppoſed *Popery*.
† Archbiſhop *Laud*.
‡ Money raiſed by Patents granted for the Eſtabliſhment of Monopolies.

*ters*

*ters* hoped that the King would get none but *Papiſts* and *Atheiſts* to fight againſt them, unleſſe the King of *Moroco* ſent him ſome of his *Barbarians:* And that they have choſen, for their chief Enſigne, the ſilver Bible, and flaming Sword, which they will never put up, untill they have whipt the Whore of *Babylon* out of their Kingdome; and then, if they fight for any Thing after, it will be to caſt all their caſheered Mytres in a Crown.

But the *Engliſh* tell us another Tale, how the Kings Army cares neither for their Enſigne, nor them, but will teach them ſuch Cannonicall Doctrine, ere they have done with them, as they never heard in *Scotland* before.

That the Citizens of *London* refuſed to lend Money, untill all Monopolies were put down; whereupon, to pleaſe the People, Thirty-three Patents were called in at a Clappe: But, indeed, they were onely ſuch as the Proctors could make no Benefit by. But ſuch as yeelded any Profit (though with the greateſt Grievance) were never medled withall. So as the Proctors are grown now worſe then before, whoſe cankered Conditions can never be cured, untill a Parliament cauſe their Necks to be noynted with the Oyle of a Hempſeed Halter.

That the Papiſts and Prelats, and all Deanes and Doctors, gave very liberally towards thoſe Warres; and, to ſay the Truth, good Reaſons had they to bear the greateſt Burthen, who were the chiefeſt Cauſers of it, and are the greateſt Burthen to the Land, and will reape the greateſt Benefit by it, if their Deſigne did not deceive them.

That the Prelats had a Project to make all the Lawyers likewiſe to contribute to it, which cauſed great Contention between them: Whereupon, the Biſhops would have turned the Common-Law in Cannon-Law, and Courts of *Equity*, into *Simplicity:* But a great Lawyer oppoſed it, and told them plainly, That albeit it was ſpoken abroad, that the Judges had overthrown the Common-Law, and the Biſhops the Goſpell, ſo as we may be ſaid to be of no Religion, that live neither under Law nor Goſpell, yet he hoped to ſee a Parliament, and then it would appear who were Parliament Proofe, and who not.

Now Gods Bleſſing be upon his Heart, quoth *Willie*, and, if a Parliament come, I hope to ſee ſome of thoſe bigg-bellied Biſhops, like ſo many falſe Fellows, for all their Knacks and Knaveries, to ſhake their Shanks upon a Gallowes: For, if *Gregory* once get them under his Hands, all their Tricks and Trumperies will not ſerve their Turne, but he will make them and their Corner-capps look awry on their Buſineſſe.

Oh, quoth *Iamie*, they are too much maintained into it to come to that, for they ſuffer no other Doctrine to be taught, either in Court or Countrey, but for the maintaining of Eccleſiaſticall Authority; and they have ſo prevailed, as every Man ſtands in Doubt which Side to turn to. Let us fight for Epiſcopacie, ſays one: Let's ſtand for the Truth, ſays another: But then comes the Kings Proclamation, and that ſtoppes the Mouth of all Queſtions. In the mean Time, the Clergy cannot but laugh heartily at the Peoples Simplicity, who are ſo forward to fight for them that are their Enemies.

This Buſineſſe hath been carryed with ſuch Power and Potencie, as there are many Men which find Armes to this Expedition, that would be loath their Sword ſhould be drawn in the Quarrell; and many Miniſters Purſes appeared to this Contribution, whoſe Prayers went the clean contrary Way: Yet, to pleaſe the Prelats, and for Feare of Suſpenſion, they were content to allow to this Collection.

That all the Doctors, about *London*, have long laboured for eight Groats in the Pound, of Houſe-rent, for Parſons Duties, which, in ſome Pariſhes, amounts to Eight-thouſand Pound *per Annum*, and in ſome to Five-thouſand Pound, in others to Three-thouſand Pound, and the leaſt about Five-hundred Pound *per Annum*; which was like to have been effected the ſooner, becauſe they would have given the firſt two Yeares Increaſe towards the *Scots Expedition*.

Oh, quoth *Willie*, there had been brave Places for our *Scots* Biſhops.

Give them a Rope and Butter, quoth *Iamie*. But now you would laugh to ſee how Lownlike our Lord-Biſhops walk up and down *London*, with halfe a Score of caſheered *Scots* Miniſters after them, like ſo many mourning Pilgrims, all of them, as in a Proceſſion, waiting upon the old Archbiſhop; but ye ken there is an old Saying, *There can be no holy Proceſſion where the Divel carryes the Cr[illegible]ſſe.* Such *Alterations* and *Innovations* have be[illegible] in the *Engliſh* Churches, as he, that had [illegible] but three Yeare abſent out of the Kingdome, could not have told at his Return how to have behaved

haved himſelfe in the Church, when to have *ſit*, nor when to have *ſtood*; when to have *prayed*, nor when to have *read*: But, as a dumb *Diego*, muſt crouch and kneel as the reſt did, yet knewe not for what.

But God be thanked, ſince the *Scots* Buſineſſe begun, the Church hath had a *pretty quiet Nappe* of *Reſt*, and Ceremonies ſtand at a Stay.

That, in the Heat of altering *Altars*, much *Contention* was amongſt themſelves. Some would have Candleſticks placed, and all other Implements; and others would have an *Altar* made ready *firſt*, to receive the *Sacrifice* when it ſhould be ſent them; inſomuch, as the great Doctor of all Church-Ceremonies proteſted, *He was more troubled with the too much Conformableneſſe of ſome, nor with the Non-conformableneſſe of the others:* And the Reaſon was, becauſe the one runnes too faſt on before, for the other to follow after. This is no ſmall Grace for *Conformers:* Why, herein they were like Mr. *Michael Scot*, who *found the Devil, his Maſter, more Worke then he was able to doe.*

That *Paul Tune-man*, of the *Temple*, having ſpent a Yeares Preaching, to prepare his Auditorie to admit of an *Altar*, at the laſt prevailed; whereupon, that it might be the more perſpicuous, he would not ſuffer any Thing to ſtand neare it. But he brake his Backe with the Removing of the Pulpit, which ſtood before it. And when he heard that the King and the *Scots* were agreed, and that the *Altars* were like to down againe, away he went into the Countrey, where, for very Grief, he gave up the Ghoſt, and ſhut out his Feet and dyed: At whoſe Buriall, a good old Doctor brought this for his Text at his Funerall Sermon, *He which was killed betwixt the Temple and the Altar*; and his Application proved true. He conſumed his Eſtate in Suits with the *Templers* *, and ſpent his Spirits in labouring to maintain the Lawfullneſſe of the *Altar:* So he was killed between the one and the other.

That a madde Cappe, and (I believe it was a Blew one) coming in one Day to a new *altered* Church, and looking upon their Implements, told his Friend that was with him, 'That their Altar betokened Alteration of 'Religion; their Plate, Pride; their claſped 'Booke, Obſcurity from the Communality; 'the Cu[illegible]hion, Lazineſſe in their Calling; 'and their two darke Tapers, Blindneſſe and 'Ignorance: For, if their Light ſhine no bet-'ter than their blind Tapers, it will never be 'able to light any Man to Heaven.'

There hath been ſuch a Number of Ballad-makers, and Pamphlet-writers, imployed this Yeare, as it is a Wonder every Thing being printed, that hath any Thing in it againſt the *Scots*, as the *Loyalties* Speech, that there was any Roome for that (which was made in Queen *Elizabeths* Time, upon the *Northerne* Rebellion) and now reprinted; but the Author was aſhamed of his Name: After that dropt the *Iriſh* Biſhops Booke, which cryed downe all the *Covenanters*, and called up ſome *Ieſuite* to maintaine this *Northerne* Combuſtion, worſe then the *Gunpowder Treaſon:* And, if none come, it is thought he will act the *Ieſuites* Part himſelfe, in ſomething hereafter.

The firſt Fruits of his grand Service, was that hot Prize which he played in the Starre-Chamber of *Dublin*, at the Conventing of Mr. *Henry Stewart*, his Wife and two Daughters, with one *Iames Gray*, for not taking the *Oath:* His virulent Revilements againſt the Cauſe, and the Maintainers thereof, made his Face pale as Aſhes, and his Ioynts to quiver, which argued an ill Cauſe, and a worſe Conſcience: But the Saying proves true, *Corruptio boni peſſima*, The better Man, the worſe Biſhop.

After this, one blurts out a Book, wherein (as if he had been a Meſſenger from Warres) he undertakes the Ungirding of the *Scots* Armour, but, God be thanked, his Arme was too ſhort to reach them; and I hope *Gregory Brandon* will one Day gird him up in a Hempen Halter, or St. *Iohnneſtone* Ribband.

Pox upon thoſe Prieſts, quoth *Willie*, let us heare ſomwhat els, for ther's no Goodneſſe in them.

Then, quoth *Iamie*, I will tell you ſomthing of Poets and Players, and ye ken they are merry Fellows.

There was a poore Man (and ye ken *Povertie is the Badge of Poetrie*) who, to get a little Money, made a Song of all the Capps in the Kingdome, and, at every Verſe End, concludes thus,

*Of all the Capps that ever I ſee,*
*Either great or ſmall, Blew Cappe for me.*

* *Viz.* The Lawyers at the *Temple.*

But

But his Mirth was quickly turned to Mourning, for he was clapt up in the *Clinke* *, for his Boldneſſe, to meddle with any ſuch Matters. One *Parker*, the Prelats Poet, who made many baſe Ballads againſt the *Scots*, ſped but little better, for he and his *Antipodes* were like to have taſted of Juſtice *Longs* Liberalitie: And hardly he eſcaped his Powdering-Tubb, which the vulgar People calls a *Priſon*.

But now he ſweares he will never put Pen to Paper for the Prelats againe, but betake himſelfe to his pitcht Kanne, and Tobacco-Pipe; and learne to ſell his frothie Pots againe, and give over Poetrie.

But Ile tell thee, I met with a good Fellow of that Quality, that gave me a few fine Verſes; and, when I have done, I will ſing them.

In the meane Time, let me tell ye a lamentable Tragedie, acted by the Prelacie, againſt the poore Players of the *Fortune* Play-houſe, which made them ſing,

*Fortune my Foe, why doſt thou frown on me?* &c.

or they having gotten a new old Play, called, *The Cardinalls Conſpiracie*, whom they brought upon the Stage in as great State as they could, with Altars, Images, Croſſes, Crucifixes, and the like, to ſet forth his Pomp and Pride. But woefull was the Sight, to ſee how, in the middeſt of all their *Mirth*, the Purſevants came and ſeazed upon the poore Cardinall, and all his Conſorts, and carryed them away. And when they were queſtioned for it, in the High Commiſſion Court, they pleaded Ignorance, and told the Archbiſhop, *that they tooke thoſe Examples of their Altars, Images*, and the like, *from Heathen Authors*. This did ſomewhat aſſwage his Anger, that they did not bring him on the Stage: But yet they were fined for it, and, after a little Impriſonment, gat their Libertie. And, having left them but a few old Swords and Bucklers, they fell to act the *Valiant Scot*, which they played five Dayes with great Applauſe, which vext the Biſhops worſe then the other, inſomuch as they were forbidden Playing it any more; and ſome of them prohibited ever Playing againe.

Well, quoth *Willie*, let the Biſhops be as angry as they will, we have acted the *Valiant Scot* bravely at *Berwicke*; and, if ever I live to come to *London*, Ile make one my ſelfe to make up the Number, that it may be acted there to, and that with a new Addition; for I can tell thee, here's Matter enough, and ye ken that I can fence bravely, and thruſh flaſh with the beſt of them.

Nay, quoth *Iamie*, I believe you may ſave that Labour, for every Ladde at *London* learnes to exerciſe his Armes: There hes been brave Branding amongſt the Boyes there upon this Buſineſſe, and they have divided themſelves into three Companies, *the Princes*, *the Queens*, and *the Duke of Yorks*: The firſt were called *the Engliſh*, the ſecond *the French*, and *the Duke of York* were called *the Scots Company*, who, like brave Blades, were like to beat both the other two. And I can tell thee, that there hes been ſuch hot Service amongſt them, that ſome of their youngeſt Souldiers have been faine to be carryed heame out of the Field: Wherupon it was blabbed abroad, *that Boyes had done more then Men durſt doe here at* Berwicke.

But all this Sport was little to the Court-Ladyes, who begun to be very melancholy for Lacke of Company, till at laſt ſome young Gentlemen reviſed an old Game, called,

*Have at thy Coat, old Woman.*

But, let the old Woman alone, ſhe will be too hard for the beſt of them.

With theſe, and the like Paſſages, the Time was ſpent, untill News came of the Peace, which did not pleaſe the Prelats, yet they could not tell how to helpe it: Faine would they have pickt a Quarrell, but knew not how, untill ill Lucke at laſt did helpe him. For it ſeems that the *Scots* Commiſſioners had made ſome Noates of Remembrance of ſuch Speeches as had been paſt between the King and them upon the Pacification, which they gave unto the *Engliſh* Nobilitie, who being (after the Kings Return) to give in Accompt of their Proceedings to the reſt of the Councell, they were queſtioned for having the ſaid Noates; and every one made ſome Excuſe, and, like ſimple honeſt Men, confeſt their Sillyneſſe; and were content to have it proclaymed, that they never heard ſuch Words ſpoken. Now, forſooth, becauſe they could not hang a few Papers, therfore they commanded they ſhould be burnt by the common Hangman, who, at the Time appointed,

* The Biſhop of *Wincheſter*'s Priſon in *Southwark*.

appointed, came in as great State, as if he had been to biſhop, or brand, *Baſtwick* and *Burton* againe, to the *Pallace-Yard* (*alias*, the *Prelats Purgatory*), with a Halter in each Hand, with two Trumpets touting before him, and two Men with a few looſe Papers following him; where, after Reading of the Proclamation, *Gregory*, very ceremonioufly, put Fire to the Faggots, and ſo the poore innocent Papers payd for it: When he had done, he cryed, *God ſave the King*, and flouriſhed his Roapes, *If any Man conceale any ſuch Papers, he ſhall be hanged in theſe Halters*; with which Words, I was ſo affraid, that I ranne Home and burnt all my Papers, and ſo ſaved him a Labour.

Now I wiſh the Wagge in a Widdie, quoth *Willie*, that ſo abuſes King and Counſell, as we may not keep a few Papers for them; what a Miſchiefe meane they; are they aſhamed of their Doings, that the People muſt not know how Things goe?

So it ſeems, quoth *Iamie*; but, if any Thing were worth the Hearing, it ſhould be proclaimed with Sound of Trumpet; as ye kenne, the laſt *Lent*, the Troupers uſed to ryde up and down Streets from City to Court, and from Court to Countrey, with their Trumpets before them, which made the People run out to ſee them, as faſt as if it had been the Bagge-Pipes playing along before the Beares: But, at their Returne, all that was layd aſide; and, as if they had been aſhamed of themſelves, they ſtole into the Town alwayes in the Duſke of the Evening, where ſomtimes two, ſomtimes three, would come Home together, driving their Horſes before, and a Poke-Mantle lying on the Saddle, with their Boots and Sword tyed on the Toppe of it: Theſe lodged in *Smithfield*, and fed as long on their Horſes, as their Hoaſt durſt let them.

Others came Home on Foot, with their Saddles on their Backs, for they had ſold their Horſe ſkinnes, and Shooes, where they fell lame by the Way, and theſe Men landed at *Pye Corner*, where, after they had ſold their Saddles, like ruſty Raſcalls, they eat out their Swords.

Now I have told you all I can remember, for I came away aſſoone as the Papers were burnt: But if I had not been apparelled like a poore Parſon, all in Blacke, with a Cannonicall Coat, I had been robbed many Times by the Way; for the Souldiers returned Home by Hundreds, and all was Fiſh that came in the Net, where they could catch any Thing. But, upon *Newmarket* Heath, I miſt my Way, and met with a Shepheard, who told me, 'It was 'no Wonder to ſee me ſo, for moſt of the 'Miniſterie had been out of the Way for a 'long Time together, and had miſled the 'King to an unthriftie Iourney, wherein he 'had ſpent more Money than all the Clergie 'of the Kingdome were worth.' Well, quoth I, to the Shepheard, every one to their Calling, thou to thy Hooke, and I to my Booke; and ſo away I went, and never met with any Thing worth noating by the Way: So as I will onely ſing my Song, and conclude.

SIR *John* got on a bonny browne Beaſt
To *Scotland* for to ride a,
A brave Buffe Coat upon his Back,
A ſhort Sword by his Side a.
Alas, young Man, we *Sucklings* can
Pull down the *Scottiſh* Pride a.

He danc'd and pranc'd, and prankt about,
'Till People him eſpide a;
With pye-ball'd Apparrell, he did ſo quarrell,
As none durſt come him nye a.
But ſoft, Sir *John* *, ere you come Home,
You will not look ſo high a.

Both Wife and Maid, and Widow prayd,
To the *Scots* he would be kind a;
He ſtorm'd the more, and deeply ſwore
They ſhould no Favour find a.
But, if you had been at *Berwicke* and ſeen,
He was in another Ruffe a.

His Men and he, in their Jollitie
Did drinke, quarrell, and quaffe a,
'Till away he went like a *Jack* of *Lent*:
But it would have made you to laugh a,
How away they did creep, like ſo many Sheep,
And he like an *Eſſex* Calfe a.

When he came to the Camp, he was in a Damp
To ſee the *Scots* in Sight a,
And all his brave Troops, like ſo many Droops,
To fight they had no Heart a.

* *Suckling*, Governor of *Berwick*.

And, when the Allarme cal'd all to arme,
Sir *John* he went to ſhite a.

They prayd him to mount, and ryde in the Front
To try his Courage good a.
He told them the *Scots* had dangerous Plots,
As he well underſtood a.
Which they denyed, but he replyed
It's Sinne for to ſhed Blood a.

He did repent the Money he ſpent,
Got by unlawfull Game a;
His curled Locks could endure no Knocks.
Then let none goe againe a:
Such a Carpet Knight as durſt not fight,
For Feare he ſhould be ſlaine a:

Well (quoth *Willie*) as I remember there was ſome Song here alſo at the Camp of him. And I will ſing ſo much of it as I can, becauſe I will begin as you have ended; but mine is a more ſiniſter Verſe then yours, for it hath two Foot more, and it is to be ſung, To the Tune of *Iohn Dorie*, as followeth:

Sir *John* got on an ambling Nagge,
To *Scotland* for to goe,
With a hundred Horſe, without Remorſe,
To keep ye from the Foe.
No Carpet Knight ever went to fight
With halfe ſo much Braveado;
Had you ſeen but his Look, you would ſwear on a Book
Hee'd conquered a whole Armado.

But the Valour of the Knight, and the Veyn of the Poetrie, are both of ſo courſe a Thred, that I had rather tell you the reſt of it in plain Proſe.

*Willie* (being to make his *Relation*) after a little Pauſe ſaid, 'It's not my Meaning, 'Sirs, to mention any Thing which hap-'pened in our Way towards *Berwicke*; nei-'ther what Spoyles and Pillagings the Soul-'diers exerciſed; nor how the Troupers 'robbed and rifled every one they met with, 'and forceablie took away whatſoevir they 'could lay Hands on, without Reſpect of 'Conſcience.' And it ſeems the Countrey had as little *Spirit*, as they had *Conſcience*; for could ever a *free State*, eſpecially in Time of *Peace*, indure ſuch *Inſolencies* againſt *Perſons*, *States*, and *Families*, and that from the Scum of Men, voyd both of *Fortitude* and *Righteouſneſſe*; but ſuch as had loſt all Tincture of their *Progenitors Spirit*, and ſubjected themſelves to perfect Slavery. An Uncle of mine, well verſt in *Military Diſcipline*, told me, 'That if *Gretians*, *Romans*, yea or *Turks*, 'were here to ſee a Sort of whitelivered Rag-'gamuffins, under the Name of Souldierly O-'verrunning, a warlike famous People from 'their very Originall, witneſſe the *Romans* 'Teſtimony of them, they would ſay it, ei-'ther they were not the ſame People, or, by 'Way of Tranſmigration, they had ſent their 'Soules to the *Hollander*: But the Duke of *Buckingham*, *alias*, of our *Deſtruction*, by the Plot of his pragmatick Bandeleer, Sir *Dudley Larbetom*, firſt bridled them, and ſadled them, for the *Rutters* to mount on; which though they miſt, yet they never caſt the Bridle and Saddle, ſo that who will may ride them. But Ile leave ſuch Things to thoſe that, if they durſt, would faine *complaine*, and have Cauſe to ſing, *The Lamentation of their Loſſes.*

But I cannot omit to tell you of the great *Threatnings* which were thundered out againſt the *Covenanters*, all the Way as they went along, and every Mokehill was made a Mountaine, to aggrivate their Rebellion; and every Man vowed to be revenged, though he neither knew of whom, nor for what: But, by that Time that we had been there encamped three Nights, we found (beſides the *Scots* Armie) two ſtrong Enemies more then we expected (*Hunger* and *Cold*) which ſo ſharply aſſayled us, that, if our Foes had not proved our Friends, in *relieving* us, we had ſuffered much Mifery.

That, within a Week after our firſt Coming, ſundry of our Souldiers *ſurfetted* with *Eating* of freſh Salmon, inſomuch, as they were ready to *mutinie* for Want of *Meat*; whereupon, by Adviſe of Councell, it was fit they ſhould have Libertie to take what they could get beyond *Tweed*. But the honeſt Souldiers knowing, *that ſweet Meat muſt have ſowre Sauce*, would not venture for it.

Then it ſeems, quoth *Iamie*, that they are but *freſh Water Souldiers*, not yet ſeaſoned with the *Souldiers Life*; how would they be able to hold out a Winter Leager, if they cannot ſhift out a Summer with good freſh Salmon?

A Winter League, quoth *Willie*, would burne all their Bones in the North, for the beſt

beſt of them is no Body, without a Featherbed at his Back; and either a Diſh of *Beef* and *Breweſſe*, or *Bacon*, and *Bagge-pudding* in his Belly; but, if he have that and his *double Beere*, and his *Drabbe*, he will ſtand to it ſtiffly.

Marie, now I remember, quoth *Iamie*, that they call a Bagge-pudding *Londons Joy*; and I beleeve its that which makes many of them ſo bigge-bellied; but, if they cannot byte of a Bannock, and bibbe of the Brooke, they are not fit Comerages for me; for I can fare hard, lye hard, and fight hard; and, if my Tobacco-box afford me but two Pipes a Day, I ſhift out well enough for any Thing elſe.

It muſt be better Tobacco, quoth *Willie*, then that which the common Souldiers had in the Camp, which the Sutlers made of Cabbedge-leaves, and Dock-leaves ſteeped in Piſſe, and dryed, with the Bloſſomes of green Broom. This they ſold for four Pipes a Penny; but it did ſo ſmoake and ſtinke, as if they had burnt their Huts.

At our firſt Coming, there was a great Quarrell between the Muſqueteers and the Archers in the Armie, about Precedencie: The one ſaith, 'Hee's the onely Man now in 'Uſe;' and the other blurts out his Bolt, and tells them, 'That Bows and Arrowes won 'Bolloyne.' But a tall Strippling, ſtanding by, told them, 'That a minced Pye was more ac-'ceptable then either;' and offered, 'If any 'Man durſt gainſay it, and would meet him 'at *Berwicke* Bounds, with a minced Pye, and 'two Pewter Spoons; if he did not beat him 'at his own Weapons, he would be content 'to faſt two Dayes after.'

That it was feared, ſo ſoon as the Army went Home, there would have been Civill Warres between the Men and the Women, in the *Northern Countreys*, for *Superiority*; partly becauſe the Men had done no Feats of Arms worthy of ſo brave an appointed Army, and the ancient Fame of their Countrey; telling them, 'If they had been in their Place, 'they would either, by Valour, have won 'the Breeches, or left their Mothers Daugh-'ters. Others of ſome Quality ſtormed, that their Huſbands were not knighted, and they ladyfied; and told them, in ſome Heat, 'That, 'if they could not be knighted under the Ban-'ner, they would go nye to knight them 'under the Curtin.' But a witty Blade, ſomwhat better experienced in the Laws of *Venus*, than the reſt, and having learned in the *Low-Countreys* to ſhelter himſelfe behind a Cannon-baſket, derided the Matter very daintily, and gave the Women good Satisfaction: It's true, quoth he, that that old propheticall Adage proves now too true:

*Waters ſhall waxe, and Woods ſhall waine,*
*And Unman ſhall be Man, and Man ſhall be*
*Naine.*

Where can this rather be verified, than in Womens imperious *Thoughts*, *irrationall Commands*, *uſurped Government*, and *metamorphoriſed Apparell?* Wherin Women, againſt the Laws of God, Nature, Nations, they act Man, and play the very Viragons. Man, by the Contrary, being too vigorious, looſeth God, his Image, in his Priviledge; in ſitting in the Saddle, and giving her the Reines, he *unmans* himſelfe; and, being Woman in all, ſave wherin his Wife would not have him; ſo he ſitteth down in Effect with *Sardanapalus* to the Diſtaffe. But, to meddle no more with this Hornet Neſt, and come to the Particulars: You are to know, Ladies, the hugleſh Spirit is not all loſt; but our *great Plenty*, *much Eaſe*, and *long Peace*, all ill uſed, have ſhortened our *Spirt*, and made us to ſeek, except it be to roare, pipe, and pot in Tavernes, and Ale-houſes, to make Children gaze at Buffe Calfe and Feather; with damnable *Oaths* and villanous *Deeds* to *terrifie* and *torment* the People; and, as many of them, in *Practiſe*, know not the *right Hand* from the *left*, ſo many of their *Commanders* are *Ignoramuſſes* in the very Vocables of *Art*: But, as the Conſtable ſaid to the *Captain*, *We muſt be diſſembled in a Trance*; *our Commanders muſt learn to command*, *and we to doe*; *we muſt learne to creep before we goe*; *to ſtand before we dance*; *and how to handle Armes*, *and to endure ſome Hardſhip*, *before we fight.*

Againe, noble *Amazons*, take Notice, that we had no Commiſſion to fight with the *Scots*; which if we had had, we would have gone nigh to have frighted them as ill, as the Cowes of *Barwick* frighted us; but we were onely by Flouriſhes to ſcare them; Witneſſe our Going to *Kelſo* Market, to ſee how *Meat* rated.

But, in the *third* Place, a greater Block then both theſe lay in the Way, and that which hindered a Shop-broken Taylor, turned

*Steward* in a Ship, to fight, namely, *Want of a good Cauſe*. It is enough, thinke I, to venture *Bodies*, though we venture no *Soules*; and what ſhall a Man have, but a vaniſhing Vapour of *Report*, when he hath ſacrificed himſelfe?

*Laſtly*, If we had killed the *Scots*, the *Papiſts* would have cut our Throats for our Paines; and, as for *Knighting*, I aſſure you, *Gentlewomen*, a great many more have it, then can tell how to uſe it: And ſo the Women were well pacified.

That there came divers *Carpet Knights* to the Camp, onely for *Faſhion*, not for *Fighting*, whoſe chiefeſt *Attendants* are either Poets, or Players; at whoſe Returne you ſhall either have the ſecond Part of *Hobia Moko*, or els *Polydamna*, acted, with a new Addition. But, if it had once come to Knocks, then you muſt have expected a Tragedie inſtead of a Commedie; as, *The Loſſe of a Loyall Subject*, *The Prodigals Repentance*, *The Sucklings Succour*, *The Loſt Lover*, or ſome ſuch pretty Peece.

That, all the Time the Camp lay here, we had moſt lamentable wet Wether, as if the Heavens had mourned with continuall Rayne, which our Camp ſcarſe called *Scottiſh Teares*; but I am ſure it made good the old Saying, *A* Scottiſh *Miſt will wet an* Engliſh-man *to the Skinne*: And well it might be, for there was neither Care taken for Huts, nor Tents; but, aſſoone as it was faire againe, in the Sun-ſhine, they went all in Hunting the louſie Lare, where they made good that Riddle, which put *Homer* to a Stand: *What they found they left behind them, and what they could not find they tooke with them.* But, having done *Execution* upon thoſe Grudge-pikes, at their Returnes, they would bragge how many *Covenanted* Enemies they had killed, ſince they went out.

Why (quoth *Iamie*) Were any *Covenanters* killed? We heare no ſuch News at *London*.

It is but onely a *Beare* (quoth *Willie*) to call their Lyce and Backbyters their *Covenanted* Enemies.

Let them *jeare* on (quoth *Iamie*) if they dare kill nothing els but Lyce, then I am content they ſhould never have other Imployment; for, indeed, it was told at *London*, *That there was nothing among the Souldiers in the Kings Camp, but Lyce, and long Nayles*, which, it ſeems, was all the Imployment they had, or *Blood*, which was ſhed there.

No (quoth *Willie*) they durſt not doe ſo much as goe into *Scotland* to kill either Man or Beaſt there; and this they gave out for their Excuſe, *That all the Ground was undermined betwixt* Berwicke *and the* Scottiſh *Camp*, ſo as they durſt not march on, for Feare of Blowing up. But they needed never feare that; for, unleſſe the *Engliſh Matchevilians* undermined the *Scots Covenanters*, and, by a long-tayld Traine from *London* to *Edenburgh*, blew up the Parliament there (leaſt they blew up the Biſhops) there is nothing els to be blown up.

That here, in the *North*, the Kings Coyne, which had been for ſo many Yeares rackt out of the Countrey into the Kings Coffers, hath been now moſt prodigally ſpent; and the Monopoly-money, which hath lyen ſo many Yeares mould in the *Exchequor*, is now ſo well ſunſhined, and ſo often turned over from Hand to Hand, as it will not come there to be ruſty againe, this ſeaven Yeares.

It is thought this Climate hath an extraordinary Operation in Altering of Mens *Conſtitutions* and *Conditions*; for our *Gallants* have both changed their *Voices*, and their *Words*, ſince they came from *London*; for there they uſed to ſpeake as bigge as Bulbeggers, that fight in Barnes, and at every Word, *Sirra*, *Rogue*, *Raſcall*, and the like. But it is otherwayes now; for their Words are as if they *whiſpered*, for Feare the *Scots* ſhould heare them, and their Words are turned to, *honeſt Iacke*, *Courage Souldiers*, and the like; ſo as, if we had ſtayed but a little While longer, we ſhould have been *all Fellows at Football*.

That a great many old Souldiers lived by their Shifts; ſome counterfeited *Fortune-tellers*, ſome *Iuglers*, and ſome *Moric-dancers*; and, indeed, they ſped beſt of all; for, whilſt the Wives without Conveighs (which lay lurking about the Houſe) would either get a Duck or a Henne, or others, perhaps, a Lamb or a Pigge; and Home they came to the Camp, oftentimes with halfe a Dozen of Women at their Heels, crying, *Stoppe Thiefe, ſtoppe*; but never an honeſt Man was in the Way, and it is not the Faſhion for one *Thiefe* to ſtay another. But, when they came to their Huts, then there was all the *Sport* to ſee them quarrell for Dividing of it, untill the Marſhall or Provoſt came, who, to ſtint the Striſe, kept it to himſelfe: So, *oftentimes, he that got it never eat it.*

Oh

Oh (quoth *Iamie*) What Belly-Gods are theſe, that will robbe the poore People? If they had played ſuch Pranks in *Scotland*, they had been well banged, both Backe and Side.

I warrant (quoth *Willie*) that the *Northerne* People dreamed of theſe Broyles, many Yeares agoe; for they have been ſo provident to prevent them, as they never planted any Orchards: For, if there had been either Fruit above Ground, or Roots in the Ground, nothing had been left them; for they marcht by Pares up and down, looking for a Prey; but, as I tell, the Countrey cozened them for that.

That one Day, in a miſty Morning, about a Dozen of Camp Royane Ruffins had a Deſire to plunder a Countrey Village in *Scotland*. I will ranke them in Order as they went out, leaſt their diſorderly Returne Home prevent me: *Firſt*, there rode two Carrubins, who in their ruſty Armor, and ſtarved Stalliones, lookt like a couple of Brewers Servants in Leather Jerkings, made of old Boots, ryding for old Caſke. After them followed two light Horſe-men, with great Saddles and Petreonels, like a couple of Fidlers with their Muſicall Inſtruments in Caſes.

Next to theſe marcht foure Footmen, with Sow-ſkinne Knapſaks, and Halfe-Pikes, like foure *Banbury* Tinkers, with their Buggets at their Backs. And after them ſome Muſketeers with their Reſts in their Hands, and their Bandeleers about their Neks, like ſo many Sow-gelders. When they came to the Village, the Men were gone to the Market, and the Women were at Milking. The Horſemen ſtood behind the Barnyard to receive what the others ſhould bring them. The Muſkueteers marcht into the Milke-houſe, and the Pikemen to the Henrooſt, where the Foules began to flutter, the Geeſe to kekcle, and the Dogs to barke, and all the Village was preſently in an Uproare. Out came a Wench crying, Come out, come out, for here are Theeves come to robbe us: With that an Alarum was beat on the Bottome of an old Kettle; and out came all the Wives very well weaponed; ſome with Rockes, ſome with Forks, and ſome with Flailes, crying, Where are theſe falſe ſwearing Theeves: But, aſſoone as they found them, they ſo belaboured the poore Pikemen, as happy was he could get firſt free from them; yet at laſt they gat looſe, and followed their Horſemen, who fled away aſſoone as ever they heard the Fray begin. In the meane Time the Muſketeers had ſo panged their Panches with Butter-milke and Whay, that they could ſcarce get out of the Wives Gripes, to come to their Horſe-men. But what with Feare, and their Strugling with the Women for the Victorie, moſt of them made bold with their Breeches. But at laſt, when they ſee that the Wives ſtood ſo ſtiffly to it, they ranne as faſt away as they could; but there was ſuch a wild Gooſe Chaſe, between the Wives and them, as hes beene ſeldome ſeen, inſomuch as, the poore Pikemen having overheat themſelves, the Butter-milke and Whay had ſuch an Opperation, as they had got ſuch a Squirt, that the Women could trace them whereſoever they fled; and ſtill, as they overtooke them, they did ſo beſwaddle them, that they cryed for Quarter. *What is this*, quoth a Woman, *that the Lown calls Quarter? If thy Quarters have not enough, they ſhall have enough. Alas, Cummer*, quoth another, *he cryes for Mercie: Then*, quoth ſhe, *falſe Thiefe, cry God this Mercie, and Ile let thee alone.* The poore Man learned the Language, and ſo that Fray ended: But, withall, they promiſed never to come into that Kingdome any more. When they had their Libertie, it was bootleſſe to bid them runne; for away they went with aſmuch Speed as their Legges could carrie them. But a Man might have found them by the Sent all the Way. All the Spoyle, that this Fray afforded, was onely their Bandaleers for the Boyes to play withall, and their Reſts for Rockes for the Wives to ſpinne withall.

Now Gods Bleſſing and mine, quoth *Iamie*, light upon the Goodwives, for they have played their Parts bravely. And I hope the *Engliſh* Army never troubled them for it.

No, quoth *Willie*, but they lay upon the Lurch a good While after for a Revenge, and one Day, early in the Morning, ſtole into *Scotland*, thinking to have taken them tarde: But, when they came there, albeit they had ſhuffled all the Coat cards in their own Hands, and ſo thought it had been a won Game; yet, when they ſaw Clubbes turne up Trump, they gave it over as a loſt Game, and never after offered them any Injurie; but ſome of the Souldiers were ſo trampled and trod upon, in their ſuddain Retreat, that divers of them dyed preſently after their Returne; amongſt whom, one, more godly then the reſt, deſired

to

to have his Will written; but there was none to doe it but a Poet, and he made it in Verſe, which was as followeth:

BEing ſore ſicke, and ready for to dye,
Yet Thanks be to God, in perfect Memorie,
My Will I make. And, firſt, I do bequeath
My Soule to *Chriſt*, my Body to the Grave:
My Braines unto my Countrey, that they may
Not brainſick runne in ſuch bad Deeds as they.
My Eares unto the King, that he may heare
His Subjects Suits in Peace, and not in Wearre.
My Eyes unto the State, that they may ſee
All falſe Seducers of his Majeſtie.
My Tongue to ſuch as dare not the Truth tell.
My Mind to thoſe that thinke all is not well.
My Noſe to thoſe that have not perfect Sent,
To ſmell out thoſe as hinder Parliament.
My Hand to him that meanes to ſhed no Blood.
My Heart to thoſe that for the Goſpell ſtood.
My broad Backe to the *Proteſtants*, that they
With Patience ſuffer, and in Love obey.
My Legges I leave to lame Men, to aſſiſt them:
If *Scots* come on, there's many that will miſſe them.
My Feet to *Franck* who hath no Heart to ſtay,
That better he may ſcape, and runne away.

I know no fit Executor for this Will:
But, if that any pleaſe it to fulfill,
I leave them Power; and doe begge with Teares,
*England* and *Scotland* to be Overſeers:
That each may have their own due Legacie.
Soe farewell Friends: Death calls away for me.

Within two or three Dayes after this Retreat, there was an Agreement made between the two Armies, and both of them were to diſſolve their Forces. Whereupon Order was given in the Kings Camp, *that every Man ſhould have a Monethes Pay to carrie him Home to his Countrey:* But the Captaines and Commanders did ſo ſhuffle and ſhirke the poore Souldiers, that ſome of them had nothing, and the moſt had but foure or five Shillings a piece, to travell Three-hundred Miles: Yet, to give the Devill his Due, they did them a Court-courteſie, in giving them a Paſſe Home to their Countrey, with a Licence to begge by the Way, and a Tiquet to all Maiors, Iuſtices, Conſtables, and the like, not to trouble the Stocks, nor Whipping-poſts, with any ſuch Souldiers as came from the Kings Camp.

Now good Gibbie get them, quoth *Iamie*, and ye kenn, that, if he once ſhake Hands with any, they had need ſay their Prayers, for they are not long-lived after it. But what ſilly Souldiers were thoſe that would be put off ſo? Marie, it is no Mervell then they begged and robbed all the Way Home. And ſo deeply ſwore, *They would rather be hanged at Home, then ever goe Abroad in the Kings Camp againe.*

They could not helpe it, quoth *Willie*, for they might tell their Tale one to another, for No-body els would heare them. And beſides, they were ſo glad to be gone, as they never ſtayed for any Conduct or Company; for they were not ſo farre in Love with the Buſineſſe, as to play *Loath to depart:* But every Man ſhifted for himſelfe, as ſoon as he could, for Feare he ſhould have been called backe againe, and put upon ſome new Imployment there.

We could never, quoth *Iamie*, underſtand the Truth of the Agreement at the Camp, ſome told one Thing, ſome told another.

The Effect of the Agreemenr, quoth *Willie*, was thus, in Brief, *That both the Armies ſhould be diſſolved. That the Kings Caſtles ſhould be ſurrendered. That the Kings Shippes ſhould depart the* Firth. *That a ſet Aſſembly ſhould be called, and have Libertie to ſettle the Government of the Church. That a Parliament ſhould immediately follow, which ſhould ratifie the Aſſembly, and redreſſe the Grievances of the Kingdome.*

Their Demands, as I was informed, were theſe; that, beſides the Holding and Confirmation of the Aſſembly, to be holden by the ſucceeding Parliament, they deſired theſe Particulars, namely, *That the* Scottiſh *Delinquents ſhould be ſent Home to their Tryall; Reſtoration of the States Dammages*, and, laſtly, *Security from further Danger from the Fireworks Ingeneers of this Combuſtion:* And, whether theſe were granted or not, not to meddle with Hand or Seale, I referre my ſelfe to the martyred Papers, and the Conſciences of ſome of the *Engliſh* Lords.

Good Agreements, Brother, but badly performed: For aſſoone as the Armies were diſſolved, and the King poſſeſſed of the Caſtles of *Edenburgh*, *Dumbarton*, &c. new Cavells were rayſed againſt the Covenanters. And it was reported, *That, under the Colour of a Peace with the Lords at* Berwicke, *they ſhould all have been detayned, and ſent Priſoners to* London. But, as

as good Happe was, they went not, but excuſed themſelves to the King, becauſe the appointed Aſſemblies was then to begin, which hath ſince quite aboliſhed Biſhops.

The King ſeemed diſpleaſed, and thereupon placed Generall *Rothwen* Governour of the Caſtle of *Edenburgh.* And now he, having gotten that by a Tricke, which they never could have gotten by Strength, keeps a Couple of falſe Knaves to laugh at the Lords, a Foole and a Fidler; and, when he and they are almoſt drunke, then they goe to Singing of *Scots* Iigges, in a jearing Manner, at the Covenanters, for Surrendering up their Caſtles.

*The Fidler he flings out his Heels, and dances and ſings:*

Put up thy Dagger, *Iamie,*
And all Things ſhall be mended,
Biſhops ſhall fall, no not at all
When the Parliament is ended,

*Then the Fool, he flirts out his Folly, and, whilſt the Fidler plays, he ſings:*

Which never was intended,
But onely for to ſlam thee:
We have gotten the Game,
Wee'll keep the ſame,
Put up thy Dagger, *Iamie.*

The Devill a Dagger, quoth *Iamie,* ſhalbe put up by me, nor, I beleeve, by any Man in the Kingdome, untill the Parliament be ended, and have confirmed the Putting down of Biſhops; wee'll be no longer ſlim-ſlamb'd by any of them. And, for this Trick, we will have that falſe Papiſticall Traytor *Rothwen,* and all his Knaveries, out of the Caſtle; or elſe we will make it too hot for him to hold it. I am in ſuch a Rage at theſe Raſcalls, as, if I had them here, I would beat them both Black and Blew, and teach them to ſing another Song, called, *The Lowns Lamentation*; yea, and make them dance after my Pipe, ere I had done with them.

Peace, quoth *Willie,* Patience will bring all to Perfection, and Time will diſcover the Truth. But if this Pacification was onely pretended, that they might get the Caſtles into their Cuſtodie, and the Parliament but onely promiſed, and never intended to confirm the Aboliſhing of Biſhops, then we have juſt Cauſe to doe that which was never dreamed on.

Dreamed on, quoth *Iamie,* if Dreames prove true, I ſhalbe Maſter of a Mytre ere it be long; for every Night I am ſo troubled with finding of Mytres, Crucifixes, rich Copes, and the like, that I thinke, to my Comfort, it wilbe my Fortune to fall upon the Rifling of ſome of thoſe Belly-god Biſhops houſes, before this Warre be ended; and then let me alone to expone my Dreame. And I hope, if I take Pains, to pull down Popery in ſuch a Manner, as it will not trouble my Conſcience hereafter.

I would it were come to that, quoth *Willie,* if it muſt needs come to it; but it were better the Buſineſſe ended in a peaceable Way.

That will never be, quoth *Iamie,* for there is a Time when *Babylon* muſt down, and the Biſhops, who are but Whelps of that Whores Litter, muſt down before her; and why may not the Time be now? For the Pope had never ſuch a Blow as *Scotland* now hath given him; and, if *England* give him but ſuch another, it will make him ſtagger.

Ha, *Iamie,* there thou hitſt the Marke, for all the Pollicie that I have can never poſſeſſe me of any Poſſibility of bringing Peace and Safety, except the bloudy and undermining Locuſts be ſent to the Bottomleſſe Pit, from whence they came; and the whole Litter of the Whores Whelps, as thou calleſt them, the Biſhops, with all their Appendices, be rooted out: Yea, except ſome Carpenters ariſe, and ſaw off theſe ſtrong Hornes of the Beaſt, which, by Stickling, make ſo many Leakes in the *Engliſh* Church, ſhe and all in her are like to periſh; and then thoſe helliſh Pirats, worſe than *Tunnees* and *Algeir,* will have a Bout with the Bordering of the *Scots:* But I hope they ſhall all be hanged firſt. The *Scots* have ſet the *Engliſh* a faire Coppy, and, if they cannot write for theſe alſo, the *Scots* will lend their Hand, if they be willing to learne. Yet not to write a Letter, much leſſe a Line of Rebellion: For, as they may compare with any Nation in the World for their Loyalty, ſo to terme the Saving of the Church, King, and State Rebellion, *is of the Devill, the Father of Lyes.*

I am confident, that the *Engliſh* will not be ſo forgetfull of their Honour and Profeſſion, as to make ſuch Uſe of the *Scots,* as the Monkey made

made of the Spannell, in pulling the Cheſtnut out of the Fire with the Spannells Foot: But, as mutuall Neceſſity craves mutuall Ayd, ſo I hope the *Scots* and *Engliſh* will, in a brotherly Conjunction, like *Ioab* and *Abiſhai*, help one another againſt the *Syrians* and *Ammonites*; that is, forraigne and domeſticke Enemies. *If the* Syrians *be too ſtrong for me*, ſaith Joab, *then thou ſhalt helpe me*; *but, if* Ammon *be too ſtrong for thee, then I will come and helpe thee*, 2 Sam. x. 11. The Application is eaſie. But whither am I gone, certainly beyond both *Packe* and *Packe-pin*, yea, and the *Warehouſe* too.

O *Billie Willie*, that ſome good Engine had the Hammering of this, and it might prove a bonny Piece. But I meane well. Now to cloſe up all, as I wiſh, with the Spirit, *all Happineſſe to attend thoſe that daſh* Babels *Brats againſt the Walls*: So let both Nations take Heed of that Curſe denounced againſt thoſe *that doe the Worke of the Lord negligently*, Pſal. cxxxvii. 11. Jer. xlviii. 10.

By this Time we were called to Supper, and thereupon gave over *Diſcourſe*: And the next Day after departed all Three for *Edenburgh*, where we agreed over againe to own the Hazard of a new Journy to *London*, to ſee how Things were carryed there. But the Manner of the Carriage, and how we ſhall diſpoſe of our ſelves there, cannot be reſolved till we ſee the Succeſſe of this Parliament. Till when, and ever, we remaine ready to do our utmoſt Indeavours in any Thing that may tend to the Good of this Kirk and Kingdome.

*POSTSCRIPT.*

THrough Fire and Water we have paſt,
To bring you *Northerne* News:
And, ſince as Scouts we travelled laſt,
We now that Name refuſe.

But, if henceforth new Broyles appeare,
And Warre begin to riſe,
*Caſtiliano* like, wee'll cloth our ſelves,
And live like *Spaniſh* Spyes.

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# The Atheiſtical Politician; or a brief Diſcourſe concerning *Nicholas Machiavell**.

*The Intention of this Diſcourſe appears to be levelled againſt the Government and Miniſtry of K.* Charles *I. and by Way of Apology for* Machiavell, *which, I think, is very artfully compoſed, endeavours to depreciate Archbiſhop* Laud *and the Earl of* Strafford, *by alledging them to be more diſhoneſt than* Nicholas Machiavell.

NIcholas *Machiavell* is cried down for a Villain, neither do I think he deſerves a better Title; yet, when I conſider he was not only an *Italian*, but a Courtier, I cannot chuſe but commiſerate his Fortune, that he, in particular, ſhould bear the Marks, which belong to the wiſeſt Stateſmen in general.

He, that intends to expreſs a diſhoneſt Man, calls him a *Machiavillian*, when he might as juſtly ſay, a *Straffordian* †, or a *Cantibirian* ‡: We embrace the firſt Apparition of Virtue or Vice, and let the Subſtance paſs by untouched.

For, if we examine the Life of *Lewis the Eleventh* of *France*, we ſhall find he acted more Ill, than *Machiavell* writ, or, for aught we know, ever thought, yet he hath Wiſdom inſcribed on his Tomb; and, had he not kiſſed his Crucifix ever after the doing a diſhoneſt Thing, pronouncing a Sentence or

* Publiſhed about the Year 1641. *Quarto*, containing ſeven Pages. † Alluding to the Earl of *Stafford*, beheaded in K. *Charles* I's Reign. ‡ Alluding to Archbiſhop *Laud*. *N. B.* Theſe two were looked upon by the Author, and many others, his Cotemporaries, to be evil Counſellors to K. *Charles* I. and, as ſuch, were *Machiavells* in *England*.

two,

two, that diſcovered the Complexion of his Heart, he might have paſt for as honeſt a Man, as all wiſe Anceſtors or any Prince living in his Time, who now lie quiet in their Graves; a Favour this Man is denied by ignorant and ungrateful Poſterity.

He was Secretary to the State of *Florence*, of which he hath written an excellent and impartial Hiſtory; he had lived in the Days of Pope *Alexander the Sixth*, been familiar with his Son *Cæſar*, and what theſe Princes were is ſufficiently known.

No Time was fuller of Action, nor more ſhewed the Inſtability of worldly Honours, than the Occurences that happened in *Italy* at this Time: Now, from a Man wholly employed in Court Affairs, where it was thought Madneſs to look beyond ſecond Cauſes, worſe Things might have been with better Reaſon expected, than theſe ſo bitterly condemned; which are, indeed, but the Hiſtory of wiſe Impieties, long before imprinted in the Hearts of ambitious Pretenders, and by him made legible to the meaneſt Underſtanding; yet he is more blamed for this fair Expreſſion, than they are that daily commit far greater Impiety, than his, or any Pen elſe, is able to expreſs.

It was his Profeſſion to imitate the Behaviour of Princes, were it never ſo unſeemly: Nay, Religion cannot condemn the Speculation of ill in Miniſters of State, without laying herſelf and Profeſſors open to all Injury.

For, upon how great Diſadvantage ſhould a good Prince treat with a bad Neighbour, if he were not only familiar with the Paths of Wickedneſs, but knew other Ways to ſhun them, and how to countermine their treacherous Practices?

Do any blame *Albertus* for Writing obſcenely? Nay, Do not they rather call him *the Great*, becauſe he hath ſo plainly ſet open the Cloſet of Nature? Indeed, if any Man can pretend a juſt Quarrel to *Machiavell*, they are Kings; for, as it is the ordinary Courſe of light Women to find Fault with the broad Diſcourſe of that they maintain their Power by, ſo Stateſmen may beſt blame the Publication of theſe Maxims, that they may put them in Practice with more Profit and Security.

The unjuſt Steward is commended for his worldly Wiſdom, and, What doth he ſay more of *Cæſar Borgia*, than that he was a politick Tyrant? And if, without Leave of the Text, he propoſe him for an Example, yet it is of Ill: And who is more fit to be a Pattern to a Villain, than one of the ſame Coat?

Moſt of the Eſtates in *Italy* did then voluntarily, or were compelled to change their Maſters; neither could that School teach him any Thing more perfectly than the Way to Greatneſs, nor he write a more acceptable Treatiſe than Aphoriſms of State.

He ſaw the Kingdom of *Naples* torn out of the Houſe of *Angieu* by *Ferdinand*, and the People kept in Tyranny both by the Father and Son; he ſaw the no leſs mad than diſloyal Ambition of *Lodowick* Duke of *Milan*, who took the Government upon him out of the Hands of young *Galeas*, with as much Treachery and Cunning as *Francis Sforca*, Father to *Galeas*, had done from the Dukes of *Orleans*; he beheld *Charles the Eighth*, King of *France*, brought into *Italy* by the ſaid Duke of *Milan*, to keep the People at Gaze, whilſt he poiſoned his Nephew, who was to expect the Dukedom when he came of Age; he ſaw the Deſcent of *Charles* winked at by Pope *Alexander the Sixth*, in Hope to raiſe a Houſe for his Son *Cæſar* out of the Ruins of ſome of the Princes, in which he was deceived; for the *French* King made himſelf Maſter of all *Italy*, entered *Rome* twice, put the Holy Father to take Sanctuary in the Caſtle St. *Angelo*, and there to ſubſcribe to ſuch Conditions as the victorious King was pleaſed to preſcribe him; upon which his Holineſs came out: And, though *Charles*, in Shew of Reverence, did kiſs his Foot, yet he took his Son *Cæſar* for Hoſtage, to ſecure the Performance of his Promiſe, though he covered it with the Name of *Ambaſſage*, ever to reſide with the King, in Token of Amity; and, after *Cæſar* had made an Eſcape, the Holy Father, contrary to his Oath, made a League againſt the *French* King.

He was an Eye-witneſs of an Amity contracted between the *Vicar of Chriſt* and his known Enemy the *Turk*; with whom he * agreed for Money to poiſon his † Brother, who was fled into *Chriſtendom*, for Fear of

* The Pope.

† The grand Seignor.

*Bajazet*, then reigning, and was under the Pope's Protection at *Rome*; and might have been of excellent Uſe to any Prince that would have invaded the *Turk*, had not his Holineſs obſerved his Promiſe to this Monſter, which he ſeldom kept with the beſt of Men.

After all this, he ſaw the *French* King loſe all *Italy*, with the ſame Dexterity he had gained it; and Pope *Alexander* and his Son both overthrown by one Draught of Poiſon, prepared by themſelves for others; of which the Father died preſently, but the Son, by Reaſon of Youth and Antidote, had Leiſure to ſee, what he had formerly gotten, torn out of his Hands, and he forced to flee to his Father-in-Law, the King of *Navarre*, in whoſe Service he was murthered.

To theſe ambitious Practices of Princes may be added the domeſtical Impiety of the Pope, who was a Corrival with his two Sons in the Love of his own Daughter, the Lady *Lucretia*, whom they all three enjoyed; which bred ſuch a Hatred between the Brothers, that *Cæſar*, being jealous that the other had a greater Share in her Affection, killed him one Night, and threw him into the *Tiber*: Nay, it could not be diſcerned when the Head of the Church ſpake Truth or Falſhood, but by the extraordinary Execrations he uſed, when he meant to deceive.

Neither are theſe only the Commodities of *Italy*, but the uſual Traffick of all the Courts in the World; for the Mark that God hath ſet upon *Jeroboam*, who, according to our Dialect, may be ſtiled the *Machiavell* of the *Jews*, cannot ſcare moſt Princes out of his Path; For how many Kings have failed to ſet up Altars, both at *Bethel* and *Dan*, when they think their Power may be weakened by the People going to *Jeruſalem? Saul*, being a private Man, went to the Prophet to aſk after his Father's Aſſes; but, being a King, went to the Devil to know the Succeſs of a Battle.

*Chriſt* himſelf ſaith, *Not many Great, not many Mighty are called:* Men in ſoft Raiment may be found at Court, but their Conſciences are commonly ſeared and hard.

This makes me think, the Wiſe-men, that came from far to ſee our Saviour, thought him an earthly Prince, and not the King of Heaven, elſe they would never have ſought him in the Court of *Herod*, from whence nothing could come but Cruelty and Oppreſſion.

The Church of *Rome*, that did anciently deſerve Honour of all the Word, after it came to be a Court, grew fruitful only in Impiety; and, though we do acknowledge her ſtill to be a Church, becauſe ſhe hath all the Lineaments of Religion in her, yet they are ſo blended in Superſtition, Pomp, and Cruelty, that it is no eaſy Taſk to find the Truth amongſt them. For as a good Fruit-tree leaves not to be the ſame as it was before, though covered and embraced with Ivy and ill Weeds, the natural Daughters of Time, which neither ſpare Things ſacred nor prophane; ſo *Rome* may be called a Church ſtill, though covered with Traſh and idle Ceremonies; in which the Pope and the Cardinals ſhroud themſelves, ſo as, if Knowledge, occaſioned by the Illumination of God, had not houted them out of ſome Corners of the World, they had not only made good, by an unqueſtioned Preſcription, thoſe Errors in Being, but brought in more; and, being themſelves Maſtets of all temporal Eſtates, and were there nothing elſe againſt them, but Greatneſs and Impiety, it were enough to convince them of Falſhood and Novelty: Pride is acknowledged by all to be the Root of Ill; now where doth it proſper ſo well, or grow ſo ſtrong as in Princes, and ſuch as do attend on their Affairs? The Effects of which Sin can be contained in no narrower Compaſs, than the whole Maſs of Impiety that is apt to commit; for it made *Phocas* to kill his Maſter, *Cæſar* to overthrow the Liberty of the braveſt Common-wealth that ever the World did, or is likely to behold; it prompts the Hands of Children to pull unſeaſonably the Pillows from under the Heads of their dying Fathers; it is this that fills Heaven and Hell with Souls, the Earth with Blood; this Pride made *Charles the Fifth* to arm himſelf againſt his own Pope, that very Year in which God had done him the Honour to take one of the greateſt Monarchs in *Chriſtendom* Priſoner; it cauſed his Son *Philip* to mingle the Blood of his own Child with the infinite Quantity he ſpilt upon the Face of *Europe*; yet his Thirſt could not be quenched, though he ſet a new World a-broach in *America*, which he let run till it was as void of People, as he was of Pity.

Is a Prince named in any Chronicle, but in

in red Letters? Nay, what are Chronicles? Regiſters of Blood, and Projects to procure it, yet none blames them that write them. I do not intend to make an Apology for him, being ſo well acquainted with the Miſeries of thoſe, that are ſo unhappy as to fall under the Government of ſuch Principles; all I aim at is, to prove that, if he were juſtly arraigned, he could not be condemned by Men in like Place, who ever were his Peers, if not worſe, becauſe Advice without Execution hurts only the Giver.

Yet *Machiavell* ſaith, What Prince had not rather be *Titus* than *Nero?* But, if he will needs be a *Tyrant*, he ſhews him the Way that is leaſt hurtful to his temporal Eſtate, as if he ſhould ſay, Thou haſt made thyſelf already an Enemy to God and thy People, and haſt nothing to hope for, beyond the Honour of this World, therefore, to keep thee from the Fury of Men, be ſure thou art perfectly wicked, a Taſk not hitherto performed, it being yet beyond Example, that any Tyrant ſhould perform all the Miſchief that was requiſite for his Safety, no more than the beſt Kings did ever all the Good; and of this he makes *Cæſar Borgia*, *Alexander the Sixth*'s Son, a Pattern, who removed all the Impediments that ſtood between him and his Deſires, and provided againſt all croſs Accidents but his own; being ſick at the Time of his Father's Death, which hindered him ſo, as he had no Leiſure to attend his Buſineſs, which was to make one ſucceed in his Father's Place, that might, at leaſt, have favoured his Projects: But I verily believe, as I ſee by daily Experience, that thoſe which go on in the ſame Track, though they have brought their Purpoſes to as happy a Concluſion, yet they ſhall not want Impediments, or Diſcontents, that ſhall out-talk the Pleaſure of their Ambition; but, ſince it is oftentimes the Will of God to give Succeſs to ill Means wiſely contrived, Who can adviſe better than this *Florentine?* A Member of the *Roman* Church, and is, in that Regard, to be leſs blamed, becauſe he had as much Religion as the Pope then in Being; with whom all Impieties were as familiar as the Air he breathed in.

Neither are theſe Rules he ſpeaks of omitted in the beſt Kings, if they be wiſe; For which of them doth not diſpatch his ungrateful Actions by Deputies; and thoſe that are popular with his own Hands? Do any obſerve their Promiſe ſo exactly, as not to fail when they ſee the Profit greater than can be expected at another Time? And all this he ſaith only to a Prince. For, had he given thoſe Documents to a Son, or any other that had filled any narrower Room than a Kingdom, he might, with juſter Reaſon, have undergone all Cenſure; but, being to make a Grammar for the Underſtanding of Tyrannical Government, Is he to be blamed for ſetting down the general Rules of ſuch Princes? Now, if Falſhood and Deceit be not their true Dialect, let any judge that reads their Stories: Nay, Coſenage is reduced into ſo neceſſary an Art amongſt them, that he, that knows not how to deceive, knows not how to live. That Breach of Faith, in private Men, is damnable, and diſhonourable, he cannot deny; but Kings ſeem to have larger Charters, by Reaſon of their univerſal Commerce; and, as Ambaſſadors may be excuſed, if they lye abroad for the Good of their Country, becauſe they repreſent their Maſters Perſons: With far greater Reaſon may they do it, than they that employ them, provided they turn not the Edge of theſe Qualities towards their own People, to whom they are tied in a more natural and honeſt Obligation.

For a Common-wealth is like a natural Body, and, when it is all together, ſhews a comely Structure; but ſearch into the Intrails, from whence the true Nouriſhment proceeds, and you ſhall find nothing but Blood, Filth, and Stench: The Truth is, this Man hath raked too far in this, which makes him ſmell as he doth in the Noſtrils of ignorant People; whereas the better experienced know, it is the wholeſome Savour of the Court, eſpecially where the Prince is of the firſt Head.

# *Die Lunæ*, 22 *Ian.* 1643. An Ordinance * for Regulating the Vniverſity of *Cambridge*, and for Removing of ſcandalous Miniſters in the ſeven aſſociated Counties.

WHereas many Complaints are made by the well-affected Inhabitants of the aſſociated Counties of *Eſſex*, *Norffolk*, *Suffolk*, *Hartford*, *Cambridge*, *Huntington*, and *Lincolne* †, that the Service of the Parliament is retarded, the Enemy ſtrengthned, the Peoples Soules ſtarved and their Minds diverted from any Care of Gods Cauſe, by their idle, ill-affected, and ſcandalous Clergy, of the Vniverſity of *Cambridge*, and the aſſociated Counties; and that many that would give Evidence, againſt ſuch ſcandalous Miniſters, are not able to travell to *London*, nor beare the Charges of ſuch a Journey: It is ordained by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, that the Earle of *Mancheſter* ſhall appoynt one or more Committees in every Countie, conſiſting of ſuch as have beene nominated Deputy Lieutenants, or Committees by any former Ordinance of Parliament, in any of the ſaid aſſociated Counties, every Committee to conſiſt of ten, whereof any five or more of them, to ſit in any Place or Places within any of the ſaid aſſociated Counties where the ſaid Earle ſhall appoynt, with Power to put in Execution theſe Inſtructions following, and, in Purſuance thereof, to give Aſſiſtance to the ſaid Committees.

*Firſt*, they ſhall have Power to call before them all Provoſts, Maſters, and Fellowes of Colledges, all Students, and Members of the Vniverſity, and all Miniſters in any Countie of the Aſſociation, and all Schoole-maſters that are ſcandalous in their Lives, or ill-affected to the Parliament, or Fomentors of this unnaturall War, or that ſhall wilfully refuſe Obedience to the Ordinances of Parliament, or that have deſerted their ordinary Places of Reſidence, not being imployed in the Service of the King and Parliament. And they ſhall have Power to ſend for any Witneſſes, and examine any Complaint or Teſtimony againſt them, upon Oathes of ſuch Perſons as ſhall and may be produced to give Evidence againſt them, and ſhall certifie their Names, with the Charge and Proofes againſt them, to the ſaid Earle of *Mancheſter*, and he ſhall have Power to eject ſuch as he ſhall iudge unfit for their Places, and to ſequeſter their Eſtates, Meanes, and Revenues, and to diſpoſe of them as he ſhall thinke fitting, and to place other fitting Perſons in their Roome, ſuch as ſhall be approved of by the Aſſembly of Divines ſitting at *Weſtminſter*.

The Earle of *Mancheſter*, or the ſaid Committee or Committees, ſhall have Power to adminiſter the late Covenant taken, and to be taken of all the three Kingdoms, of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, to all Perſons in any of the ſaid aſſociated Counties, and the Iſle of *Ely*, upon ſuch Penalties as are, or ſhall be aſſigned by the Parliament in this Behalfe.

And be it ordained, that the ſaid Earle of *Mancheſter* ſhall have Power to diſpoſe of a fifth Part of all ſuch Eſtates as they ſhall ſequeſter, for the Benefit of the Wives and Children of any of the aforeſaid Perſons.

The ſaid Committee or Committees ſhall imploy a Clerke for the Regiſtring of all Warrants, Orders, Summons, and Ejectments made by them: And that they chooſe ſome convenient Place for the Preſerving of the Writings of this Committee.

That the ſaid Earle of *Maneheſter* ſhall have Power to examine and inhibite all ſuch as doe obſtruct the Reformation now endeavoured by the Parliament and Aſſembly of Divines.

And be it further declared, that all ſuch as ſhall doe any Thing in Execution of this Ordinance, ſhall be kept indempnified by the Authoritie and Power of both Houſes of Parliament.

And further be it ordained, that the Earle of *Mancheſter* ſhall have Power to appoynt a convenient Number, conſiſting of one or more out of every Countie, one out of the Citie of *Norwich*, and one out of the Countie and

* By the Parliament.

† Including the Iſle of *Ely* and the City of *Norwich*.

Citie

Citie of *Lincolne:* Provided that three of theſe be Deputie-Lieutenants to ſit at *Cambridge* for the better Ordering of all Buſineſſes of the Aſſociation, according to Ordinances and Orders of Parliament, and according to his Commiſſion granted by his Excellencie the Earle of *Eſſex*; and that the preſent Committee for the Aſſociation ſitting at *Cambridge* ſhall ceaſe, when the Earle of *Mancheſter* ſhall have appoynted another under his Hand and Seale.

*John Browne Cler. Parliament.*

*The following Commiſſion granted by the Earl of* Mancheſter, *according to the Power given him by the foregoing Ordinance of Parliament, is here printed from an original MS. ſigned by the ſaid Earl, and directed to Sir* Edmund Bacon, *Sir* William Spring, *Sir* William Soham, *Mr.* Barrow, *Mr.* Gurdon *ſen. Mr.* Tyrrell, *Mr.* Gurdon *jun. Mr.* Harvie, *Mr.* Moody, *Mr.* Chaplyn.

*Gentlemen,*

I Send you, by this Bearer, a Commiſſion, with Inſtructions for the Executinge of the Ordinance of Parliament, againſt ſcandalous Miniſters within your County: I neither doubt of your Abilities nor Affections to further the Service; yet, according to the great Truſt ympoſed uppon me herein by the Parliament, I muſt be earneſt with you to be diligent herein: You know how much the People of this Kingdome have formerly ſuffered, in their Perſons, Soules, and Eſtates, under an idle and ill-affected, ſcandalouſe and inſolent Clergy, upheld by Biſhops: And you cannot but foreſee, that their Preſſures and Burthens will ſtill continue, although the Forme of Government be altered, unleſſe greate Care be taken to diſplace ſuch Miniſters, and to place arthodox and wholy Men in every Pariſh; for, lett the Government he what it will, for the Forme thereof, yet it will never be good, unleſſe the Partyes employed therein be good themſelves. By the Providence of God, it now lyes in our Parte to reforme the former Abuſes, and to remove the Offendors; your Power is greate, and ſoe is the Truſt repoſed in you; and your Fault will bee no leſſe, if you doe not well diſcharge this greate Truſt: Yf a generall Reformation follow not within your County, aſſuredly the Blame will be layed uppon you, and you muſt expect to be called to an Accompt for it, both here and hereafter; for my Parte, I am reſolved to ymploy the utmoſt of that Power, given unto me by that Ordinance, for the procuring a generall Reformation in all the aſſociated Countyes, and, expectinge your Forwardneſs and hasty Joyninge with mee herein, I reſt

*Your Freind to ſerve you.*

BY Vertue of an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, to mee directed, and entituled, *An Ordinance for Regulatinge the Vniverſity of* Cambridge, *and for Removinge the ſcandalous Miniſters in the ſeven aſſociated Countyes:* I doe authorize, conſtitute and appoynt you Sir *John Wentworth*, Knt. *Francis Bacon*, *Nathaniel Bacon* of *Ipſwich*, *Nathaniel Bacon* of *Freſton*, *Francis Brewſter*, *William Blayes*, *Robert Brewſter*, Eſqrs. *Robert Duncon*, *Peter Fiſher*, and *John Baſe*, Gents. or any five of you, to call before you all Miniſters and Schoolemaſters within the County of *Bucks*, that are ſcandalous in their Lives, or ill-affected to the Parliament, or Fomentors of this unnaturall Warre, or that ſhall willfully refuſe Obedience to the Ordinances of Parliament, or that have deſerted their ordinary Places of Reſidence, not beeinge ymployed in the Service of the Kinge and Parliament, with full Power and Libertie to ſend for any Witneſſes, and to examine any Complaint or Teſtimony againſt any ſuch Miniſters, uppon ſuch Perſons Oathes as ſhall and may be produced to give Evidence againſt them; and you to certifie the Names of ſuch Miniſters, with the Charge and Proofs againſt them, to mee: And I do hereby further authorize and appoynt you, to adminiſter the late Covenant, taken, or to be taken, of all the three Kingdomes of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, to all Perſons within the ſaid County, and to performe and execute all other Things directed by the ſaid Ordinance, within the ſaid County: And whatſoever you, or any five of you, ſhall doe in the Premiſſes, This ſhall be your Warrant.

*Mancheſter.*

Given under my Hand, *&c.*

*Inſtructions*

## *Inſtructions to the Commiſſioners, for Removinge Scandalous Miniſters within the County of* Suffolk.

YOU are with all Diligence to apply yourſelves to the ſpeedy and effectuall Executinge of this Ordinance; and, for that End, you are to divide yourſelves into ſeveral Committees, five of you beeinge a Committee, and to appoynt certeyne Dayes for your Settinge, at ſeveral Places within the County, that ſoe all Partyes, by the Eaſineſſe, may be incouraged to addreſſe themſelves to you in their Complaynts.

When any Complaynts are made unto you, and Articles preferred againſt any Miniſter, you are to ſend out your Warrant to the Wittneſſes, as allſo to the Miniſter, to appeare before you at the Time and Place appoynted.

I thinke it not fitt that the Partyes accuſed ſhould be at the Takinge of the Depoſitions, becauſe of Diſcountenancinge the Wittneſſes, and Diſturbinge the Service: But, when the Depoſitions are taken, uppon Oath, you are then to lett the Party accuſed have a Coppy of them, yf they will pay for itt, and to give him a Day to retorne his Anſwere, in Writinge, and to make his Defence, at any other Meetinge, to be appoynted within fourteene Days, or thereabouts.

You are to retorne both the Accuſation and the Defence, under your Hands, ſealed, to Mr. *Good*, or Mr. *Aſhe*, whom I have appoynted to receive the ſame, who thereupon ſhall receive ſuch further Directions as ſhall be thought fitt.

Yf the Party accuſed will not appeare, nor make his Defence, you are to certifie the Cauſe of his Abſence and Neglect herein; for if he bee Non-reſident, or in Armes againſt the Parliament, or the like, I ſhall proceede againſt him notwithſtandinge.

And becauſe it is found, by ſad Experiance, the Pariſhoners are not forward to complayn of their Miniſters, although they be very ſcandalous, but, havinge the Price and Power in their Hands, yet want Harts to make Uſe thereof, too many beeinge Enemyes to that bleſſed Reformation ſo much deſired by the Parliament; and loath to come under a powerfull Miniſtry: And ſome ſparinge their Miniſters, becauſe ſuch Miniſters, to gayne the good Opinion of their People, for the preſent, doe ſpare them in their Tythes, and thereuppon are eſteemed quiet Men, or the like; you are therefore required to call unto you ſome well-affected Men within every Hundred, who, havinge no private Engagements, but intendinge to further the Publique Reformation, may be required and incouraged by you, to inquire after the Doctrines, Lives and Converſations of all Miniſters and Schoolemaſters, and to give you Informations, both what can be depoſed, and who can depoſe the ſame.

And, for better Incouragement, both to the Commiſſioners and Proſecutors, in this Service, every Commiſſioner ſhall be allowed five Shillings *per Diem*, that he ſetts in executinge this Ordinance, to be payd by *John Baſe* of *Saxmondham*, Sequeſtrator of the County; who is hereby required to pay it upon Demand, and who ſhall be allowed it upon his Accompt; out of which Money it is deſired, that the Clarke may receive ſome Pay; that ſoe the Clarke may not diſcourage the Proſecutors or Informers, by demanding Fees, either for Warrants or Coppyes of the Proceedings, unleſſe the Writinge be very large, and the Partyes will voluntarily give him ſomethinge.

You are to proceede againſt all Miniſters and Schoolemaſters that are ſcandalous in their Doctrine or Lives, Non-reſident, Ignorant, or Unable for the Service, Idle or Lazy, and all that are any Wayes ill-affected to the Parliament, or the Proceedings thereof, expreſſed either by their Speeches or Actions.

You are to require the Pariſhoners, to make Choyſe of a fitt and able Miniſter to ſucceed, who muſt bringe unto mee a very good Teſtimoniall, from the beſt-affected Gentery and Miniſtry of the County, of his Sufficiency, as allſoe of his Life and Converſation; and you are to take ſpeciall Care, that no *Anabaptiſt* or *Antinomian* be nominated, but ſuch as are very Arthodox in their Opinions, and ſuch as the Aſſembly of Divines, now aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, will allow of.

You are diligently to inquire out the true Value of every Livinge, that ſhall be queſtioned before you, and to certifie the ſame, as allſoe the Eſtate, Livelihood, and Charge of Cheildren of the Party queſtioned, that ſoe I may know

know what Allowance to make to the Party, uppon the Sequeſtration, for to maintayne his Wife and Cheildren, accordinge to the Ordinance of Parliament.

*Laſtly*, You are required to uſe all other Wayes and Meanes, according to your Diſcretions, for ſpeeding this Service.

*Mancheſter.*

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The Corruption and Deficiency of the Laws of *England*, ſoberly diſcovered: Or, Liberty working up to its juſt Height. Wherein is ſet down,

I. The Standard, or Meaſure of all juſt Laws; which is threefold.
   1. Their Original and Riſe, *viz.* The free Choice, or Election of the People. 2. Their Rule and Square, *viz.* Principle; of Juſtice, Righteouſneſs, and Truth. 3. Their Uſe and End, *viz.* The Liberty and Safety of the People.

II. The Laws of *England* weighed in this three-fold Balance, and found too light.
   1. In their Original, Force, Power, Conqueſt, or Conſtraint. 2. In their Rule, corrupt Will, or Principles of Unrighteouſneſs and Wrong. 3. In their End, the Grievance, Trouble, and Bondage of the People.

III. The Neceſſity of the Reformation of the Laws of *England*; together with the Excellency (and yet Difficulty) of this Work.

IV. The corrupt Intereſt of Lawyers in this Commonwealth. By *John Warr.*

*Leges Angliæ plenæ ſunt tricarum, ambiguitatum, ſibique contrariæ; fuerunt ſiquidem excogitatæ, atque ſancitæ à Normannis, quibus nulla gens magis litigioſa, atque in controverſiis machinandis ac proferendis fallacior reperiri poteſt.*

PHILIP. HONOR.

*Eng-*

*Engliſhed thus:* The Laws of *England* are full of Tricks, Doubts, and contrary to themſelves; for they were invented and eſtabliſhed by the *Normans*, which were of all Nations the moſt quarrelſome, and moſt fallacious in contriving of Controverſies and Suits. *London*, printed for *Giles Calvert*, at the black *Spread Eagle* at the Weſt End of St. *Pauls*. 1649. *Quarto*, containing eighteen Pages.

## CHAP. I.

*Containing the juſt Meaſure of all good Laws, in their Original, Rule, and End: Together with a Reflexion (by Way of Antitheſis) upon unjuſt Laws.*

THoſe Laws, which do carry any Thing of Freedom in their Bowels, do owe their Original to the People's Choice; and have been wreſted from the Rulers and Princes of the World, by Importunity of Intreaty, or by Force of Arms: For the great Men of the World, being inveſted with the Power thereof, cannot be imagined to eclipſe themſelves or their own Pomp, unleſs by the violent Interpoſition of the People's Spirits, who are moſt ſenſible of their own Burdens, and moſt forward in ſeeking Relief. So that Exorbitancy and Injuſtice, on the Part of Rulers, was the Riſe of Laws in Behalf of the People; which Conſideration will afford us this general Maxim, That the pure and genuine Intent of Laws was to bridle Princes, not the People, and to keep Rulers within the Bounds, of juſt and righteous Government; from whence, as from a Fountain, the Rivulet of Subjection and Obedience, on the People's Part, did reciprocally flow forth, partly to gratify, and partly to encourage good and virtuous Governors: So that Laws have but a ſecondary Reflexion on the People, glancing only at them, but looking with a full Eye upon Princes. Agreeable to this is that of *Cicero* Lib. ii. *de Offic.* whoſe Words are to this Effect: ‘ Cùm premeretur ‘ olim multitudo ab iis qui majores opes habe- ‘ bant, ſtatim confugiebat ad unum aliquem ‘ virtute praſtantem, *&c.* Jus enim ſemper ‘ quæſitum eſt æquabile, neq; enim aliter eſſet ‘ Jus; id ſi ab uno bono & juſto viro conſe- ‘ quebantur, eo erant contenti; cùm id mi- ‘ nùs contingeret, Leges ſunt inventæ, *&c.* (i. e.) When the People did obtain Redreſs of their Wrongs from ſome juſt and good Man, they were ſatisfied therewith; but, when they failed thereof, they found out Laws, *&c.*

From which Aſſertion we may deduce a two-fold Corollary.

1. That at the Foundation of Governments Juſtice was in Men, before it came to be in Laws; for the only Rule of Government, to good Princes, was their own Wills; and People were content to pay them their Subjection upon the Security of their bare Words: So here in *England*, in the Days of King *Alfred*, the Adminiſtration of Juſtice was immediately in the Crown, and required the perſonal Attendance of the King.

2. But this Courſe did ſoon bankrupt the World, and drive Men to a Neceſſity of taking Bond from their Princes, and ſetting Limits to their Power; hence it came to paſs, that Juſtice was tranſmitted from Men to Laws, that both Prince and People might read their Duties, Offences, and Puniſhments before them.

And yet ſuch hath been the Intereſt of Princes in the World, that the Sting of the Law hath been plucked out as to them, and the Weight of it fallen upon the People; which hath been more grievous, becauſe out of its Place, the Element of the Law being beneficial, not cumberſome within its own Sphere. Hence it is, that Laws (like Swords) come to be uſed againſt thoſe which made them; and, being

being put upon the Rack of ſelf and worldly Intereſt, are forced to ſpeak what they never meant, and to accuſe their beſt Friends, the People. Thus the Law becomes any Thing or nothing, at the Courteſy of great Men, and is bended by them like a Twig: Yea, how eaſy is it for ſuch Men to break thoſe Cuſtoms which will not bow, and to erect Traditions of a more complying Temper, to the Wills of thoſe, whoſe End they ſerve. So that Law comes to be loſt in Will and Luſt; yea, Luſt by the Adoption of Greatneſs is enacted Law. Hence it comes to paſs, that Laws upon Laws do bridle the People; and run counter to their End; yea, the farther we go, the more out of the Way. This is the Original of unjuſt Laws.

No Marvel that Freedom hath no Voice here, for an Uſurper reigns; and Freedom is proſcribed like an Exile, living only in the Unſtandings of ſome few Men, and not daring to appear upon the Theatre of the World.

But yet the Minds of Men are the great Wheels of Things; thence come Changes and Alterations in the World; teeming Freedom exerts and puts forth itſelf; the unjuſt World would ſuppreſs its Appearance, many fall in this Conflict, but Freedom will at laſt prevail, and give Law to all Things.

So that here is the proper Fountain of good and righteous Laws, a Spirit of Underſtanding big with Freedom, and having a ſingle Reſpect to People's Rights; Judgment goes before to create a Capacity, and Freedom follows after to fill it up. And thus Law comes to be the Bank of Freedom, which is not ſaid to ſtraighten, but to conduct the Stream. A People, thus watered, are in a thriving Poſture; and the rather, becauſe the Foundation is well laid, and the Law reduced to its original State, which is the Protection of the Poor againſt the Mighty.

If it were poſſible for a People to chuſe ſuch Laws as were prejudicial to themſelves, this were to forſake their own Intereſt: Here (you will ſay) is free Choice; but bring ſuch Laws to the Rule, and there is a Failure there; the Rule of righteous Laws are clear and righteous Principles, according to the ſeveral Appearances of Truth within us, for Reaſon is the Meaſure of all juſt Laws, though the Size differ according to the various Apprehenſions of People, or Tempers of Commonwealths; ſo that Choice abſtracted or conſidered in itſelf is no undeniable Badge of a juſt Law, but as it is mixed with other Ingredients; as on the Contrary Force and Power are not therefore condemned, becauſe they have Hands to ſtrike, but becauſe they have no Eyes to ſee, *i. e.* they are not uſually balanced with Underſtanding and right Reaſon in making or executing of Laws, the Sword having commonly more of the Beaſt in it, than the Man.

Otherwiſe, to be impoſed upon by the Art of Truth, is to be caught by a warrantable Guile, and to be kept by Force from injuring one's ſelf or others, hath more of Courteſy than Severeneſs therein; and in this Caſe Reaſon will caſt the Scales, and aſcribe more to a ſeeing Force, than a blind Choice; the Righteouſneſs or Unrighteouſneſs of Things depends not upon the Circumſtances of our embracing or rejecting them, but upon the true Nature of the Things themſelves: Let Righteouſneſs and Truth be given out to the Nation, we ſhall not much quarrel at the Manner of Conveighance, whether this Way, or that Way, by the Beaſt, or by the Man, by the Vine, or by the Bramble.

There is a two-fold Rule of corrupt Laws.

1. Principles of ſelf and wordly Greatneſs in the Rulers of the World, who, ſtanding upon the Mountain of Force and Power, ſee nothing but their own Land round about them, and make it their Deſign to ſubdue Laws as well as Perſons, and inforce both to do Homage to their Wills.

2. Obſequiouſneſs, Flattery, or Compliancy of Spirit to the foreſaid Principles, is the Womb of all degenerous Laws in inferior Miniſters: It is hard, indeed, not to ſwim with the Stream, and ſome Men had rather give up their Right than contend, eſpecially upon apparent Diſadvantage; it is true, theſe Things are Temptations to Men, and it is one Thing to be deflowred, but to give up one's ſelf to Uncleanneſs is another: It is better to be raviſhed of our Freedoms, corrupt Times have a Force upon us, than to give them up as a Free-will Offering to the Luſts of great Men, eſpecially if we ourſelves have a Share with them in the ſame Deſign.

Eaſineſs of Spirit is a wanton Frame, and ſo far from reſiſting, that it courts an Aſſault; yea, ſuch Perſons are prodigal of other Men's Stock, and give that away for the bare Aſking,

which will coſt much Labour to regain. Obſequious and ſervile Spirits are the worſt Guardians of the People's Rights.

Upon the Advantage of ſuch Spirits, the Intereſt of Rulers hath been heightened in the World, and ſtrictly guarded by ſevereſt Laws; and truly, when the Door of an Intereſt flies open at a Knock, no Marvel that Princes enter in.

And, being once admitted into the Boſom of the Law, their firſt Work is to ſecure themſelves; and here what Servility and Flattery are not able to effect, that Force and Power ſhall: And in Order hereto a Guard of Laws is impreſſed to ſerve and defend Prerogative Power, and to ſecure it againſt the Aſſaults of Freedom; ſo that, in this Caſe, Freedom is not able to ſtir without a Load of Prejudice in the Minds of Men, and (as a Ground thereof) a viſible Guilt, as to the Letter of the Law.

But how can ſuch Laws be good which ſwerve from their End? The End of juſt Laws is the Safety and Freedom of a People.

As for Safety, juſt Laws are Bucklers of Defence; when the Mouth of Violence is muzzled by a Law, the Innocent feed and ſleep ſecurely; when the wolfiſh Nature is deſtroyed, there ſhall then be no Need of Law; as long as that is in being, the Curb of the Law keeps it in Reſtraint, that the Great may not oppreſs or injure the Small.

As for Safety, Laws are the Manacles of Princes, and the Guards of private Men: So far as Laws advance the People's Freedoms, ſo far are they juſt, for, as the Power of the Prince is the Meaſure of unrighteous Laws, ſo juſt Laws are weighed in the Balance of Freedom; where the firſt of theſe take Place, the People are wholly Slaves; where the ſecond, they are wholly free; but moſt Commonwealths are in a middle Poſture, as having their Laws grounded partly upon the Intereſt of the Prince, and partly upon the Account of the People, yet ſo as that Prerogative hath the greateſt Influence, and is the chiefeſt Ingredient in the Mixture of Law, as in the Laws of *England* will by and by appear.

## CHAP. II.

### *The Failures of our* Engliſh *Laws, in their Original, Rule, and End.*

THE Influence of Force and Power, in the Sanction of our *Engliſh* Laws, appears by this, That ſeveral Alterations have been made of our Laws, either in Whole, or in Part, upon every Conqueſt. And, if at any Time the Conqueror hath continued any of the ancient Laws, it hath been only to pleaſe and ingratiate himſelf into the People, for ſo generous Thieves give back ſome Part of their Money to Travellers, to abate their Zeal in Purſuit.

Upon this Ground I conceive it is, why *Forteſcue* and ſome others do affirm *, that, notwithſtanding the ſeveral Conqueſts of this Realm, yet the ſame Laws have ſtill continued; his Words are theſe: 'Regnum Angliæ primò per Britones inhabitatum eſt, deinde per 'Romanos regulatum, iterumq; per Britones, 'ac deinde per Saxones poſſeſſum, qui nomen 'ejus ex Britanniâ in Angliam mutaverunt; 'extunc per Danos idem regnum parumper 'dominatum eſt, & iterum per Saxones, ſed 'finaliter per Normannos, quorum propago 'regnum illud obtinet in præſenti, & in om-'nibus Nationum harum & Regum earum 'temporibus, regnum illud, iiſdem quibus jam 'regitur conſuetudinibus, continuè regulatum 'eſt.' *That is*, 'The Kingdom of *England* 'was firſt inhabited by the *Britons*, afterwards 'it was governed by the *Romans*; and again 'by the *Britons*, and after that by the *Saxons*; 'who changed its Name from *Britain* to *Eng-'land*: In Proceſs of Time the *Danes* ruled 'here, and again the *Saxons*, and laſt of all 'the *Normans*, whoſe Poſterity governeth 'the Kingdom at this Day; and, in all the 'Times of theſe ſeveral Nations, and of their 'Kings, this Realm was ſtill ruled by the 'ſame Cuſtoms, that it is now governed with-'al:' Thus far *Forteſcue* in the Reign of *Henry the Sixth*. Which Opinion of his can be no otherwiſe explained, beſides what we have already ſaid, than that ſucceeding Conquerors did ſtill retain thoſe Parts of former Laws, which made for their own Intereſt; otherwiſe it is altogether inconſiſtent with Reaſon,

* *Forteſc.* Cap. 17.

that

that the *Saxons*, who baniſhed the Inhabitants, and changed the Name, ſhould yet retain the Laws of this Iſland. Conquerors ſeldom ſubmit to the Law of the Conquered (where Conqueſts are compleat, as the *Saxons* was) but, on the Contrary, eſpecially when they bare ſuch a mortal Feud to their Perſons: Which Argument (if it were alone) were ſufficient to demonſtrate, that the *Britons* and their Laws were baniſhed together; and to diſcover the Weakneſs of the contrary Opinion, unleſs you take the Comment, together with the Text, and make that Explanation of it which we have done.

And yet this is no Honour at all to the Laws of *England*, that they are ſuch pure Servants to corrupt Intereſts, that they can keep their Places under contrary Maſters; juſt and equal Laws will rather endure perpetual Impriſonment, or undergo the ſevereſt Death than take up Arms on the other Side (yea Princes cannot truſt ſuch Laws) *An hoary head* (in a Law) *is no Crown, unleſs it be found in the Way of Righteouſneſs*, Prov. xvi. 31.

By this it appears, that the Notion of Fundamental Law is no ſuch Idol as Men make it: For, what, I pray you, is Fundamental Law, but ſuch Cuſtoms as are of the eldeſt Date, and longeſt Continuance? Now, Freedom being the proper Rule of Cuſtom, it is more fit that unjuſt Cuſtoms ſhould be reduced, that they may continue no longer, than that they ſhould keep up their Arms, becauſe they have continued ſo long. The more Fundamental a Law is, the more difficult, not the leſs neceſſary, to be reformed: But to return.

Upon every Conqueſt, our very Laws have been found Tranſgreſſors, and, without any judicial Proceſs, have undergone the Penalty of Abrogation; not but that our Laws needed to be reformed, but the only Reaſon in the *Conqueror* was his own Will, without Reſpect to the People's Rights; and, in this Caſe, the Riders are changed, but the Burdens continued; for mere Force is a moſt partial Thing, and ought never to paſs in a Jury upon the Freedoms of the People; and yet thus it hath been in our *Engliſh* Nation, as, by examining the Original of it, may appear; and, in bringing down its Pedigree to this preſent Time, we ſhall eaſily perceive, that the *Britiſh* Laws were altered by the *Romans*, the *Roman* Law by the *Saxons*, the *Saxon* Law by the *Danes*, the *Daniſh* Law by King *Edward the Confeſſor*, King *Edward*'s Laws by *William the Conqueror*, which, being ſomewhat moderated and altered by ſucceeding Kings, is the preſent Common Law in Force amongſt us, as will by and by appear.

The Hiſtory of this Nation is tranſmitted down to us upon reaſonable Credit for ſeventeen-hundred Years laſt paſt; but whence the *Britons* drew their Original (who inhabited this Iſland before the *Roman* Conqueſt) is as uncertainly related by Hiſtorians, as what their Laws and Conſtitutions were; and truly, after ſo long a Series of Times, it is better to be ſilent, than to bear falſe Witneſs.

But certain it is, that the *Britons* were under ſome Kind of Government, both Martial and Civil, when the *Romans* entered this Iſland, as having perhaps borrowed ſome Laws from the *Greeks*, the Refiners of Human Spirits, and the ancienteſt Inventers of Laws: And this may ſeem more than conjectural, if the Opinion of ſome may take Place, that the *Phœnicians*, or *Greeks*, firſt ſailed into *Britain*, and mingled Cuſtoms and Languages together: For it cannot be denied, that the *Etymon* of many *Britiſh* Words ſeems to be *Greekiſh*, as (if it were material to this Purpoſe) might be clearly ſhewn.

But it is ſufficient for us to know, that whatever the Laws of the *Britons* were, upon the Conqueſt of *Cæſar*, they were reviewed and altered, and the *Roman* Law ſubſtituted in its Room, by *Veſpaſian*, *Papinian*, and others, who were in Perſon here; yea, divers of the *Britiſh* Nobles were educated at *Rome*, on Purpoſe to inure them to their Laws.

The Civil Law, remaining in *Scotland*, is ſaid to have been planted there by the *Romans*, who conquered a Part thereof. And this Nation was likewiſe ſubject to the ſame Law, till the Subverſion of this State by the *Saxons*, who made ſo barbarous a Conqueſt of the Nation, and ſo razed out the Foundation of former Laws, that there are leſs Footſteps of the Civil Law in this, than in *France*, *Spain*, or any other Province under the *Roman* Power.

So that, whilſt the *Saxons* ruled here, they were governed by their own Laws, which differed much from the *Britiſh* Law; ſome of theſe *Saxon* Laws were afterwards digeſted into Form, and are yet extant in their original Tongue, and tranſlated into *Latin*.

The next Alteration of our *Engliſh* Laws

was by the *Danes*, who repealed and nulled the *Saxon* Law, and eſtabliſhed their own in its Stead; hence it is, that the Laws of *England* do bear great Affinity with the Cuſtoms of *Denmark*, in *Deſcents of Inheritance*, *Tryals of Right*, and ſeveral other Ways: It is probable, that originally Inheritances were divided in this Kingdom amongſt all the Sons by *Gavel-kind*, which Cuſtom ſeems to have been inſtituted by *Cæſar*, both amongſt us and the *Germans* (and as yet remains in *Kent*, not wreſted from them by the *Conqueror*) but the *Danes*, being ambitious to conform us to the Pattern of their own Country, did doubtleſs alter this Cuſtom, and allot the Inheritance to the eldeſt Son; for that was the Courſe in *Denmark*, as *Walſingham* reports in his *Upodigma Neuſtriæ: Pater cunctos filios adultos à ſe pellebat, præter unum quem hæredem ſui juris relinquebat.* i. e. *Fathers did expoſe and put forth all their Sons, beſides one whom they made Heir of their Eſtates.*

So likewiſe, in Tryals of Right by twelve Men, our Cuſtoms agree with the *Daniſh*, and in many other Particulars, which were introduced by the *Danes*, diſuſed at their Expulſion, and revived again by *William the Conqueror*.

For, after the Maſſacre of the *Danes* in this Iſland, King *Edward the Confeſſor* did again alter their Laws; and, though he extracted many Particulars out of the *Daniſh* Laws, yet he grafted them upon a new Stock, and compiled a Body of Laws, ſince known by his Name, under the Protection of which the People then lived; ſo that here was another Alteration of our *Engliſh* Laws.

And, as the *Daniſh* Law was altered by King *Edward*, ſo were King *Edward*'s Laws diſuſed by the *Conqueror*, and ſome of the *Daniſh* Cuſtoms again revived: And, to clear this, we muſt conſider, that the *Danes* and *Normans* were both of a Stock, and ſituated in *Denmark*, but called *Normans* from their Northern Situation, from whence they ſailed into *France*, and ſettled their Cuſtoms in that Part of it, which they called *Normandy* by their own Name, and from thence into *Britain*. And here comes in the great Alteration of our *Engliſh* Laws by *William the Conqueror*, who ſelecting ſome Paſſages out of the *Saxon*, and ſome out of the *Daniſh* Law, and, in both, having greateſt Reſpect to his own Intereſt, made by the Rule of his Government; but his own Will was an Exception to this Rule, as often as he pleaſed.

For the Alterations, which the *Conqueror* brought in, were very great; as the Clothing his Laws with the *Norman* Tongue, the Appointment of Terms at *Weſtminſter*; whereas, before, the People had Juſtice in their own Countries, there being ſeveral Courts in every County; and the Supreme Court in the County was called *Generale Placitum*, for the Determining of thoſe Controverſies which the Pariſh, or the Hundred Court, could not decide; the Ordaining of Sheriffs and other Court-Officers in every County, to keep People in Subjection to the Crown, and, upon any Attempt for Redreſs of Injuſtice, Life and Land was forfeited to the King *. Thus were the Poſſeſſions of the Inhabitants diſtributed amongſt his Followers, yet ſtill upon their good Behaviour, for they muſt hold it of the Crown, and, in Caſe of Diſobedience, the Propriety did revert: And, in order hereunto, certain Rents yearly were to be paid to the King. Thus, as the Lords and Rulers held of the King, ſo did inferior Perſons hold of the Lords: Hence come *Landlord*, *Tenant*, *Holds*, *Tenures*, &c. which are ſlaviſh Ties and Badges upon Men, grounded originally on Conqueſt and Power.

Yea, the Laws of the *Conqueror* were ſo burthenſome to the People, that ſucceeding Kings were forced to abate their Price, and to give back ſome Freedom to the People: Hence it came to paſs, that *Henry the Firſt* did mitigate the Laws of his Father *the Conqueror*, and reſtored thoſe of King *Edward*; hence likewiſe came the Confirmation of *Magna Charta*, and *Charta Foreſtæ*, by which Latter, the Power of the King was abridged, in enlarging of Foreſts; whereas the *Conqueror* is ſaid to have demoliſhed a vaſt Number of Buildings, to erect and enlarge new Foreſts by *Saliſbury*, which muſt needs be a Grievance to the People. Theſe Freedoms were granted to the People, not out of any Love to them, but extorted from Princes by Fury of War, or Inceſſantneſs of Addreſs; and, in this Caſe, Princes, making a Virtue of Neceſſity, have given away that, which was none of their own, and they could not well keep, in Hope to regain it at other Times; ſo that what of Freedom we have, by the Law, is the Price of much Hazard and Blood. Grant, that the People ſeem to

* *Hollinſhed.*

have

have had a Shadow of Freedom in chuſing of Laws, as conſenting to them by their Repreſentatives, or Proxies, both before and ſince the Conqueſt (for even the *Saxon* Kings held their Conventions or Parliaments) yet whoſoever ſhall conſider how arbitrary ſuch Meetings were, and how much at the Devotion of the Prince, both to ſummon and diſſolve, and withal how the Spirit of Freedom was obſerved and kept under, and likewiſe how moſt of the Members of ſuch Aſſemblies were Lords, Dukes, Earls, Penſioners to the Prince, and the Royal Intereſt, will eaſily conclude, that there hath been a Failure in our *Engliſh* Laws, as to Matter of Election or free Choice, there having been always a Rod held over the Chuſers, and a Negative Voice, with a Power of Diſſolution, having always nipped Freedom in the Bud.

The Rule of our *Engliſh* Laws is as faulty as the Riſe. The Rule of our Laws may be referred to a two-fold Intereſt.

1. The Intereſt of the King, which was the great Biaſs and Rule of the Law; and other Intereſts, but tributary to this: Hence it is, all our Laws run in the Name of the King, and are carried on in an Orb above the Sphere of the People; hence is that Saying of *Philip Honor. Cùm à Gulielmo Conqueſtore, quod perinde eſt ac Tyrannus, inſtitutæ ſint leges Angliæ, admirandum non eſt quòd ſolam Principis utilitatem reſpiciant, ſubditorum verò bonum deſertum eſſe videatur.* i. e. *Since the Laws of* England *were inſtituted by* William the Conqueror, *or* Tyrant, *it is no Wonder that they reſpect only the Prerogative of the King, and neglect the Freedom of the People.*

2. The Intereſt of the People, which, like a Worm, when trod upon, did turn again, and in ſmaller *Iota's* and diminutive Parcels, wound in itſelf into the Texture of the Law, yet ſo as that the Royal Intereſt was above it, and did frequently ſuppreſs it at its Pleaſure. The Freedom, which we have by the Law, owns its Original to this Intereſt of the People, which, as it was formerly little known to the World, ſo was it miſrepreſented by Princes, and loaden with Reproaches, to make it odious; yea, Liberty the Reſult thereof was obtained but by Parcels, ſo that we have rather a Taſte than a Draught of Freedom.

If then the Riſe and Rule of our Law be ſo much out of Tune, no Marvel that we have no good Muſick in the End, but Bondage, inſtead of Freedom, and inſtead of Safety, Danger. For the Law of *England* is ſo full of Uncertainty, Nicety, Ambiguity, and Delay, that the poor People are inſnared, not remedied thereby: The Formality of our *Engliſh* Laws is that to an oppreſſed Man, which School-Divinity is to a wounded Spirit; when the Conſcience of a Sinner is pierced with Remorſe, it is not the Nicety of the Caſuiſt, which is able to heal it, but the ſolid Experience of the grounded Chriſtian.

It is ſo with the Law, when the Poor and Oppreſſed want Right, they meet with Law; which, as it is managed, is their greateſt Wrong; ſo that Law itſelf becomes a Sin, and an experimented Grievance in this Nation. Who knows not that the Web of the Law intangles the ſmall Flies, and diſmiſſeth the great; ſo that a Mite of Equity is worth a whole Bundle of Law: Yea, many Times the very Law is the Badge of our Oppreſſion, its proper Intent being to inſlave the People; ſo that the Inhabitants of this Nation are loſt in the Law, ſuch and ſo many are the References, Orders, and Appeals, that it were better for us to ſit down by the Loſs, than to ſeek for Relief; for Law is a chargeable Phyſician, and he, which hath a great Family to maintain, may well take large Fees.

For the Officers, or menial Servants of the Law, are ſo numerous, that the Price of Right is too high for a poor Man; yea, many of them, procuring their Places by ſiniſter Ways, muſt make themſelves Savers by the Vails of their Office; yea, it were well if they reſted here, and did not raiſe the Market of their Fees, for they, that buy at a great Rate, muſt needs ſell dear.

But the Poor and Oppreſſed pay for all; hence it is, that ſuch Men grow rich upon the Ruins of others, and, whilſt Law and Lawyer are advanced, Equity and Truth are under Hatches, and the People ſubject to a legal Tyranny, which of all Bondages is one of the greateſt.

Mere Force is its own Argument, and hath nothing to plead for it, but itſelf; but, when Oppreſſion comes under the Notion of Law, it is moſt inſnaring; for ſober-minded Men will part with ſome Right to keep the reſt, and are willing to bear to the utmoſt; but perpetual Burdens will break their Backs (as the ſtrongeſt Jade tires at laſt) eſpecially when there is no Hope of Relief.

CHAP.

## CHAP. III.

### *Of the Neceſſity of the Reformation of the Laws of* England, *together with the Excellency (and yet Difficulty) of the Work.*

THE more general a Good is, the more Divine and God-like: Grant, that Prerogative Laws are good for Princes, and advantageous to their Intereſt, yet the Shrubs are more in Number than the Cedars in the Foreſt of the World; and Laws of Freedom, in Behalf of the People, are more uſeful, becauſe directed to a more general Good; Communities are rather to be reſpected, than the private Intereſts of Men.

Good Patriots ſtudy the People, as Favourites do the Prince, and it is altogether impoſſible, that the People ſhould be free, without a Reformation of the Law, the Source and Root of Freedom. An equal and ſpeedy Diſtribution of Right ought to be the Abſtract and Epitome of all Laws; and if ſo,

Why are there ſo many Delays, Turnings, and Windings in the Laws of *England*?

Why is our Law a Meander of Intricacies, where a Man muſt have contrary Winds before he can arrive at his deſired Port?

Why are ſo many Men deſtroyed for Want of a Formality and Punctilio in Law? And who would not bluſh, to behold ſeemingly grave and learned Sages to prefer a Letter, Syllable, or Word, before the Weight and Merit of a Cauſe?

Why do the Iſſue of moſt Law-ſuits depend upon Precedents, rather than the Rule, eſpecially the Rule of Reaſon?

Why are Men's Lives forfeited by the Law upon light and trivial Grounds?

Why do ſome Laws exceed the Offence? And, on the Contrary, other Offences are of greater Demerit than the Penalty of the Law?

Why is the Law ſtill kept in an unknown Tongue *, and the Nicety of it rather countenanced than corrected?

Why are not Courts rejourned into every County, that the People may have Right at their own Doors, and ſuch tedious Journeyings † may be prevented?

Why, under Pretence of Equity, and a Court of Conſcience, are our Wrongs doubled and trebled upon us, the Court of Chancery being as extortionous ‡, or more than any other Court? Yea, it is a conſiderable *Quære*, Whether the Court of Chancery were not firſt erected merely to elude the Letter of the Law, which, though defective, yet had ſome Certainty; and, under a Pretence of Conſcience, to devolve all Cauſes upon mere Will, ſwayed by corrupt Intereſt. If former Ages have taken Advantage to mix ſome Wheat with the Tares, and to inſert ſome Mites of Freedom into our Laws; why ſhould we neglect, upon greater Advantages, to double our Files, and to produce the perfect Image of Freedom; which is therefore neglected, becauſe not known.

How, otherwiſe, can we anſwer the Call of God, or the Cries of the People, who ſearch for Freedom as for an hid Treaſure? Yea, how can we be regiſtered, even in the Catalogue of *Heathens*, who made leſs Shew, but had more Subſtance, and were excellent Juſticiaries, as to the People's Rights: So *Solon*, *Lycurgus*, &c. Such moral Appearances in the Minds of Men are of ſufficient Energy for the Ordering of Commonwealths, and it were to be wiſhed, that thoſe States, which are called *Chriſtian*, were but as juſt as *Heathens* in their Laws, and ſuch ſtrict Promoters of Common Right.

*Pure Religion* is to viſit the *Fatherleſs*, and the moſt glorious *Faſt* to abſtain from *Strife*, and Smiting with the Fiſt of *Wickedneſs*; in a Word, to *relieve the Oppreſſed*, will be a juſt Guerdon and Reward for our Pains and Travel in the Reformation of the Law.

And yet this Work is very hard, there being ſo many concerned therein, and moſt being buſier to advance and ſecure themſelves, than to benefit the Publick; yea, our Phyſicians being themſelves Parties, and engaged in thoſe Intereſts, which Freedom condemns, will hardly

* This has been reformed in this our gracious King's Reign.

† To *Weſtminſter* from all Parts of *England*.

‡ In thoſe Days; but it has undergone many and good Reforms ſince this Author's Time.

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be brought to deny themſelves, unleſs upon much Conviction and Aſſiſtance from above; and yet this we muſt hope for, that the Reformation of the Times may begin in the Breaſts of our Reformers, for ſuch Men are likely to be the hopeful Fire of Freedom, who have the Image of it engrafted in their own Minds.

## CHAP. IV.

### *Of the corrupt Intereſt of Lawyers in the Commonwealth of* England.

OF Intereſts, ſome are grounded upon Weakneſs, and ſome upon Corruption; the moſt lawful Intereſts are ſown in Weakneſs, and have their Riſe and Growth there: Apoſtle, Prophet, Evangeliſt, were only for the Perfecting of the Saints; Phyſicians are of the like Intereſt to the Body; Marriage is but an Help and Comfort in a dead State, for in the Reſurrection they neither marry, nor are given in Marriage.

Intereſts grounded upon Weakneſs may be uſed, as long as our Weakneſs doth continue, and no longer, for the Whole need not a Phyſician, *&c.* ſuch Intereſts are good, profitable, uſeful; and in their own Nature ſelf-denying, *i. e.* contented to ſit down, and give Way to that Strength and Glory to which they ſerve.

But the Intereſt of Lawyers, in this Common-wealth, ſeems to be grounded rather upon Corruption, than Weakneſs, as, by ſurveying its Original, may appear. The Riſe and Potency of Lawyers, in this Kingdom, may be aſcribed to a twofold Ground.

1. The Unknownneſs of the Law, being in a ſtrange Tongue; whereas, when the Law was in a known Language, as before the Conqueſt, a Man might be his own Advocate. But the Hiddenneſs of the Law, together with the Fallacies and Doubts thereof, render us in a Poſture unable to extricate ourſelves; but we muſt have Recourſe to the Shrine of the Lawyer, whoſe Oracle is in ſuch Requeſt, becauſe it pretends to reſolve Doubts.

2. The quarterly Terms at *Weſtminſter*; whereas, when Juſtice was adminiſtered in every County, this Intereſt could not poſſibly grow to an Height, but every Man could mind and attend his own Cauſe, without ſuch Journeying to and fro, and ſuch chargeable Attendance, as at *Weſtminſter-Hall.* For, firſt, in the Country, the Law was plain, and Controverſies decided by Neighbours of the Hundred, who could be ſoon informed in the State of the Matter, and were very ready to adminiſter Juſtice, as making it their own Caſe: But, as for Common Lawyers, they carry only the Idea of Right and Wrong in their Heads, and are ſo far from being touched with the Senſe of thoſe Wrongs, againſt which they ſeem to argue, that they go on merely in a Formality of Words: I ſpeak not this out of Emulation, or Envy, againſt any Man's Perſon, but ſingly in Behalf of the People, againſt the Corruption of the Intereſt itſelf.

After the Conqueſt, when Courts and Terms were eſtabliſhed at *Weſtminſter* (for how could the Darling of Prerogative thrive, unleſs always under the King's Eye?) Men were not at Leiſure to take ſo much Pains for their own, but ſometimes they themſelves, ſometimes their Friends, in their Behalf, came up in *Term-time* to *London*, to plead their Cauſes, and to procure Juſtice: As yet, the Intereſt of Lawyers was a puny Thing, for one Friend would undertake to plead his Cauſe for another; and he which was more verſed in the Tricks of the Law, than his Neighbour, would undertake a Journey to *London*, at the Requeſt of thoſe who had Buſineſs to do, perhaps his Charges borne on the Way, and ſome ſmall Reward for his Pains; there were then no ſtately Manſions for Lawyers, but ſuch Agents (whether Parents, Friends, or Neighbours to the Parties) lodged like other Travellers, in Inns, as Country Attornies ſtill do: Hence it came to paſs, that, when the Intereſt of Lawyers came to be advanced in *Edward the Third*'s Time, their Manſions or Colleges were ſtill called *Inns*, but with an Addition of Honour, *Inns of Court.*

The Proceed of Lawyers Intereſt is as followeth: When ſuch Agents, as we have ſpoken of, who were employed by their Neighbours at *London*, and by this Means coming to be verſed in the Niceties of the Law, found it ſweeter than the Plough, and Controverſies beginning to increaſe, they took up their Quar-

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ters here, till ſuch Time as they were formed into an orderly Body, and diſtinct Intereſt, as now they are.

There is Ground enough to conclude, even from the Letter of the Statute Law, that Men's Parents, Friends, or Neighbours did plead for them, without the Help of any other Lawyer *.

After the Lawyers were formed into a Society, and had hired the *Temple* of the *Knights Templers*, for the Place of their Abode, their Intereſt was not preſently advanced, but by the Contentions of the People, after a long Series of Time; ſo that the Intereſt of Lawyers (in the Height which now it is) comes from the ſame Root, as Pride and Idleneſs, *i. e.* from Fulneſs of Bread, or Proſperity, the Mother of Strife: Not but that juſt and equal Adminiſtrators of Laws are very neceſſary in a Commonwealth; but when once that, which was at firſt but a Title, comes to be framed into an Intereſt, then it ſets up itſelf, and grows great upon the Ruins of others, and through the Corruption of the People.

I take this to be a main Difference between lawful and corrupt Intereſts; juſt Intereſts are the Servants of all, and are of an humble Spirit, as being content to have their Light put out by the Brightneſs of that Glory which they are ſupplemental to. But corrupt Intereſts fear a Change, and uſe all Wiles to eſtabliſh themſelves, that ſo their Fall may be great, and their Ruin as chargeable to the World as it can; for ſuch Intereſts care for none but themſelves.

The readieſt Way to inform ſuch Men is, to do it within us, for moſt Men have the common Barretor within them, *i. e.* Principles of Contention and Wrong; and thus the Law becomes the Engine of Strife, the Inſtrument of Luſt, the Mother of Debates, and Lawyers are as Make-bates, between a Man and his Neighbour.

When Sir *Walter Raleigh* was upon his Tryal, the Lawyers, that were of Council for the King, were very violent againſt him; whereupon Sir *Walter*, turning to the Jury, uſed theſe Words: *Gentlemen, I pray you conſider, that theſe Men*, meaning the Lawyers, *do uſually defend very bad Cauſes every Day in the Courts, againſt Men of their own Profeſſion, as able as themſelves, what then will they not do againſt me*, &c.? Which Speech of his may be too truly affirmed of many Lawyers, who are any Thing or no thing for Gain, and, meaſuring Cauſes by their own Intereſt, care not how long Right be deferred, and Suits prolonged. There was a Suit in *Glouceſterſhire*, between two Families, which laſted ſince the Reign of *Edward the Fourth*, till of late compoſed †, which certainly muſt be aſcribed either to the Ambiguity of the Law, or the Subtlety of the Lawyers, neither of which are any great Honour to the *Engliſh* Nation.

How much better were it to ſpend the Acuteneſs of the Mind in the real and ſubſtantial Ways of Good, and Benefit to ourſelves and others? And not to unbowel ourſelves into a mere Web, a frothy and contentious Way of Law, which the oppreſſed Man ſtands in no more Need of, than the tender-hearted Chriſtian of *Thomas Aquinas* to reſolve him in his Doubts.

If there be ſuch a Thing as Right in the World, let us have it, *ſine fuco*: Why is it delayed, or denied, or varniſhed over with guilty Words? Why comes it not forth in its own Dreſs? Why doth it not put off Law, and put on Reaſon, the Mother of all juſt Laws? Why is it not aſhamed of its long and mercenary Train? Why can we not aſk it, and receive it ourſelves, but muſt have it handed to us by others? In a Word, why may not a Man plead his own Caſe? Or his Friends and Acquaintance, as formerly, plead for him?

Memorable is that Paſſage in King *James*'s Speech in the *Star-Chamber*, 'In Countries, 'ſays he, where the Formality of Law hath 'no Place, as in *Denmark*, all their State is 'governed only by a written Law, there 'is no Advocate or Proctor admitted to plead, 'only the Parties themſelves plead their own 'Cauſe, and then a Man ſtands up, and 'pleads the Law, and there is an End; for 'the very Law-book itſelf is their only Judge: 'Happy were all Kingdoms, if they could be 'ſo; but here curious Wits, various Con'ceits, different Actions, and Variety of Ex-

* *Anno* 28. *Edward. Primi* 1300, *cap.* 11. But it may not be underſtood hereby, that any Perſons ſhall be prohibited to have Counſel of Pleaders, or of Learned Men in the Law, for his Fee, or of his Parents and next Friends.

† *Camden Brit.* in *Glouceſt.*

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'amp'es breed Queſtions in Law.' Thus far he. And if this Kingdom doth reſemble *Denmark*, in ſo many other Cuſtoms, why may it not be aſſimilated to it in this alſo? eſpecial- conſidering, that the World travels with Freedom, and ſome real Compenſation is de- fired by the People, for all their Sufferings, Loſſes, and Blood.

To clear the Channel of the Law, is an honourable Work for a Senate, who ſhould be Preſervers of the People's Rights.

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A Spark of Friendſhip and warm good-will, that ſhews the Effect of true Affection, and unfolds the Fineneſs of this World. Whereunto is joined, the Commodity of ſundry Sciences, and the Benefit that Paper bringeth, with many rare Matters rehearſed in the ſame. With a Deſcription and Commendation of a Paper-Mill, now of late ſet up (near the Town of *Dartford*) by an High *German*, called, Mr. *Spilman*, Jeweller to the Queen's moſt excellent Majeſty, written by *Thomas Churchyard*, Gent.

*Nulla poteſt eſſe jucunditas, ſublatâ amicitiâ.* Cic. *pro* Flacc.

Printed at *London*, 1588.

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*To my Honourable Friend, Sir* Walter Raleigh *Knight, Seneſchal and Chancellor of the Duchy of* Cornwal *and* Exon, *Lord Warden of the Stannaries and her Majeſty's Lieutenant of the County of* Cornwal, *&c.*

*ENforced by Affection (that leads the Minds of Men to a Multitude of Cauſes) I ſtood ſtudying how to requite a good Turn received, and, confeſſing that no one Thing is more monſtrous in Nature than an unthankful Mind, I ſaw myſelf in Debt, and bound either one Way or other to pay that I owe, but not in ſuch Degree as I received, but in ſuch Sort as my Ability ſerveth, and as a Man might ſay to make a cunning Exchange, inſtead of due Payment, to offer Glaſs for Gold, and bare Words for friendly Deeds. In good Truth, my honourable Friend, if my Creditors will ſo ſtand contented, I am readier to depart from Words, and diſcharge Debt therewith, than to promiſe Treaſure, and offer that I have not. For if free-hearted People, fortunate in the World, through Bounty of Mind, toward my Suits or Preferment, beſtow many Speeches to do me Good, where Grace is to be gotten: I can but yield one ordinary Thank, for a Thouſand Benefits, except they ranſack my Storehouſe of vain Inventions, and find ſome pleaſant Papers, bepainted with Verſes, or poliſhed Pamphlets, beblotted with barren Matter, where both Verſe and Proſe ſhall make but a bad Reſtitution for the Goodneſs I have ſtolen by Fortune, or borrowed by Friendſhip. Yet, weighing how little Fortune hath done*

*for me, and how few Creditors I have, that have either lent me any Portion of Preferment, or procured me but a Piece of any certain Living, I think myſelf ſomewhat able, with the Talent God hath given me, to repay all the Debts that ever I could bring to perfect Remembrance, ſaving one, a moſt honourable Perſonage, that I dedicated my Book of* Choice *unto, who got me two great Seals, beſides common Courteſies many, to ſhift withal a Seaſon. And furthermore, yourſelf, ſix Years paſt, beſtowed good Speeches to the Queen's Majeſty in my Behalf, by the which I got ſome comfortable Recreation, to quicken my Spirits, and keep me in Breath. And yet lo a Matter to be muſed at! I have ſixteen ſeveral Books printed preſently to be bought, albeit they are but Trifles, dedicated, in ſundry Seaſons, to ſeveral Men of good and great Credit, but to be plain not one among them all, from the firſt Day of my Labour and Studies, to this preſent Year and Hour, hath any Way preferred my Suits, amended my State, or given me any Countenance; I hope I am not much indebted to thoſe, nor fallen ſo far in their Dangers, but may eaſily get out, though I yield them no more, but a cuſtomable good Will. So, finding my Muſes frank and free from their Servitude, I addreſs this Work of unfeigned Friendſhip to your good Conſideration, which Work ſhews the Value and Worth of Friends, whoſe Love is neceſſary about all Eſtates, the Flattery and Fineneſs of Foes, and the daily Diſſimulation of a cunning World. And, if the World marvel why I treat of that which is ſo commonly known, and often put in Practiſe, I anſwer not thoſe wondering Wits, but ſhoot what Bolts I think convenient, at the bad Behaviour of transformed People, that bear but the Shapes of tamed Men, and ſhew the Manners of wild Monſters; and if the World ſay, as I know it is talkative, I ſhew a Kind of Adulation to fawn for Favour on thoſe that are happy; I anſwer, that is a Point of Wiſdom, which my Betters have taught me, and I have read it in a great Book of* Latin, *printed four-hundred Years ago, that one of your own Anceſtors, called Sir* Walter Raleigh, *had more Fawners and Followers than you have; for he was Lord Chief Juſtice of* England, *and ſo far in Credit with his Prince, his Learning was ſuch, that he made Laws and Edicts, the which the Prince confirmed and allowed. I take an Example from the Fiſh that follow the Stream, the Fowls that come to the Covert from the Winds, and the brute Beaſts that avoid a ſturdy Storm, under the Safeguard of a ſtrong and flouriſhing Tree. Their crafty Forecaſt, though they want Reaſon, may ſuccour the Simpleneſs of any reaſonable Creature; and the Defence and Proviſion, they make to eſcape open Danger, may fetch to School a great Company of ignorant Scholars. But I leave to ſpeak of their Examples, becauſe they are brute, and follow the graveſt Sort of ſage and wiſe Perſonages, that will not bluſh nor think Scorn to learn a Leſſon of their Forefathers, that got all their good Fortune by following the Flood, where we fiſh for Preferment. Thus, honourable Friend, as my Affection, and other good Cauſes move, bade me go forward with this my Device and Preſent unto you, ſo, beginning the ſame in Health, and falling ſuddenly ſick, I feared God would have me cut ſhort from my purpoſed Enterpriſe: But his Goodneſs called me up, from the Bed of Sorrow, where Deſpair had almoſt diſpatched the Life, and ſet me a-foot to go, and end my firſt Determination, and brought me in Hope you will accept my Good-will; which may encourage me to a further Labour and Study, that may purchaſe more and greater Favour and Thanks. So, reſting yours in all that my ſmall Power may ſtretch unto, I take Leave, and wiſh what Goodneſs you can imagine or deſire.*

*London*, at my Lodging,
the 8th of *March*.

Moſt willing at Commandment.

*T. Churchyard.*

*A Spark*

## *A Spark of Friendſhip and warm Good-will.*

Where Friendſhip finds good Ground to grow upon,
It takes ſound Root, and ſpreads his Branches out;
Brings forth fair Fruit, though Spring be paſt and gone,
And bloometh, where no other Grain will ſprout:
His Flow'rs are ſtill in Seaſon all the Year,
His Leaves are freſh, and green as is the Graſs;
His ſugar'd Seeds good, cheap, and nothing dear,
His goodly Bark ſhines bright, like Gold or Braſs:
And yet, this Tree in Breaſt muſt needs be ſhrin'd,
And lives no where, but in a noble Mind.

BEING rocked too long in the careleſs Cradle of Idleneſs, where ſlothful Limbs are ſoon lulled aſleep, the Hinderer of Health, good Hap, and Virtue, a Multitude of worldly Cauſes, my honourable Friend, awakened my Wits, and bid the ſenſible Spirits ariſe from the forgetful Couch of drowſy Reſt, and offer the Body to ſome profitable Exerciſes, that thereby the Head, Hand, and Pen might either purchaſe Commendation, or publiſh to good People a Matter that ſhould merit ſome Memory. But, finding myſelf unfurniſhed of Learning, and barely ſeen in the Arts liberal, and far unfit to touch or treat of Divinity, I ſtood amazed, and knew not what thankful Thing I ſhould firſt go about, and take in Hand to a good End and Purpoſe: And ſo a while bethinking me, minding to draw no ſtronger Bow than I could well ſhoot in, and, looking into my own Strength, I ſaw me moſt able and apt to be at Commandment of Prince, Country, and Friends. In the Honouring and Service of whom, I ſhould ſtudy to bring forth ſome acceptable Work; not ſtriving to ſhew any rare Invention, that paſſeth a mean Man's Capacity, but to utter and revive Matter of ſome Moment, known and talked of long ago, yet over long hath been buried, and, as it ſeemeth, laid dead, for any great Fruit it hath ſhewed, in the Memory of Man. The Thing that I mean, that hath laid ſo long in the Grave of Forgetfulneſs, is faithful Friendſhip, which *Tully* hath touched, and a Number of good Authors have written of, but few, in theſe Days, have obſerved, honoured, and followed.

And now to proceed forward with this Friendſhip, and ſhew the Degrees thereof orderly, methinks that the firſt Branch thereof is the affectionate Love that all Men in general ought to bear to their Country: For the which *Mutius Scævola*, *Horatius Cocles*, *Marcus Curtius*, *Marcus Regulus*, and many more, have left us moſt noble Examples. Yea, you ſhall read that ſome, although they were baniſhed from their Country, yet they bore in their Bowels and Breaſts, to the Hour of their Death, the Love of their Country, Parents, Friends, and Family. In which everlaſting Love of theirs remained ſuch manly and honourable Motions of the Mind, that many noble Services, of voluntary Good-will, were brought forth by them, to the Benefit of their Country, and Recovery of their firſt Credit, Eſtate, and Dignity. Thus, by a natural Diſpoſition, planted in the Soul, and ſenſible Store-houſe of ſtaid Judgment, great Exploits were brought to paſs, and ſundry Wonders of this World have eaſily been taken in Hand. And ſurely, all theſe former Examples, with the Hazard of our Foreſathers Lives, bravely put in Proof and executed, ſerve to no other End, as their Meaning was, but to teach thoſe that came after, with the like Greatneſs of Mind, to follow the Forerunner of all worthy Renown, and worldly Reputation. So, by this, may Thouſands ſee Man is not made for himſelf, created to be King of earthly Delights, and placed amidſt the Pleaſures of the World, to do what he pleaſeth; but chiefly to look, and with good Adviſement to ſearch how, and in what Sort he may be dutiful and beneficial to

his Country. Now peradventure, in this perillous Age, where many are puffed up with Preſumption, and ſeditious Seaſon of proud Practices, and headſtrong People, ſome ſerpentine Sect, that carries Venom in their Minds, and mortal Stings in their Tongues, will hold a bad Opinion and ſay: That the Earth is made for the Children of Men, as the Sea is for the Fiſh; and that is Man's natural Country where he findeth Food, Living, and Credit in. But this cankered Kind of rebellious Conceit is ſuch a gnawing Worm in the Conſcience of Man, and ſo far differs from all human Laws, that he, that but thinks one Thought of this Nature, is not only unnatural to his Country, but likewiſe unbleſſed and unhappy in all the Soils and Countries he happeneth to dwell in. For he that honoureth not in Heart the Soil and Seat of his Nativity, and deſpiſeth the Place where he took Life, Suſtenance, Nurture, and Education, beſides good Fortune and Preferments, the only Bleſſedneſs here to rejoice of, degenerates; and, what Birth and Blood ſoever he be of, we may call him a baſe-born Groom, or a kindly Baſtard begotten out of Time, living out of Order, and of worſe Belief than an Infidel. The Birds of the Air, the Fiſh in the Flood, and the Beaſts on the Earth, love to haunt and behold the Place of their Procreation: And the greateſt Conquerors, that ever were, call them Kings, or what you pleaſe, though they went never ſo far to obtain Victories, yet they brought all the Glory Home to their Country, and triumphed only there where they were firſt foſtered, found Favour and Fortune, and had, from the Beginning, been trained and brought up; yea, and after their Life, both Kings, Prophets, and other great Men, deſired to have their Bones buried in their Country. And ſome, of excellent Judgment, held Opinion, That the Love of their Country did far ſurpaſs the Love of their Parents; in Defence of which they offered Lives, Lands, and Goods, and cared not what Danger they ſhould thruſt themſelves into, ſo that thereby they might do their Country any Honour or Service.

O then, what a Blemiſh and Blot is this in the Faces and Brows of them that, in a proud Preſumption, perſuaded by peſtilent Wits, abandon their Country, and would hazard, on a peeviſh Opinion, if it were in their Power, to ſell Prince, People, and Patrimony, for a cold and bare Welcome, full of Hollowneſs of Heart, in a ſtrange Kingdom, where cracked Credit is loathſome and long miſtruſted, and ſeldom or never come to a good and honourable End! I can but wiſh their Payment no worſe nor better, but ſuch as *Tarpeia* found of the *Latins* and *Sabines*, for ſelling unto them the Capitol of *Rome*: A moſt notorious Example, read it who pleaſeth. So if in thoſe Days, a great While ago, Millions of Men held the Love and Friendſhip of their Country ſo dear and precious, as indeed it ought to be eſteemed: Now, in our ripened Years, when Wits are mellowed and ſeaſoned with the ſweet Savour of long Experience, the Folly and foul Facts, that by overgreat Boldneſs make many run mad, ſhould be a general Warning, and teach all Kind of People, to keep the right and plain Path of natural Affection towards their Country and Friends.

Now all theſe Things, rehearſed before, are written in Way of Friendſhip to the wild Wanderers of this World, who undoubtedly want but Grace and good Counſel. And the Reſt that follows hereafter, in this little Piece of Proſe, is written to yourſelf, my moſt honourable Friend, whoſe Friendſhip I have felt, and ſundry more have taſted. Let the Deed ſhew itſelf; not writing this to teach you, with preſuming Words, any other Courſe than your former Judgment and preſent Conſideration think beſt to hold; but only to keep the Blaze of Good-will continually burning, by feeding the Flame with plying and putting in more Oil to the Lamp: For I acknowledge that you know, that, as the Sinews are needful for the Body, the Marrow for the Bones, and the Blood for the Life, ſo Friendſhip is moſt fit to knit the Joints and Minds of Men together, and bind them about with ſuch brazen Bands, that no Bars of Iron, may break, nor Policy of People may put aſunder.

He that hath travelled, as I have done, through the Foreſt of Affliction, where many wild Beaſts are wandering in the Woods, ſome roaring and running after their Prey, ſhall ſee how narrowly he hath eſcaped from the gaping and devouring Monſters, and find that, if Friendſhip and good Fortune had not holpen him, he had been utterly deſtroyed. From the Higheſt to the Loweſt, reckon what Degrees can be named, in good Sooth they are

are all left alone barefooted and deſolate, where Friendſhip hath forſaken them. But where, or into what Labyrinth, O Lord, have I now brought myſelf! For now I am forced to go forward, and may not ſtep backward, but ſeek an open Way to walk in, orderly to ſit down, and chew the Subſtance of Friendſhip, the Flattery of the World, and the Fineneſs of our Age: The Circumſtance whereof craves another Manner of Diſcourſe and Volume than this little Treatiſe can utter. What then? As by ſmall Sparks, or kindled Coals, great Fire is made; and of a trifling Tale true Matter may be gathered; ſo, out of weak Words, ſtrong Arguments may be ſifted, and, through a Number of ſpiced Speeches, a ſimple Sentence may ſhew ſome Savour, and yield ſuch Taſte to the Quickneſs of Underſtanding, that the Hearer's Wits and Judgment ſhall willingly ſtand contented with all that ſhall be ſpoken. And Friendſhip is ſo much deſired, ſpoken of, and neceſſary for all Kinds of People, that only the bare and naked Name thereof is ſweet, and moſt acceptable, though the Writer thereon be but meanly learned, and of ſmall Sufficiency to ſet out, at the Full, the Fulneſs of ſo flouriſhing a Virtue.

Then forward to the Purpoſe: I ſay and prove, that the ſame is true Friendſhip that proceeds from Virtue, and hath ſo noble a Nature by a Divine Motion of Goodneſs, that neither Vice can corrupt, nor any Kind of Vanity vanquiſh; for, where it taketh Root, it buds ſo beautifully, that it bringeth forth an everlaſting Fruit, whoſe Taſte is more ſweet and precious than can be eaſily imagined.

And now in a Seaſon, when Fineneſs and Flattery ſo abound, and ſtrive, by cunning Practices, to ſupply the Place of Friendſhip, and over-grow every Branch that ſprings from loyal Amity, this true Friendſhip is ſweeteſt of Savour, and higheſt of Reputation, and burns with a quenchleſs Flame, like a blazing Beacon, or ſparkling Torch, that can abide all Winds, which is ſet upon the Top of a high Mountain; for fine or groſs Flattery is but a bare Foil to ſet forth a bad Jewel; and the crafty curious Cunning of theſe artificial Fellows, that feed all Men's Humours, make, through their manifold Trumperies, a free Paſſage to perfect Faithfulneſs, and friendly Good-will. There are covertly crept, and finely conveighed, into the common Society of Men, a hundred ſundry Sorts and Shews of Amity, which indeed are but juggling Caſts, or *Ledger-de-maine*, to purchaſe Favour, and deceive the Lookers on. If all that ſpeak fair, bow down Knee, make trim Courteſy, kiſs Fingers and Hands, yea offer Service and Friendſhip, were hearty and loving Friends, the World would be ſo full of Friendſhip, that there were no Place left for Adulation and double Dealing. And ſurely, if a Man durſt decipher the Deepneſs of Diſſimulation, we ſhould find our ordinary Manner of Friendſhip ſo faint-hearted and lame, that it neither could go out of the Door with any Man, nor yet dwell ſafely with many in the Houſe. It ſeemeth, and may be well avouched, that Friendſhip of itſelf is ſo ſecret a Myſtery, ſhrined in an honeſt Heart, that few can deſcribe it, and tell from whence comes the privy and inward Affection, that ſuddenly breeds in the Breaſt, and is conveighed to the Heart, with ſuch a Content and Gladneſs, that the whole Powers of Man leap in the Bowels of the Body for Joy at that Inſtant. For Example, ſome that never give Cauſe, with probable Matter, to be embraced, and made Account of as Friends, are, by a natural Inclination, received into Favour, placed in Delight, and planted perpetually, ſo long as Life laſteth, in the warm Boſom of our friendly Affections, and favourable Conceits.

Then, further, note, a Wonder of Nature! For we ſee a marvellous Motion among Men; for ſome, and that a great Number, having neither harmed us, nor miniſtered, any Way, Occaſion of Diſlike, yet are no ſooner in our Company, but we find their Perſons offenſive, their Preſence unpleaſant, their Words ſharp (ſpoken well, and to the beſt Meaning) yea, their Works, and whatſoever they will do, are taken amiſs, and conſtrued to the Worſt. But, chiefly to be noted, we little deſire the Acquaintance, peradventure, of a friendly Companion. Thus ſo to hate without Cauſe, and love earneſtly without Deſert, is a Matter diſputable, and argues plainly, that Friendſhip is, without Compariſon, the only true Love Knot, that knits in Conjunction Thouſands together: And yet the Myſtery and Manner of the Working is ſo great, that the ripeſt Wits may wax rotten, before they yield Reaſon, and ſhew how the Mixture is made;

that

that two ſeveral Bodies ſhall meet in one Mind, and be, as it were, married and joined in one Manner of Diſpoſition, with ſo ſmall a Shew of Virtue, and ſo little Cauſe, that may conſtrain both Parties to be bound and faſt locked in a League of Love. Then what may be thought of thoſe that curry Favour, follow for good Turns, turn about like a Weather-cock, fawn where Fortune favours, and favour no where, but for Commodity, Countenance, and Credit; and ſo compaſs that they ſeek? If Friends be choſen by Election and privy Liking, theſe open Palterers may go whiſtle; for they neither know the Bounds of a good Mind, nor the Bleſſedneſs that belongs to Friendſhip. What, then, ſhould we ſay of Men's Behaviours in General? For, without Reverence uttered by Courteſy, Suing and Following for Benefit, Fawning and Speaking fair (for Entertaining of Time) Creeping and Crouching to keep that we have, and win that we wiſh, all civil Order would be forgotten, Rudeneſs would make Revel, and Men ſhould ſuddenly miſs the Mark, they ſhoot at. But, granting now theſe ceremonious Faſhions and Manners, yet the Uſers thereof are no more like Friends, than a Maſque and Mummery, with Vizards on their Faces, are like a Company of grave Senators, that govern a mighty Monarchy. And more then monſtrous it is, that ſuch painted Shadows are commonly preferred to be as Pillars of Friendſhip, when Friendſhip, without Props, ſtands againſt all Weathers and Winds, and is of a more clear Complexion, than to be patched up with Compounds, or matched with corrupted Manners; Envy to Virtue, and Friend to nothing but Vice. For Friendſhip is a certain Felicity of the Mind, a ſweet Eſſence, that burns before God; a Preſerver of Man's Renown and Life, a willing Bondage, that brings Freedom for ever; a ſtedfaſt Staff, that all good People do ſtay on; the Mother and Nurſe of mutual Love, the Conqueror of Hate, the Pacifier of Quarrels, the Glory of Kings, and the Surety of Subjects. And Friendſhip is ſo princely and noble of Condition, it may not be joined with any, but ſuch as are as honourable as itſelf. You ſhall ſee, among Friends of equal Calling, that are like of Affection, ſuch a ſweet and common Conſent of fraternal Love and Liking, that every Thing is wreſted to the beſt Conſtruction; and no one Matter may be miniſtered amiſs, the Minds and Manners of Men run ſo merrily together, as it were a Sort of prety Chickens hopping haſtily after the chearful Clucking of a brooding Hen. And where ſuch Amity is, interlarded with honeſt Paſtime, there all Hollowneſs of Heart is baniſhed, all Plainneſs is embraced, and all good Things do proſper. As a Man might ſay, Friendſhip is a Ring-leader to all Happineſs, and the Guide, that ſhews Men the High-way to all worldly Exerciſes.

But now, ſome may aſk me, How Men ſhould make Choice of their Friends, and know, by outward Appearance, the inward Diſpoſition of People, ſo many look ſmoothly, ſo many flatter, and ſo many have clapped on ſuch audacious Countenances, that the Wiſeſt may be beguiled, where he leaſt looks for Deceit? It may be anſwered, That Choice ought to be made of Proof, and not of fair Semblance, but of conſtant Perfection; for ſuch, as caſt Colours, or cunning Devices, and always, to cloke Colluſion, creep finely in Favour, with Simpering and Smiling, to lead ready Wits after their ſubtle Intentions, by their needleſs Babble, fruitleſs Fawning, often Change of Viſage, unmannerly Boldneſs, and daily Attendance, where no Deſert commands them, the feigned Friends of this World may be found; and in a State of Neceſſity all true Friendſhip is tried. And, methinks, they take no great Pains, that accompany Men in their Proſperity, and merit no great Thanks, that deſire to taſte, at all Times, of other Men's good Fortunes. So that, by thruſting and preſſing after thoſe, we hope to pluck ſomewhat from, debates of itſelf it is no certain Sign of Friendſhip, that ſprings from a ſimple and plain Affection.

Now many will hold Queſtion, and ſay, That Fortune may be followed, ſought for, waited on, flattered, becauſe ſhe is a Deceiver; and finely entertained, for that, with rude and ruſtical Behaviour, both Fortune and Friends will fling us far behind, that would march before our Fellows. But, I pray you, Is not the long Proof of crafty Practices, the extraordinary Diſſimulation of fine People, a Teſtimony, that they are no true Dealers, that work with worldly Wickedneſs and Policy to be accepted as Friends? Then who ſhould preſently be called a faithful Follower? Thus ſome Men may demand. Such, I ſay, as, in Men's meaneſt Calling and Credit, have

begun

begun to favour them, and, in their better Eſtate, do honeſtly, in all Cauſes of Reaſon, Equity, and Juſtneſs of Judgment, diſcharge their Duties; and leave Flattery, that openeth the Door of Doubleneſs, and fall flatly to the true Order of plain Dealing: Such, I ſay, that neither for Fear, Favour, or Fortune, but dare ſpeak as they think, due Reverence obſerved; and do rather cut off the feſtered Fleſh, than feeds and nouriſhes a corrupted Canker: Such, whoſe Love and Fidelity look narrowly on all the Bounds and Limits of Friendſhip, and are ſo jealous over the Friends, they honour, that they cannot ſuffer any Thing to ſound out of Frame, that may impeach, hinder, or appale the good Name and Credit of them they follow: Such, whoſe Study, Diligence, and waking Regard ſtand as a Watch, to give Warning and advertiſe their Friends of all Inconveniences, Dangers, Slanders, and eminent Perils and Hazards: Such are the Members moſt meet to be about a Friend, moſt worthy Welcome, moſt to be liked, loved, and truſted: And ſuch are the bleſſed Birds of the Boſom, that neither ſing, nor ſay, nor make Sign of other Thing than they preſent. And the reſt, that loiter about crooked Meaſures, ſounding and ſearching by Deceits, like Fiſhers, that cloſely hide their Hooks, to ſee whom they may catch, take Hold of, and feel for their Advantage: They are the fly Swellers out of fortunate Flowers, that grow in happy Men's Gardens; the Prowlers after Profit and Preferment purchaſed by audacious Practices; the Buſy-bodies, that never ſtand ſtill, but turn like a Top to betray the Truſty; the toſſed white Froth of the Sea, that makes a fair Shew without Subſtance, which vaniſheth away at the Touch of every Man's Finger; and * * * * * * * * * Bubbles of the troubled * * * * * * * * * with each little Blaſt over * * * * * * *, neither Sign from wh* * * * * * * * * what good End and Purpoſe they were. So, Sir, ſeeing the Swarms of feigned Friends, the Heaps of hollow Hearts, the Abuſe of infected Minds; the muzzled Faces, covered with counterfeit good Manners, and the Effect of good Friendſhip utterly miſtaken, in many Points and Places of this World: I trouble you no farther with the Reading of theſe Lines, hoping in your Favour and Friendſhip, as your Affection ſhall move, and my Merits, without Preſumption, ſhall crave and require; making a further Preſent unto you of a few Verſes (handled as well as I could) that were deviſed for the Setting forth of a Paper-mill, which a great Well-willer of yours, as good Cauſe he hath ſo to be, hath built by *Dartford*, and brought to perfect Frame and Form, I truſt, to the great Contentment of the Queen's Majeſty, and Benefit of her whole Country, as knoweth God; who augment, maintain, and bleſſedly uphold her Highneſs long among us, and increaſe your good Credit with all virtuous Diſpoſition.

N. B. *The Verſes abovementioned, relating to the Deſcription and Commendation of a* Paper-Mill, *then newly erected at* Dartford, *will be publiſhed in a future Number.*

*Chorographia:*

*Chorographia :* Or, a Survey of *Newcaſtle upon Tine.* The Eſtate of this Country, under the *Romans.* The Building of the famous Wall of the *Picts*, by the *Romans.* The ancient Town of *Pandon.* A brief Deſcription of the Town, Walls, Wards, Churches, Religious Houſes, Streets, Markets, Fairs, River, and Commodities; with the Suburbs. The ancient and preſent Government of the Town. As alſo, a Relation of the County of *Northumberland*, which was the Bulwark of *England* againſt the Inroads of the *Scots.* Their many Caſtles and Towers. Their ancient Families and Names. Of the Tenure in *Cornage.* Of *Cheviot-Hills.* Of *Tinedale* and *Reedſdale*, with the Inhabitants.

*Poteſtas omnium ad* Cæſarem *pertinet, proprietas ad ſingulos.*

*Newcaſtle*, printed by *S. B.* 1649. *Quarto*, containing thirty-four Pages, beſides the Title and Preface to the Reader.

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*To ſupply ſome Omiſſions, and ſome Particulars that have been erected ſince this Author's Time, you will pleaſe to obſerve that this incorporated Town and County is ſituated at the End of the famous Wall, built by the* Roman *Emperors to guard their Conqueſt from the Incurſions of the* Picts, *and from thence is called the* Picts-wall, *on the North Bank of the River* Tine, *from which it takes its Name, to diſtinguiſh it from the Town of* Newcaſtle under Line, *in* Staffordſhire; *and is built upon the Declivity of a ſteep Hill, which makes it very uneven and unpleaſant, becauſe the Streets are difficult of Acceſs, and uneaſy, you being obliged, in many Places, to go up to the upper Part of the Town by high and narrow Stairs, ſome fifty or ſixty Steps in Height; beſides, in that ſteep Part, the Streets are extremely cloſe built.*

*By ſome, the Village of* Gateſide, *which lieth on the South End of* Tine *Bridge, has been reckoned as a Suburb to this great trading Town; but that is a Miſtake, for the Juriſdiction of* Newcaſtle *reacheth no farther than the blue Stone upon the Bridge.*

*In the Time of the* Saxons, *it was ſo crouded with Monaſteries of Monks, that they gave it the Name of* Moncaſter, *or* Monkcheſter, *which was exchanged afterwards by* Robert, *Son of* William the Conqueror, *as hereafter is recorded.*

*The Conſequence of this Fortification againſt the Inſults of the* Scots *was the Settlement of a good Trade to the Coaſts of* Germany, *and ſince, by the Sale of its Coal, to other Parts; for which, and for other Merchandiſe, it is now become the great* Emporium

porium *of the North Parts of* England, *and extends its Credit and Commerce to a good Part of* Scotland.

*The Antiquity of its Charters, and the Form of its Government, is particularly related in this Treatiſe. But, to what has been ſaid, I muſt add, That, ſince this Author's Time, the Revenue of this Corporation, which it now holds in its own Right, is at leaſt Eight-thouſand Pounds* per Annum; *and, I may preſume to ſay, it is more than is held by any other Town Corporate in* England.

*Its* Exchange *is a noble and magnificent Building, on the South-ſide of the* Sandhill, *but is too much confined on the South by the River, and by the Bridge, on the Weſt. Between the Town-wall and the River is a Wharf ſo well faced with Free-ſtone, and ſo ſpacious, as well for Length as Breadth, that it exceeds all others in* England, *except that at* Yarmouth. *This Key is for the Uſe of Merchandiſe only; for the Colliers take in their Loading at* Sheilds, *or in ſome Part of the River below* Newcaſtle, *not at a Key, but by the Help of the Keels.*

*Here is alſo by the Water-ſide above the Bridge, at the farther End almoſt of the* Cloſe, *an handſome* Manſion-houſe, *built at the publick Expence for the Mayor. This* Manſion-houſe *is alſo furniſhed, and upheld with proper Servants, by the Corporation; ſo that the Mayor has no more to do, than to move himſelf and Family. And he is allowed Six-hundred Pounds a Year for his Table, with a Coach and a Barge.*

*Here is alſo a fine Hall for the* Surgeons, *where they have Skeletons, and other Rarities in their Way, and a very large Room for their publick Meetings. The* Surgeons *are a conſiderable Part of this Corporation.*

*Adjoining to the* Surgeons Hall, *there is a ſtately Foundation, built with Brick upon Piazza's, for the Relief of decayed Freemen and their Widows; and, a little lower, on the ſame Parcel of Ground, has been erected, within theſe twenty Years, another Houſe of Charity, containing ſix Rooms, for three Merchants Widows, and three Clergymen's Widows, endowed with ten Pounds a Year each, beſides Coals, and a Servant-maid in Common to keep the Stairs,* &c. *clean.*

*There has been lately erected a Library in this Town, near St.* Nicholas's *Church: Dr.* Robert Thomlinſon, *Rector of* Wickham, *in the Biſhoprick of* Durham, *and Lecturer of St.* Nicholas's, *in Gratitude to the Corporation, who choſe him their Lecturer many Years ago, gave them about ſix-thouſand valuable Books; and* Walter Blacket, *Eſq; one of its worthy Repreſentatives in Parliament, has generouſly built the* Library, *and ſettled a Rent-charge of twenty-five Pounds a Year for ever, to maintain a* Librarian.

*This Town ſends two Members to Parliament, which are choſen by the Freemen, and gives the Title of* Marquis *and* Duke *to the* Holles *Family, in the Perſon of the moſt Noble Prince,* Thomas Holles Pelham, *the preſent Marquis and Duke of* Newcaſtle.

*In the Parliament Wars, this Town was taken and plundered by the* Scots, *and was the Place, where theſe Traitors ſold their King,* viz. Charles the Firſt, *for two-thouſand Pounds in Hand, and Security for as much more.*

*After the Title there follows the Arms of* Newcaſtle upon Tine, *which is, Three Caſtles,* Argent, *in a Field,* Gules, *with the following Inſcription and Motto:*

*S. P. D.*

Dilectis Burgenſibus, & probis Hominibus Novicaſtri ſuper Tinam, *W. G.*

Fortiter Defendit Triumphans.

*Portus, Caſtrum, Carbo, Salmo, Salina, Molaris,*
*Murus, Pons, Templum, Schola ſunt Novi gloria Caſtri.*

## To the candid READER.

*EVery Country hath its Chronologer, or Writer, to pourtrait unto their Countrymen their Antiquities and noble Acts.* Greece *had its* Homer, Rome *its* Virgil. *Our* Britons *had their* Gildas; *the* Saxons *had their* Beda; England *had of late its learned* Camden, *and painful* Speed, *to delineate and pourtrait unto their Countrymen the Antiquities and Situations of all Shires in* England; *yet it is impoſſible, that any one Man, being never ſo inquiſitive and laborious, ſhould attain unto the perfect Knowledge of all Paſſages, in all Places. I have adventured to write of the Antiquity of this Town and Country, which, by Reading and Experience, I have gathered out of the Ruin of Antiquity; that thoſe Monuments, which theſe late Wars have obliterated and ruined, may be left to Poſterity; for,* Tempus edax rerum. *I find a great Difficulty in my Undertaking, becauſe the Records of this Country are but few, and confuſed, being ſo often infeſted by the* Scots *and* Danes, *who conſumed and fired all before them, whereſoever they came. Queſtionleſs, many brave Men have lived in this Town and Country, many memorable Acts have been atchieved; but they are all buried in Oblivion. I hope, the courteous Reader will pardon the Faults committed herein;* nam in priſcis rebus veritas non ad unguem quærenda eſt. *Many Errors, many Suppoſitions upon Probabilities may be found in it.* Humanum eſt errare & decipi. *I have begun the Work, I hope ſome of my fellow Burgeſſes will finiſh what I have begun, to the everlaſting Memory of this famous Town.*

*Some Criticks have preſumed to correct and blame me (with their indigeſted Zeal, and unknown enthuſiaſtick Knowledge of Chimæra's in their giddy Pericraniums) for Fables and Errors; as the Prieſt, that found it written of St.* Paul, Demiſſus eſt per ſportam, *mended his Book, and made it,* Demiſſus eſt per portam; *becauſe* Sporta *was an hard Word, and out of his Reading. But,* ne ſutor ultra crepidam, *let no Man profeſs that he knows not. It is true, he, that writes, reſembleth a Man acting his Part upon a Theatre, or Stage, where the Spectators have their Eyes fixing upon him, all obſerving his Geſture and Words; if he fail in either, preſently he is cenſured and condemned.* Laſtly, *we live in an Age, that Mechanicks will preſume to ſtep into* Moſes's *Chair, and become Politicians to contradict and controul whatſoever is acted and done according to the Laws Divine and Human. One Thing I deſire of theſe Fantaſticks:* Carpere vel noli mea, vel ede tua. Vale.

W. G.

*The*

*The firſt Natives of this Iſland.*

THE *Britons* were *Autochthones*, Natives of this Iſland, for more ancient Inhabitants we find none. The People of this Nation are thought to have been deſcended from the neighbouring *Gauls*, in regard of the ſame Religion, Language, and Manners. Their Original from the *Trojans* by *Brute* is altogether fabulous; there being no *Greek* or *Latin* Authors, or any Monument in this Iſland, which makes Mention hereof. Their Deſcent from the *Gauls* is more probable, being the next Part of the Continent unto *Britain*, or their Way from *Aſia* to the Eaſt, from whence all Countries were firſt peopled.

Romans *firſt in* Britain.

THE *Romans* were the firſt certain and known Foreigners in this Iſland. *C. J. Cæſar* was the firſt of the *Romans* that invaded *Britain*: He, having ſubdued the Nation of the *Gauls*, made his Journey into *Britain*, *Caſſivellanus* reigning King. Some Victories he atchieved, ſome Hoſtages he took, impoſed a Tribute upon the Nation, and ſo returned into the Continent; he made no Conqueſt of them, but diſcovered them to Poſterity.

A long Time after, the *Romon* Emperor, *Claudius*, ſent *Aulus Plantius* hither, accompanied by two Brethren. *Sabinus Veſpaſian*, who made War againſt the *Britons*, vanquiſhed them in ſeveral Fights, took *Comoladunum*, the chief Seat of their Kings, and their King Priſoner; planted a Colony at *Camalodunum* (now *Maldon* in *Eſſex*) and reduced the Higher or South Parts of *Britain* into the Form of a *Roman* Province.

*The firſt* Roman *Conqueſt in the North.*

IN the Year of *Veſpaſian*, the great and populous Nation of the *Brigantes* are warred upon, and in Part overcome. Theſe *Brigantes* contain all the Country North of *Humber* to the River of *Tine* and *Picts* Wall, called lower *Britain*.

*Julius Agricola*, in the Reign of *Domitian*, ſet Limits here to the *Roman* Greatneſs, and extended it Northward into the Seas and Friths of *Dunbritton* and *Edinburgh* in *Scotland*.

The Emperor *Adrian*, not long after, removed the Pale more Southward, and, the better to keep out the Enemy, drew a Trench and Wall of Turfs croſs the Land, betwixt the two Seas.

The *Roman Britons* being continually moleſted, by often Incurſions of the barbarous People called *Caledonii* or *Picts*, who brake down the Sod-wall, harraſſing and ſpoiling this Country; which moved the Emperor *Severus* to build a Wall of Stone, with great Wiſdom and Induſtry, to ſtrengthen theſe Northern Parts of *Britain* againſt the many Inroads of the barbarous *Picts*: At every Mile's End of this Wall was a Tower, and, in the Wall, a Pipe of Metal, betwixt the Tower or Sentinel-houſes, that, ſo ſoon as a Man had ſet his Mouth to this Pipe, they might hear, through all the Sentinels, where the Enemy were, and ſo, in a ſhort Time, give Warning from one End of the Wall to the other. One of theſe Towers remaineth whole in the Town-wall of *Newcaſtle* in *Pampeden*, older than the reſt of the Towers, and after another Faſhion, ſtanding out of the Wall.

*The North brought into a* Roman *Province.*

AT this ſame Time began this Country to flouriſh, being reduced into a *Roman* Province, to be civiliſed to learn *Roman* Letters, Habits, and Manners; for, before this Time, the Inhabitants went naked, had no Houſes to live in, neither did they till the Ground, as one writeth: *De præda & venatione frondibuſque arborum vivunt; degunt in tentoriis nudi & ſine calceis.* Xiphilin.

This Country had the Preſence of the Emperors of *Rome*; *York* was a *Municipium* of the *Romans*, and the Seat of their Emperors, during the Time of their Abode in this Iſland, attending the Wars of the *Picts* and *Caledonians*; famous for the Death and Funeral Exequies of the Emperor *Severus* and *Conſtantius*, and the happy Inauguration of *Conſtantine the Great*, Son to *Conſtantius*, here beginning his Reign over the *Roman* and *Chriſtian* World.

I find, in the Time of the *Romans*, many Places in *Northumberland* that were their Stations about this famous Wall, called ſometimes, *Vallum*, a Rampire; ſometimes, *Murus Picticus*, or *Murus Severi*.

The moſt remarkable is upon the *Tine-Weſt-Hexam*, called of old *Axelodunum*, the

Station of the firſt Cohort of *Spaniards*, a Biſhop's See under the *Saxons*. *Corebridge Curia* of *Ptolemy*, a City of the *Otadeni*. *Prudo* Caſtle, the Station of the firſt Cohort of the *Batavi*. *Stighill*, of old called *Segedunum*, the Station of the fourth Cohort, named of the *Lergi*. *Pons Ælii*, the Station of a Cohort of *Cornavii*, now *Portland*. *Gabroſentum*, the Station of the ſecond Cohort of the *Thracians*, probably, ſaith my Author *, *Newcaſtle upon Tine*. *Pampeden*, a Part of *Newcaſtle*, probably a Station of the *Romans*, having an ancient *Roman* Tower, and another ancient Building called the *Wall-Knowl*, a Part of the *Picts* Wall. This Town of *Pampeden* is very ancient; probably ſome Building was erected here in this Place to their great God *Pantheon*; this Wall being the outmoſt Confines of the *Roman* Empire, called now *Pandon*. I find of the Kings of *Northumberland*, that had a Houſe in *Pampeden*, which we call now *Pandon-Hall*; an ancient old Building and Seat of the Kings of *Northumberland*.

*Tunnocellum*, the Station of the firſt Cohort, named *Ælia Claſſica*, now *Tinmouth*, at the Mouth of the *Tine*. There is a Village near *Newcaſtle* called *Hetton*, where there is an old *Roman* Tower, probably named from the Proconſul *Ætius*, who was ſent from *Rome* into theſe Parts; whom the *Britons* petitioned for Help in theſe Words: Ætio *ter Conſuli gemitus* Britannorum, *&c. Repellunt nos barbari ad Mare, repellit Mare ad barbaros, inter hæc oriuntur duo genera funerum, aut jugulamur, aut mergimur*. Beda. When the *Romans* had their Empire much weakened by their own Diſcords, and by the Irruptions of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, Proconſul *Ætius* was forced to retire their Legions from the Northern Parts; ſo leaving the Country naked, the *Picts* did break in, who moſt miſerably waſted and ſpoiled the Country.

### *The Coming in of the* Saxons.

THus *Britain* became a Prey again to the *Picts*: When the *Britons* had deſpaired of *Roman* Help, they ſent into *Germany* to crave Help of a People called *Saxons*, who entered and inhabited *Britain* to their Aid againſt the *Picts*.

The *Picts* being vanquiſhed and overthrown, through their Valour, they poſſeſſed themſelves of this North Kingdom, upon the Driving out of the native *Britons*. The victorious *Saxons* erected their Heptarchy, or ſeven ſeveral Kingdoms.

The Kingdom of *Northumberland* was the moſt ſpacious, populous, and victorious Kingdom againſt the *Picts* or *Scots*, until the *Danes* invaded theſe Northern Parts, and broke out like a violent Thunder-clap on the *Northumberlanders*, and put the *Engliſh Saxons* to much Slavery and Bondage many Years, until they were expelled by the *Engliſh*.

The Kingdom of *Northumberland*, being in Peace, began to build and erect many ſtrong Caſtles for Defence, againſt the *Scots* and *Picts*, as *Dunſtanborough-Caſtle*, *Bamborough*, *Alnewicke*, *Morpeth* and *Tinmouth*, which were the Seats of the Kings of *Northumberland*.

In Time of this Heptarchy, many famous Monaſteries were erected, *viz.* *Hexam* made a Biſhop's See under the *Saxons*; many erected in this Town of *Newcaſtle* and *Pandon*. Some of their Kings were interred in Saint *Auguſtine*'s *Friars*, now called the *Mannors*. The upper Part and Well was called *Monk-Cheſter*, before the Conqueſt; a Place wholly dedicated to Devotion and Religion. *Cheſter* ſignifies a Bulwark, or Place of Defence; which ſheweth, that, in ancient Time, under the *Saxons*, it had been a Place of Fortification for religious Men that lived in Monaſteries.

### *The firſt Denominations of* Newcaſtle.

AFter the Conqueſt it got the Name of *Newcaſtle*, by the New Caſtle, which *Robert de Cantois*, Son of *William the Conqueror* built there out of the Ground againſt the neighbouring *Scots*.

This Town of *Newcaſtle*, and Town of *Pampeden*, made one Town, by the Grants of the Kings of *England*, being in old Time belonging to the County of *Northumberland*.

This Town of *Newcaſtle* is ſeated upon the *Picts* Wall, and Side of a ſteep Hill, upon the North Side of the River *Tine*: The *Picts* Wall came through the Weſt Gate, Saint *Nicholas*'s Church through *Pampeden*, then to the Town Eaſt, called *Wallſend*.

The Bounds of the Town, upon the Weſt,

* *Camden.*

the

the Lands belonging to the Prior of *Tinmouth*. On the North, the Town-moor, as ſome ſay, the Gift of *Adam de Athell* of *Geſmond*; upon the Eaſt, the Land of *Biker*; upon the South, the River of *Tine*. *Gateſide* in the County Palatine of *Durham*.

### *The Walls and Gates of* Newcaſtle, *and who built them.*

THE Town of *Newcaſtle* is environed about with a ſtrong thick Stone Wall, having ſeven Gates or Ports, with many round Towers and ſquare Turrets. Theſe Walls began to be built in King *John*'s Reign, the North Part of the Wall at *Newgate*. The Weſt Part of the Town, in King *Henry the Third*'s Reign. *Pandon* Gate, and the Eaſt and South of the Town Wall, built in *Edward the Firſt*'s Reign, and ſo continued building, until it was finiſhed. The Town is two Miles in Circuit, with Trenches in the Outſide of the Wall, ramparted within with Earth.

The Cauſe, that moved them in thoſe Days to build this great Wall, was the often Invaſions of the *Scots* into this Place and Country; they were continually infeſting and foreigning this Country, and rich Monaſteries in theſe Northern Parts; the Religious Houſes of this Town, and adjacent, being above forty Houſes, which have been dedicated to pious Uſes.

There was a rich Man, in *Edward the Firſt*'s Reign, of *Newcaſtle*, that was taken Priſoner out of his Houſe, and carried into *Scotland*, ranſomed and brought Home; which Act moved the Townſmen and Burgeſſes, and the Religious Men therein, to contribute towards the Building of theſe Walls.

The Queſtion is, Who built theſe Walls? Some are of Opinion that King *John* built them; others *Roger de Thornton*. King *John* gave many Privileges to this Town, and probably, the New Gate and Walls thereabout were built in his Time; that North Part of the Wall being the oldeſt, and of another Faſhion than the other Walls.

As for *Thornton*, who lived in *Henry the Sixth*'s Days, all the Walls of the Town were then finiſhed; it is probable that *Thornton* built the Weſt Gate, which is a ſtrong and fair Gate, in Memory that he came from the Weſt Country, according to the old Saying;

*In at the Weſt Gate came* Thornton *in,*
*With a Hap and a Halfpenny, and a Lamb's-ſkin.*

The Walls and Gates were built by ſeveral Perſons, as by the Names of the round Towers doth appear. Some of them were built by the Friars and Monaſteries that did dwell in the Town, as the *White*, *Black*, *Grey*, and *Auſtin* Friars. Others, named *Durham* and *Carliſle* Towers. Others by Noblemen and Gentry of the Country, as *Nevil*'s Tower, adjoining to his Houſe in Weſt-Gate.

There are ſeven Ports or Gates in *Newcaſtle*, beſides Poſtern Gates, which belonged to the Religious Houſes. In the lower Part of the Town upon the River are many little Gates to that famous long Key.

1. Weſt is *Cloſe-Gate*, called ſo from a Street called the *Cloſe*, which * goeth up the Water, a Place of Recreation, called the *Forth* †, given to the Town for good Services performed by the Burgeſſes of the ſame.

In *Edward the Third*'s Reign, three-hundred valiant Men iſſued out of the Town, through a Poſtern Gate; came ſuddenly in the Night upon a great Army of the *Scots*, which lay in that Part Weſt of the Town; raiſed the Army of the *Scots*, put them to Flight, and took Earl *Murray* Priſoner in his Tent, and others.

2. The next Weſt is *Weſt-gate*, a ſtately and fair Gate, built by *Roger de Thornton*, a rich Man, that lived in *Henry the Sixth*'s Days, the High-way Weſt into *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*.

3. Is *New-gate*, the ancient and ſtrongeſt of all the Ports, having a Cauſey that leadeth to the Town-moor, and towards the North Parts of *Northumberland* and *Scotland*. Now a Priſon for Debtors and Felons.

4. *Pilgrimſtreet-gate*; ſo called, becauſe of Pilgrims lodging in that Street; and went out of that Gate to the Shrine of the Virgin *Mary* in *Geſmond*; to which Place, with great Confluence and Devotion, People came from all Parts of this Land, in that Time of Superſtition.

5. *Pandon-gate*, ſo called from the ancient Town of *Pampeden*, where was the *Picts* Wall;

* Beginning at the Bridge.

† Now a Bowling-Green.

and

and a *Roman* Tower, lately decayed; out of which Wall is a Cauſey that goeth into a Place of Recreation and Perambulation, called the *Shields-field*; and a Way to a Village called the *Wall's-end*, by *Beda*, *Villa ad Murum*, and ſo into *Tinmouthſhire*.

6. Eaſt of the Town is *Sand-gate*, built upon the River-Side. Without this Gate are * many Houſes, and populous, all along the Water-ſide; where Shipwrights, Seamen, and Keelmen moſt live, that are employed about Ships and Keels.

*The Bridges of* Newcaſtle upon Tine.

7. THE Bridge of this Tower, over the River *Tine*, conſiſteth of Arches high and broad, having many Houſes and Shops upon the Bridge, and three Towers upon it; the Firſt † on the South-ſide; the Second in the Middle ‡, and the Third in *Newcaſtle* Side, lately built upon an Arch in the Bridge, uſed for a Magazine for the Town; and an old Chapel.

There is a blue Stone about the Middle of the Bridge, which is the Bounds of *Newcaſtle* Southward from *Gate-ſide* in the County Palatine of *Durham*.

There was a ſtrange Accident upon the Bridge, happened to an Alderman of *Newcaſtle*, looking over the Bridge into the River, with his Hands over; his Gold Ring fell off his Finger into the Water; which was given for loſt: It chanced that one of his Servants bought a Salmon in the Market, who, opening the Belly of the Fiſh, found his Maſter's Ring in the Guts.

The other Bridge, within the Town, is the upper and nether *Dean* Bridge; under the laſt Bridge came Boats up from the River, and the *Picts* Wall came over that Bridge, and ſo along into *Pandon*.

The *Stock-bridge* in *Pampeden*, where is thought to be the ancient Market for Fiſh; where Boats came up from the River.

*The Churches of* Newcaſtle.

THERE are four Churches and Pariſhes in this Town. The firſt is Saint *Nicholas* ‖, in the Midſt of the Town; a long, fair, and high Church, having a ſtately high Stone Steeple, with many Pinnacles; a ſtately Stone Lanthorn, ſtanding upon four Stone Arches, built by *Robert de Rhodes*, Lord Prior of *Tinmouth*, in *Henry the Sixth*'s Days: It liſteth up a Head of Majeſty, as high above the reſt, as the Cypreſs-Tree above the low Shrubs.

*Ben Johnſon.*

*MY Altitude high, my Body four-ſquare,*
*My Foot in the Grave, my Head in the Air,*
*My Eyes in my Sides, five Tongues in my Womb,*
*Thirteen Heads upon my Body, four Images alone;*
*I can direct you where the Wind doth ſtay,*
*And I tune God's Precepts thrice a Day.*
*I am ſeen where I am not, I am heard where I is not,*
*Tell me now what I am, and ſee that you miſs not.*

In this Church are many Porches, eſpecially Saint *George*'s, or the King's Porch; built by ſome of the Kings of this Land.

In it are many ſumptuous Windows; that in the Eaſt ſurpaſſeth all the reſt in Height, Largeneſs, and Beauty, where the twelve Apoſtles, ſeven Deeds of Charity, &c. built by *Roger de Thornton* (a great Benefactor of this Town) with this Inſcription, *Orate pro anima Rogeri de Thornton, & pro animabus Filiorum & Filiarum.*

In the North Part of the ſame is a Shrine of *Henry Percy*, the fourth Earl of *Northumberland*, who was killed by the Hands of Rebels in *Yorkſhire*, gathering up a Subſidy; he was buried at *Beverley*, and this made in Memory of him in his own Country, he having a Houſe in this Town and Pariſh; and other Noblemen

* An Hoſpital for the Reception of poor Keelmen.
† This is demoliſhed.
‡ It is now uſed as an Houſe of Correction, or Confinement, for unruly Apprentices, diſorderly Women, &c.
‖ This Church is a Vicarage and Peculiar of the Biſhop of *Carliſle*.

and

and Gentry had in thoſe Days in this Town. *Orate pro anima Henrici Percy* iv. *Northumbriæ, qui per Rebellium manus occubuit, &c.*

In the South Part of the Middle of this Church, under a Window, is an ancient Tomb of a warlike Gentleman, lying with his Legs a-croſs, his Eſcutcheon of Arms and Sword; after the Faſhion in thoſe Days were they only interred, who took upon them the Croſs, and were marked with the Badge of the Croſs, for ſacred Warfare, to recover the *Holy Land* from the *Turks*. In the Quire and Walks about it are many fair Monuments, Tombs, and Marble-ſtones of Mayors of this Town, their Names and Arms engraven in Stone, with their Titles of (ſometime Mayor of *Newcaſtle*) Honours; not one Word of their good Deeds; their Generations and Names are worn out. Only that thrice noble Mayor, Maſter *Robert Anderſon*, whoſe Memory will continue until there be no more Time; *Ære vel marmore perennius, viz.* His Gift of twenty Pounds *per Annum* for ever to the four Churches in *Newcaſtle*.

*Dignum laude Virum, Muſa vetat Mori.*

There is a Tomb, as is reported, belonging to the *Fitz-Williams*, not placed, who, going Ambaſſador into *Scotland*, died, and was interred in Saint *Nicholas*.

2. Is *Allhallows*, *Omnium animarum*, *Pantæon theon*, from the ancient Name of that Part of the Town *Pampeden*; having a broad and ſquare Church, and more populous than all the three other Pariſhes, and able to contain more People than the reſt, having three Galleries.

There are few Monuments or Tombs in it. Only one ſtately Tomb of that worthy Benefactor, *Roger de Thornton*, having a large Jet-ſtone, curiouſly engraven with his Arms, and the Arms of that noble Family of the Lord *Lumley*, who married a Daughter of *Thornton*'s. He died in the Reign of *Henry the Seventh*.

There was one *Thomas Smith*, Shipwright, of this Pariſh, that gave four Pounds eighteen Shillings and ten Pence, yearly, for ever, to the diſtreſſed Poor of that Pariſh.

3. *Church* is Saint *John*'s, a pretty little Church, commended by * an Arch-Prelate of this Kingdom; becauſe it reſembleth much a Croſs. In this Pariſh the Earl of *Weſtmoreland* had his Houſe, as others, good Benefactors to this Town.

4. Saint *Andrews*, the ancienteſt of all the four, as appeareth by the old Building and Faſhion of the Church. In it is to be ſeen a Pardon of a Pope for nine thouſand Years to come.

Likewiſe there is an ancient large Stone of one *Adam de Athell* of *Geſmond*, with this Inſcription, *Hic jacet Dominus* Adamus de Athell, *Miles, qui obiit, Anno* 1387.

The Parſon of the Town is the Biſhop of *Carliſle*, who hath his Vicar or Subſtitute, and a fair old Houſe belonging to the Vicar.

### *The Streets and Buildings of the ancient Town of* Pampeden.

I Come in the *next* Place to deſcribe every Part of this Town, what it was in the Times of the Heptarchy of this Kingdom, and in after ſucceeding Ages.

*Firſt* of *Pampeden*, alias *Pantheon*: It hath retained its Name, without much Alteration, ſince the *Romans* reſided in it. After the Departure of the *Romans*, the Kings of *Northumberland* kept their Reſidence in it, and had their Houſe, now called *Pandon-Hall*. It was a ſafe Bulwark, having the *Picts* Wall on the North-ſide, and the River of *Tine* on the South. This Place of *Pandon* is of ſuch Antiquity, that, if a Man would expreſs any ancient Thing, it is a common Proverb †, *As old as Pandon*. In it are many ancient Buildings, Houſes, and Streets: Some Gentlemen of *Northumberland* had their Houſes in it. There is an ancient Place called the *Wall-knowl*, called ſince, Saint *Michael* upon the *Wall-knowl*, having a high and ſtrong Tower, now called the *Carpenter*'s Tower, adjoining to that Place upon the Town Wall. There is below, towards the River of *Tine*, an ancient Religious Houſe, called *Trinity houſe* (not many Houſes in *England* named by that Name) now converted to another Uſe, for the Maſters of *Trinity-houſe*, which have many Privileges and Immunities granted unto them for Services done by Sea.

In this Part of the Town of *Pandon*, below, are many narrow Streets or Chairs, and ancient Buildings; through the Midſt of it the River of *Tine* flows and ebbs, and a Burne runs, called *Pandon-burne*. This Place, called the *Burne-*

* *Laud.*

† At *Newcaſtle*.

*bank*,

*bank*, ſtands very low: It is recorded, that, in *Edward the Third*'s Time, an hundred and forty Horſes were drowned by Overflowing of Water; ſince, the Houſes towards the Key-ſide are heightened with Ballaſt, and a high Stone Wall, without which Wall, is a long and broad Wharf or Key, which hindereth the like Inundation.

In the upper Part of this *Pandon* is an ancient Religious Houſe, founded by the Kings of *Northumberland*, now called the *Mannors* (formerly Saint *Auguſtine Friars*) where the Kings of *Northumberland* were interred; ſince, in ſucceeding Ages, enlarged and beautified with ſtately Buildings, Cloiſters, and a fair Church. The Kings of *England*, ſince the Conqueſt, kept Houſe in it, when they came with an Army Royal againſt *Scotland*; and, ſince the Suppreſſion of Monaſteries, made a Magazine and Storehouſe for the North Parts. Now of late that princely Fabrick is demoliſhed, and laid level with the Ground. The Pride, Covetouſneſs, Luxury, and Idolatry of theſe Houſes brought a ſudden Ruin upon themſelves and Houſes.

In this Place of *Pandon* is a Bridge called *Stock-bridge*, where Fiſhers come up with their Fiſh, and ſell them here.

### *The Grants and Charters to the Town.*

THE Antiquity of this Town is known to be from that Time, that the *Romans* had Command in the Northern Parts, who built the *Picts* Wall. After their Departure, the *Saxons* became Maſters of this Country; then the *Danes*. The *Danes* being vanquiſhed and expelled this Land, the *Engliſh* enjoyed it, until *William the Conqueror* made all *England* Vaſſals, and obey his *Norman* Laws, as far as the River *Tine*. King *William* overthrew the Northern Forces in *Gateſide Fell*, near *Newcaſtle*. Since which Time, great is the Privilege that Kings and Princes have endowed this Town with.

*Robert*, Son of *William the Conqueror*, built the Caſtle * called *New-caſtle*, againſt the often Inroads of our neighbouring *Scots*.

King *John* gave the firſt Grant to *Newcaſtle*, and endowed it with many Privileges and Immunities to the good Men of the ſame.

King *Henry the Third* made it a Corporation, whereas formerly it belonged to the County of *Northumberland*, as by *Henry the Third*'s Charter doth appear, *Noveritis nos conceſſiſſe & demiſiſſe, & hac Charta noſtra confirmaſſe pro nobis & hæredibus noſtris, probis hominibus noſtris, de Novo Caſtello ſuper Tinam, & hæredibus eorum villam noſtram cum Novo-Caſtello, cum omnibus pertinentibus ſuis ad feod. firmum, &c.*

The Town of *Pampeden* was granted to the beloved Burgeſſes, and good Men of *Newcaſtle*, in King *Edward the Firſt*'s Reign, as by his Charter appears, *Sciatis quod dedimus & conceſſimus, & hac Charta noſtra confirmavimus pro nobis, & hæredibus noſtris, dilectis Burgenſibus, & probis hominibus noſtris villæ Novicaſtri ſuper Tinam, omnes terras & tenementa cum pertinentibus in Pampeden in Biker, juxta prædictam Villam Novicaſtri*, &c. *Et quod prædicta Villa Novicaſtri, & terra, & tenementa prædicta in Pampeden, unica Villa de cætero ſint, & unus Burgus, ad uniendum & concludendum dictæ Villæ Novicaſtri in augmentationem, emendationem, & ſecuritatem ejuſdem Villæ, &c.*

All the Kings and Queens of *England* ſucceſſively granted unto the Town ſome Honour and Privilege, and enlarged their Charters.

*Edward the Third* gave them the *Forth*, for the good Services of the Townſmen.

*Edward the Fourth* gave them Power to chooſe, yearly, Mayor and Aldermen, in lieu of Bailiffs.

After Kings granted, to the Mayor and Commonalty, all the Royalties of the River of *Tine*, from *Sparrow-Hawk* unto *Heddon-Streams*; and that no Ship load and unload any Manner of Goods, Wares, and Merchandiſes in, or on any Place of the River, but only at the Key of *Newcaſtle*. Alſo granted Commiſſioners to meaſure Keels.

King *Edward the Sixth* grants the Town of *Gateſide* to be united to the Town of *Newcaſtle*. Repealed by Queen *Mary*.

Sir *Thomas White*, Lord Mayor of *London*, gave one hundred Pounds Yearly to the chief Cities and Towns of *England* for ever, to be lent to four Clothiers Merchants for ten Years without Intereſt. The Town of *Newcaſtle* enjoyeth her hundred Pounds in her Turn: The firſt hundred Pound which came to *Newcaſtle* was in 1599. The nobleſt Gift that ever was

* Now uſed as the common Priſon for the Felons to be tried at the Aſſizes for the County of *Northumberland*.

given

given in *England* by any Subject. Some think, in Time, it will ingroſs the moſt of the Money in this Land.

*The Higheſt and North Parts of the Town.*

THE ancient Parts of the Town of *Newcaſtle* were, in the upper Parts of it, about *Newgate*, where are many old Houſes and Cottages, which ſerved theſe Religious Houſes with Proviſions: This Part of the Town is called, to this Day, the *Huckſters Booths*. Theſe People, in thoſe Days, had their Livelihood from thoſe Friars and Nuns that lived in that Part of the Town.

In after Ages, the Burgeſſes and good Men of the Town began to trade, and venture beyond the Seas into foreign Places; they built many Ships, procured a Charter from the Kings of *England* to carry Fells beyond Seas, and bring in foreign Commodities. The Staple was then at *Antwerp* in *Brabant*, called *Commune totius Europæ Emporium*. This Charter of the Merchant Adventurers, was the firſt Charter that was granted by any King to any Town. After which Grant, this Town flouriſhed in Trading; built many fair Houſes in the Fleſh Market, then called the Cloth Market. The Merchants had their Shops and Warehouſes there, in the back Parts of their Houſes; the River of *Tine* flowed and ebbed, where Boats came up with Commodities; which Trade of Merchandiſes continued many Years. In that Street the Mayors, Aldermen, and richeſt Men of the Town lived. In after Times, the Merchants removed lower down towards the River, to the Street called the *Side*, and *Sand-hill*, where they continue unto this Day *.

*The* Sand-hill.

NOW let us deſcribe unto you the other Streets and Markets in this Town. *Firſt* of the *Sand-hill*, a Market for Fiſh, and other Commodities; very convenient for Merchant Adventurers, Merchants of Coals, and all thoſe that have their Living by Shipping. There is a navigable River, and a long Key or Wharf, where Ships may lie ſafe from Danger of Storms, and may unload their Commodities and Wares upon the Key. In it are two Cranes for heavy Commodities, very convenient for carrying of Corn, Wine, Deals, &c. from the Key into the Water-Gates, which are along the Key-ſide, or into any Quarter of the Town.

In this Market-Place are many Shops and ſtately Houſes for Merchants, with great Conveniencies of Water, Bridge, Garners, Lofts, Cellars, and Houſes of both Sides of them. Weſtward they have a Street called the *Cloſe*. Eaſt, the Benefit of the Houſes of the Key-ſide.

In this *Sand-hill* ſtandeth the Town-Court, or *Guildhall*, where are held the Guilds every Year by the Mayor and Burgeſſes, to offer up their Grievances, where the Mayor keepeth his Court every *Monday*, and the Sheriff hath his County-Court upon *Wedneſday* and *Friday*.

In it is kept a Court of Admiralty, or River-Court, every *Monday* in the Afternoon. This is a Court of Record for Inrolling of Deeds and Evidences.

There is a Court of Pie-powder, during the ſaid two Fairs, *Lammas* and St. *Luke*; all the Privileges and Power, that a Court-Leet can have, are granted to this Court.

Under the Town-Court is a common Weigh-houſe for all Sorts of Commodities. King *Henry the Sixth* ſent to this Town, as to other Cities and Towns, Braſs Weights according to the Standard.

Near this is the Town-houſe, where the Clark of the Chamber and Chamberlains are to receive the Revenues of the Town for Coal, Ballaſt, Salt, Grind-ſtones, &c.

Next adjoining is an Alms-houſe, called the *Maſon de Dieu*, built by that noble Benefactor *Roger de Thornton*.

Above which is the ſtately Court of the Merchant Adventurers, of the old Staple, reſident at that flouriſhing City of *Antwerp* in *Brabant*, ſince removed to the more Northern Provinces under the *States*. Their Charters are ancient, their Privileges and Immunities great; they have no Dependence upon *London*, having a Governor, twelve Aſſiſtants, two Wardens, and a Secretary.

There is an old Chapel upon the Bridge.

Next Weſt is a Street called the *Cloſe*,

* *viz.* 1649

where are many ſtately Houſes of Merchants and others. The Earl of *Northumberland* had his Houſe in this Street.

Near the *Sand-hill* Eaſt, is *Allhallows* Bank, or *Butchers* Bank, where moſt Butchers dwell, the Way to *Allhallows* Church; on the South-ſide of which are many Chairs or Lanes that go down to the Key-ſide.

### *The middle Parts of the Town.*

NExt up Street is the Street called the *Side*. In the lower Part of it ſtandeth a fair Croſs, with Columns of Stones hewn, covered with Lead, where are ſold Milk, Eggs, Butter, *&c.*

In the *Side* are Shops for Merchants, Drapers, and other Trades. In the Middle of the *Side* is an ancient Stone-houſe, an Appendix to the Caſtle, which in former Times belonged to the Lord *Lumleys*, before the Caſtle was built, or at leaſt coetany * with the Caſtle.

Next up the Town North, is *Middle-ſtreet*, where all Sorts of Artificers have Shops and Houſes.

The Weſt-ſide of this Street is the Oat-meal Market.

On the Eaſt-ſide of it is the Fleſh Market, I think the greateſt Market † in *England* for all Sorts of Fleſh and Poultry that are ſold there every *Saturday*; the Reaſon is not the Populouſneſs of the Town that makes it, it is the People in the Country, within ten Miles of the Town, who make their Proviſion there; as likewiſe all that live by the Coal-trade, for working and conveying Coals to the Water; as alſo the Shipping which comes into this River for Coals, there being ſometimes three-hundred Sail of Ships. In this Market are kept two Fairs in the Year, for nine Days together; one of them at that remarkable Time of the Year, the Firſt of *Auguſt*; the other is held, the Eighteenth of *October*, upon St. *Luke*'s Day.

Next above North, is the Big ‡ and Oat-Market every *Tueſday* and *Saturday* in the Week.

In which Street is an ancient Houſe, with a large Gate, called the *Scots Inn*, where the Kings, Nobility, and Lairds of *Scots* lodged, in Time of Truce or League with *England*.

### Pilgrim *Street*.

EAST again is *Pilgrim* Street, the longeſt and faireſt Street in the Town. In it is a Market for Wheat and Rye every *Tueſday* and *Saturday*.

Likewiſe an Houſe called the *Pilgrims Inn*, where Pilgrims lodged that came to viſit the Shrine in *Geſmond*, or *Jeſu de Munde*, which occaſioned to call this Street *Pilgrim* Street.

In the upper Part of this Street is a Princely Houſe, built out of the Ruins of the *Black Friars*.

Both Eaſt and Weſt of this Street are many Paſſages into other Parts of the Town, as the nether and higher *Dean*-Bridge into the Weſt, the *Manour*-Chair upon the Eaſt, having a Way to that ſumptuous Building of the *Minorites*, of old called St. *Auguſtin Friars*; alſo a Street called *Silver* Street, having a Paſſage down to *Pandon*.

### Weſt-gate *Street*.

UPON the Weſt of the Town is *Denton-Chair*, which goeth into *Weſt-gate* Street, which is a broad Street, and private; for Men that live there have Employment for Town and Country. The Earl of *Weſtmorland* had his Houſe in this Street, and other Gentlemen.

In this Street is an Hoſpital, called the *Spittle*; in the Eaſt of that Chapel is the Place for electing of Mayors, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and other Officers in the Town next *Monday* after *Michaelmas* Day. In which Place are made, of late, a famous Grammar-School, Writing-School, and Houſes within the *Spittle* for the Maſters. *Protos Archididaſcalos*, or the firſt head School-maſter, was that Reverend Maſter *Robert Fowberry*, a learned and painful Man to indoctrinate Youth in *Greek* and *Latin*.

In the North-ſide of the Street, towards *Weſt-gate*, is an ancient Building, called now *Bannet Cheſſy Friars*, where now the nine Crafts of this Town have their Meeting-

* Of the ſame Age.

† Except *Leaden-Hall* Market, in *London*.

‡ Barley.

houſes *.

houſes *. It was called, in old Time, the *Gray-Friars.*

In the South-weſt of the Town is the *White-Friars*, and near that a Street called *Bailiff-gate*, which, in former Times, belonged unto the Caſtle and County of *Northumberland:* There is a Poſtern-Gate, where Priſoners, taken in Time of Hoſtility with *Scotland*, and Felons of the County of *Northumberland*, were brought in privately into the Caſtle in *Newcaſtle*, where the common Jail for the County is.

Near this Street are two Ways, which go down into the *Cloſe*, the *long* Stairs and *Tudhill* Stairs.

### *The Government of the Town.*

NOw let us ſpeak concerning the Government of this Town. The firſt Grant was, *Burgenſibus & probis hominibus Novicaſtri ſuper Tinam*, i. e. *To the Burgeſſes and good Men of the Town of* Newcaſtle: Out of whom Yearly were choſen Bailiffs, which are the ancient Officers of Cities and Towns in *England.*

King *Edward the Fourth*, out of his abundant Grace and Favour to the aforeſaid Town-Burgeſſes, their Heirs and Succeſſors, grants Yearly to chooſe a Mayor and ſix Aldermen; and that the aforeſaid Mayor and Aldermen, for the Time being, or any four, three, or two of them, have full Power and Authority to enquire, hear, and determine all Manner of Complaints and Cauſes, appertaining to the Office of a Juſtice of the Peace.

Inſtead of Bailiffs is choſen a Sheriff Yearly.

King *Richard the Second* gave the Sword to be carried before the Mayor, which repreſents Royal Power and Authority; delegated, by Charters, to them, their Heirs, and Succeſſors, from their Sovereign.

The Power of a Mayor is great, the higheſt Dignity or Honour that can be beſtowed upon a City or Town; according to that Office among the *Romans*, of Proprætors and Proconſuls, who had, in all Countries and Kingdoms, under their Command their Viceroys, or Repreſentatives.

In after Times, upon a Diviſion among the Aldermen, there were four Aldermen more added; ſo now it is governed by a Mayor, Recorder, ten Aldermen, and one Sheriff. Their Officers are two Clerks, one for the Town Court, the other for the Town Chamber.

The Officers that attend upon his Perſon are, a Sword-bearer, with a Cap of Maintenance, a Water-Bailiff, and ſeven Serjeants, in their Gowns and Maces. All theſe nine Officers go before the Mayor and Aldermen, in their Gowns, to Church, and at any Solemnity.

In former Times, the Aldermen of the Town had their Scarlet Gowns, but the proud *Scot* got them by Conqueſt, as they did other Ornaments of the Town, thinking no *Engliſh*, in Authority, worthy to wear Scarlet but themſelves; and ſo they continued Lording over us for two Years, until they were hired out, as they were brought in, being a mercenary Nation, for any Nation for Money.

There are twelve Trades or Crafts, which are chief in electing of Mayors, *viz.* Drapers, Mercers, Glovers, Taylors, Boothmen, Shoemakers, Bakers, Tanners, Saddlers, Butchers, Smiths, and Dyers.

There are the By-crafts, which are fifteen in Number; every one of them hath their Meeting-houſes in the Towers of the Wall, and are called, at this Day, by the Name of *By-crafts*; their ancient Name is after the Name of the Founder.

### *The twenty-four Wards of the Town.*

THere are four and twenty Wards in the Town; every Ward hath its Tower or Gate in the Walls, which they were to keep in Times of Hoſtility with the *Scots*, whereof theſe are ſome:

*White Friars Tower-Ward.*
*Nevil's Tower-Ward.*
*Weſt-Spittle Tower.*
*Stanke Tower.*
*Pink Tower.*
*Gunners Tower.*
*Weſt-gate Tower.*
*Durham Tower.*
*Thicket's Tower.*

* Or Halls for the Meeting of their reſpective Companies.

*Carliſle Tower.*
*Barthram Mumbugget Tower.*
*Ever's Tower.*
*Saint Auſtin's Tower.*
*Walk-Knowl Ward*, &c.

*Of the River* Tine, *and the Commodities.*

THE Port or Haven of this River is able to receive Ships of four-hundred Tuns, having Rocks on the North-ſide of the Haven, and Sands upon the South, dangerous in a North-Eaſt Wind:

*Incidit in Scyllam, qui vult vitare Charybdim.*

Upon the North-ſide of the Haven, is an ancient ſtrong Caſtle, the Seat of the Prior of *Tinmouth*. King *Henry the Eighth* converted the Caſtle from a Priory, to be a Defence for the River and Country, againſt foreign Invaſions.

1. The South-ſide of the River is *Warwickſhire*, in the County of *Durham*, where are many Salt-Pans, which make white Salt out of ſalt Water, boiled with Coal.

2. Another Commodity, that this River bringeth forth, is Coal in great Abundance; moſt of the People, that live in theſe Parts, live by the Benefit of Coals, that are carried out of this River into moſt Parts of *England* Southward, into *Germany*, and other tranſmarine Countries.

*John Johnſton*, out of the Poems of the Cities of *Britain*, *Newcaſtle.*

Seated upon high Rock, ſhe ſees Dame Nature's Wonders ſtrange,
Or elſe to others wittily doth vent them for Exchange:
In vain why ſeek you Fire from Heaven, to ſerve your Turn?
The Ground here either keeps it cloſe, or quickly makes it burn.
Nor that which Folk with ſtony Fleſh, or whirl-wind Grim affrights,
But giveth Life to earthly Things, and Minds to living Wights;
This melteth Iron, Braſs, and Gold, ſo pliable and ſoft,
What Mind the allective Shade of Gold ſtirs not, nor ſets aloft?
Nay, more than ſo, Men ſay it doth dull Metal change to Gold;
To ſay therefore it is a God, our Alchymiſts are bold.
If God he be, as thou giv'ſt out, great Maſter, of thy Word,
How many Gods then doth this Place, and our *Scotland* afford?

Many Thouſand People are employed in this Trade of Coals; many live by working of them in the Pits; many live by conveying them in Waggons and Wains to the River *Tine*; many Men are employed in conveying the Coals in Keels, from the *Stathes* *, a-board the Ships: One Coal-merchant employeth Five-hundred, or a Thouſand, in his Works of Coal, yet, for all his Labour, Care, and Coſt, can ſcarce live of his Trade; nay, many of them have conſumed and ſpent great Eſtates, and died Beggars. I can remember one of many, that raiſed his Eſtate by the Coal-trade; many I remember, that have waſted great Eſtates. I ſhall illuſtrate this by a Story of two *Spaniards*, Brothers, who travelled into the *Weſt-Indies*, with that Eſtate and Means which they had acquired: One of the Brothers was a Miner, to employ many Slaves in Silver-mines; the other Brother was to be an Huſbandman, to provide Corn, Sheep, and other Proviſions for the Miner and his Men; much Silver was got out of the Ground by theſe Miners; the Huſbandman got Monies out of his Stock for his Commodities. After many Years Delving and Labouring in theſe Silver-mines, at laſt the Mines were exhauſted and decayed, and all the Money, which he had got for many Years Labour and Coſt, was run into his Brother's, the Huſbandman's Hands, and all his Stock upſtanding; he living all that Time of the Profit that his Ground yielded.

So it is with our Coal-miners; they labour, and are at a great Charge to maintain Men to work their Collieries; they waſte their own Bodies with Care, and their Collieries with Working; the Kernel being eaten out of the Nut, there remaineth nothing but the Shell; their Collieries are waſted, and their Monies are conſumed. This is the Uncertainty of Mines; a great Charge, the Profit uncertain.

* Or Coal-Wharfs.

Some

Some *South* Gentlemen have, upon great Hope of Benefit, come into this Country to hazard their Monies in Coal-pits. Mr. *Beaumont*, a Gentleman of great Ingenuity and rare Parts, adventured into our Mines, with his thirty-thouſand Pounds, who brought with him many rare Engines, not known then in theſe Parts; as, the Art to bore with iron Rods, to try the Deepneſs and Thickneſs of the Coal; rare Engines to draw Water out of the Pits; Waggons, with one Horſe, to carry down Coals from the Pits to the Stathes, to the River, *&c.* Within a few Years, he conſumed all his Money, and rode Home upon his light Horſe.

Some *Londoners*, of late, have disburſed their Monies for the Reverſion of a Leaſe of Colliery, about thirty Years to come of the Leaſe: When they come to crack their Nuts, they find nothing but the Shells; Nuts will not keep thirty Years; there is a Swarm of Worms under Ground, that will eat up all before their Time; they may find ſome Meteors, *Ignis fatuus*, inſtead of a Mine.

A third Commodity, that this River bringeth forth, is Grind-ſtones, which are conveyed into moſt Parts of the World, according to the Proverb: *A* Scot, *a Rat, and a* Newcaſtle *Grind-ſtone you may find all the World over.*

The fourth Commodity of this River is the great Plenty of Salmon taken in this Water, which ſerveth this Town, and other Parts.

Upon the South-ſide of this River, ſtands a Town, called *Jarro*, where lived that venerable *Bede*, admired for his Learning, in thoſe Times of Darkneſs. *Camden* intituleth him, 'The ſingular Glory and Ornament of *Eng-*'*land.*' *Malmesbury*, 'Vir erat, quem mi-'rari facilius, quam dignum prædicari poſſis, 'qui extremo natus orbis angulo doctrinæ co-'ruſco terras omnes perſtrinxerat.'

*Bede* lived in the Time of the *Saxons* Heptarchy in *England*, in the Kingdom of *Northumbers*, ſeven-hundred Years after *Chriſt.*

This River hath two Heads, or main Streams; *South Tine*, which runs through *Allendale*; *North Tine*, which runs through *Tinedale.* They meet Weſt of *Hexam*, and ſalute one another.

*Divine Providence over all Nations and Countries.*

OUR moſt provident and glorious Creator hath ſo furniſhed all Countries with ſeveral Commodities, that, amongſt all Nations, there might be a ſociable Converſation and mutual Commerce; one People ſtanding in Need of another, all might be combined in a common League, and exhibit mutual Succours. *Non omnia fert anima tellus.* From the *Indies*; Gold, Silver, Gems, Drugs, *&c.* From *Italy*; Silks. From *Spain*; Fruits, Saffron, Sacks. From *Denmark*; Amber, Cordage, Firs, and Flax. From *France*; Wines and Linnen. From *England*; Wool, Tin. From theſe *Northern* Parts; Coal, Salt, Grind-ſtones, *&c.* Which Trade of Coal began not paſt fourſcore Years ſince. Coals, in former Times, were only uſed by Smiths, and for Burning of Lime. Woods in the South Parts of *England* decaying, and the City of *London*, and other Cities and Towns growing populous, made the Trade for Coal increaſe yearly, and many great Ships of Burthen built, ſo that there were more Coals vended in one Year, than were in ſeven Years, forty Years by-paſt. This great Trade hath made this Part to flouriſh in all Trades.

*Camden* calls *Newcaſtle Ocellus*, or the Eye of the North; the Hearth, that warmeth the South Parts of this Kingdom with Fire; an *Ægypt* to all the Shires in the *North* (in Time of Famine) for Bread. All Quarters of the Country come with Money in their Purſes, to buy Corn to feed their Families, this Summer.

This Town hath been famous, in four Ages of the World.

1. In the Time of the *Romans*, being, in theſe Parts, the outmoſt Limits of the *Roman* Empire.

2. Famous for the Monaſteries in old Times.

3. This Town famous, being a Bulwark againſt the *Scots*. All the Power of *Scotland* could never win it, ſince the Walls were built; but of late *, being aſſiſted by the *Engliſh*, it was ſtormed, our Churches and Houſes defaced, the Ornaments of both plundered and carried away. The Crown of our Heads is fallen; Woe unto us now, for we have ſinned.

* By the Parliament Army.

4. Famous

4. Famous for the great Trade of Coal, white Salt, Grind-ſtones, *&c.* which they furniſh other Countries with.

*Newcaſtle*, likewiſe, excels in four Things before ſpoken:

1. The Town, Walls, Gates, Towers, and Turrets.

2. St. *Nicholas*'s Church-ſteeple *caput inter nubila condit.*

3. The *Tine*-bridge, conſiſting of eight ſtately Arches, Towers, and Houſes.

4. The long and fair Key, for Ships to unload their Commodities.

The Revenues of the Town are not great, conſidering the Diſburſements for Repairing of Streets, High-ways, Bridges; Maintenance of Miniſters, School-maſters, Poor, *&c.*

The Arms of the Town is, the three Caſtles, *Argent*, in a Field, *Gules.*

*Camd. Newcaſtle*, 22 grad. 30 min. Long. 54 gr. 57 min. Lat.

*Hues. Newcaſtle*, 23 grad. 10 min. Long. 55 grad. 20 min. Lat.

## *The Suburbs of* Newcaſtle.

*Gate-ſide*, a Borough upon the South-ſide of the River *Tine*, an ancient inhabited Place, a Pariſh of itſelf, in the Biſhoprick of *Durham.* King *Edward the Sixth* united it to the Town of *Newcaſtle*; ſince, Queen *Mary* gave it again to the Biſhop's See of *Durham.*

The Suburbs out of *Newgate* and *Pilgrim-ſtreet* were ruinated in theſe late Wars; near the *Barras-bridge* is an Hoſpital, dedicated to *Mary Magdalene.* There are many Cloſes in that Part, and large Fields of Meadows, called, *The Caſtle Leaſes*, belonging to the Town, the Gift of King *John*, as ſome ſay, to the good Men of *Newcaſtle.*

There is a Poſtern between *Newgate* and *Weſt-gate*, which goeth into a Cloſe, called, *The Warden-cloſe*, where the Warden of the Prior of *Tinmouth* had his Houſe, Garden, Fiſh-ponds, *&c.*

The Suburbs of *Sand-gate* eſcaped the Fury of theſe Wars, except ſome near the Walls of the Town, which was fired.

One remarkable Thing is recorded of two Carpenters Hewing of a Tree; Blood iſſued out of the Timber, in what Part of the Wood they cut.

Below Eaſt is the *Ballaſt-hill*, where Women upon their Heads carried Ballaſt, which was taken forth of ſmall Ships which came empty for Coals; which Place was the firſt Ballaſt-ſhore out of the Town; ſince which Time, the Trade of Coals increaſing, there are many Ballaſt-ſhores made below the Water, on both Sides of the River.

Upon the North-ſide of the River is the *Ewes-Burne*, over which is a Wood-bridge, which goeth down to a Place called *The Glaſs-houſes*, where plain Glaſs for Windows is made *, which ſerveth moſt Parts of the Kingdom. Below Eaſt are many Shores built for Caſting of Ballaſt out of Ships; which brings Profit to the Town, and the Occupiers of the ſame.

## *Of the noble and ancient Families of the* North, *and their Caſtles.*

THE North Parts of *England* have been in the *Romans* Time, and in After-ages, the Bulwarks and Fortreſſes of *England* againſt the Inroads of the *Scots*; *Newcaſtle* for the Eaſt Parts of this Land, and *Carliſle* for the Weſt.

The two great Princes of the *North* were, the Earls of *Northumberland* at *Alnwick*, and *Weſtmoreland* at *Raby-Caſtle*, in the Biſhoprick of *Durham:* The Firſt, famous for the great Overthrow, he gave *Malcolm*, King of the *Scots*, and his Son *Edward*, ſlain at his Caſtle of *Alnwick.* The ſecond Earl, made famous for *David*, King of *Scots*, Priſoner, and the Overthrow of his Army at *Nevil*'s-*croſs* †, near *Durham.*

The Lords *Dacres* and *Lumley* were famous in their Generation; the Firſt lived in *Cumberland*, in his many Caſtles; the other, in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, in *Lumley* Caſtle; both of them having Lands in *Northumberland*, who held their Lands of the King in Knight-ſervice for his Wars againſt the *Scots.*

The Biſhops of *Durham* had their Caſtles in the Frontiers, in *Norhamſhire* and *Elandſhire.*

The Nobility and Gentry of the *North* are of great Antiquity, and can produce more ancient Families, than any Part of *England*;

* This has been much improved ſince that Time; for now they make all Sorts of Glaſs in great Perfection.

† Half a Mile out of *Croſs-Gate.*

many

many of them Gentry before the Conqueſt, the reſt came in with *William the Conqueror*. The Noblemen and Gentry of the *North* have been always employed in their native Country, in the Wars of the Kings of *England* againſt the *Scots*, all of them holding their Lands in Knights-ſervice to attend the Wars in their own Perſons, with Horſe and Spear, as the Manner of Fighting was, in thoſe Days.

Some Gentlemen held their Lands in *Cornage*, by blowing a Horn, to give Notice that the *Scots*, their Enemies, had invaded the Land *. The *Scots*, their neighbouring Enemies, have made the Inhabitants of *Northumberland* fierce and hardy, whilſt ſometimes they kept themſelves exerciſed in the Wars; being a moſt warlike Nation, and excellent good Light-horſemen, wholly addicting themſelves to *Mars* and Arms; not a Gentleman among them, that hath not his Caſtle, or Tower; and ſo it was divided into a Number of Baronies, the Lords whereof, in Times paſt, before King *Edward the Firſt*'s Days, went, commonly, under the Name of *Barons*; although ſome of them were of no great Living. It was the Policy of the Kings of *England* to cheriſh and maintain martial Proweſs among them, in the Marches of the Kingdom, if it were nothing elſe, but with an honourable bare Title. Some Gentlemen of the *North* are called, to this Day, *Barons*.

The ancient Families and Names of the Gentry are many, which have continued, from *William the Conqueror*, unto theſe late Days.

*The* Grays, *of* Chillingham *and* Horton, *Barons of* Warke-caſtle.
Ogles, *of* Ogle-caſtle.
Fenwickes, *of* Wallington.
Widdrington, *of* Widdrington-caſtle.
Delavale, *of* Seaton-Delavale.
Ridleys, *of* Williams-Week.
Muſchampes, *of* Barſmore, *the chief Baron of* Northumberland, *in* Edward the Firſt's *Reign*.
Middletons, *of* Belſey.
Midfords, *of* Midford.
Foſters, *of* Edderſton.
Claverings, *of* Callalie.
Swinbournes, of Swinbourne; *now of* Capheaton.
Radcliffes, *of* Delſton†.
Harbottle, *of* Harbottle-caſtle, *extinct*.
Haggerſton, *of* Haggerſton.
Hebburne, *of* Hebburne.
Blankenſhip, *of* Blankenſhip.
Fetherſtonhaugh, *of* Fetherſtonhaugh.
Herons, *of* Chepchaſe.
Horſley, *of* ———.
Craſter, *of* Craſter.
Laraines, *of* Kirkharle.
Collingwoods, *of* Eſtington.
Whitfield, *of* Whitfield.
Carnaby, *of* Halton.
Liſles, *of* Felton.
Strudders, *of* Kirknewton.
Selbyes, *of* Twiſel.
Eringtons, *of* Bewfrom.
Weldon, *of* Weldon.
Bradforth, *of* Bradforth.
Rodom, *of* Little-Haughton.
Carres, *of* Ford-caſtle.
Creſwell, *of* Creſwell.
Halls, *of* Otterburne.
Thirlwall, *of* Thirlwall-caſtle.
Killingworth, *of* Killingworth.

Theſe ancient noble Families continued many Years valiant and faithful unto the Kingdom of *England*, and flouriſhed all in their Times; until the two powerful Earls of the *North* roſe in Rebellion, in Queen *Eliſabeth*'s Reign, who drew along with them many Gentry of the *North*, who overthrew themſelves and Confederates, and many ancient Families of the *North*. Since, many ancient Names have been extinct, for Want of Heirs Male, and have been devolved upon other Names and Families.

Since the Union ‡ of both Kingdoms, the Gentry of this Country have given themſelves to Idleneſs, Luxury, and Covetouſneſs; living not in their own Houſes, as their Anceſtors have done; profuſely ſpending their Revenues in other Countries, and have conſumed of late their ancient Houſes.

The Caſtles in the *North* are many and ſtrong.

*Morpeth*-Caſtle, ſo called, from the Death of the *Picts* in that Place.

*Alnwick*-Caſtle, where the Earls of *Northumberland* kept their Court; famous for two Battles fought againſt the *Scots*, who received a ſhameful Overthrow, by the Valour of the Earls of *Northumberland*.

* *Camden.*

† Extinct in the late Earl of *Derwentwater*.

‡ In the Perſon of King *James the Firſt*.

Upon

Upon *Tweede* and Borders are, *Wark*-Caſtle, a Barony of the *Grays*; *Norham*-Caſtle, belonging to the Biſhops of *Durham*; *Berwick*, upon the left Bank and River, a ſtrong Town of War, oppoſite ſometimes againſt the *Scots*, the fartheſt Bounds of the *Engliſh* Empire. Upon *Till* (a River, falling into *Tweede* above *Norham*) is *Ford*-Caſtle. To the *Weſt*, beyond the River, riſeth *Floddon*-Hill, made famous by the Death of *James the Fourth*, King of *Scotland*, ſlain in a memorable Battle, by *Thomas Howard*, Earl of *Surrey*, General of the *Engliſh*, in the Reign of *Henry the Eighth*.

Upon the Eaſt-ſea are *Bambrough*-Caſtle and *Dunſtanbrough*-Caſtle, built by the *Saxons*, and ſometimes the royal Seats of the Kings of *Northumbers*. *Bambrough*-caſtle afterward converted into a Priory, and did Homage and Vaſſalage to their Lord Prior.

Many Battles and Skirmiſhes have been in this *North*, and always have been victorious againſt the *Scots*. Beſides the forenamed Battles of *Alnwick*-caſtle and *Floddon*, at *Solommoſs* fifteen-thouſand *Scots* were put to Flight, eight-hundred ſlain, and one and twenty of their Nobles taken Priſoners, by the *Engliſh*.

There were Lord-Wardens of the Eaſt, Weſt, and Middle Marches appointed; who had Power, by martial Law, to repreſs all Enormities and Outrages committed in the Borders. They had their Laws, called, *Border-Laws*.

In the *North*, towards the Borders, are many Hills; one of them moſt eminent, called, *Cheviot-hill*: Upon the Top of it is Snow to be ſeen at *Midſummer*; and a Land-mark for Seamen, that come out of the Eaſt-parts from *Dantzick*, through the *Baltick* Seas, and from the King of *Denmark*'s Country; it being the firſt Land, that Mariners make for the Coaſt of *England*. Theſe *Cheviot* Hills are made famous for the Hunting of the Earl of *Northumberland*; at the Hunting the Earl *Douglas* of *Scotland*, who met him with his Forces, and engaged one the other, where were many Bickerings and Skirmiſhes, to the Loſs of many Men, where both Earls fought valiantly; called to this Day *Cheviot Chace*.

There are many Dales; the chief are *Tinedale* and *Reedſdale*, a Country, that *William the Conqueror* did not ſubdue; retaining to this Day their ancient Laws and Cuſtoms (according to the County of *Kent*) whereby the Lands of the Father are equally divided, at his Death, amongſt all his Sons. Theſe *Highlanders* are famous for Thieving; they are all bred up, and live by Theft. They come down from theſe Dales into the low Countries, and carry away Horſes and Cattle ſo cunningly, that it will be hard for any to get them, or their Cattle, except they be acquainted with ſome Maſter-thief; who, for ſome Money (which they call *Saufey*-money) may help them to their ſtolen Goods, or deceive them.

There are many, every Year, brought in of them into the Jail of *Newcaſtle*, and, at the Aſſizes, are condemned and hanged, ſometimes twenty or thirty *. They forfeit not their Lands (according to the Tenure in Gavelkind) the Father to Bough, the Son to the Plough.

The People of this Country have had one barbarous Cuſtom amongſt them: If any two be diſpleaſed, they expect no Law, but bang it out bravely, one and his Kindred againſt the other and his; they will ſubject themſelves to no Juſtice, but, in an unhuman and barbarous Manner, fight and kill one another; they run together *Clangs* (as they term it) or Names.

This Fighting they call their *Feides*, or *deadly Feides*; a Word ſo barbarous, that I cannot expreſs it in any other Tongue. Of late, ſince the Union of both Kingdoms, this Heatheniſh bloody Cuſtom is repreſſed, and good Laws made againſt ſuch barbarous and unchriſtian Miſdemeanours and Fightings.

In this North Country, groweth Plenty of *Hadder*, or *Ling*, good for Cattle to feed upon, and for Moor-fowl, and Bees. This Herb yieldeth a Flower, in *June*, as ſweet as Honey; whereof the *Picts*, in Time paſt, did make a pleaſant Drink, wholeſome for the Body of Man.

Upon the Weſt Parts of *Northumberland* the *Picts* Wall is, out of the Ruins of which are built many Towers and Houſes, in that Part where the *Picts* Wall ſtood. In ſome of the waſte Ground, the Wall is to be ſeen of a great Height, and almoſt whole; many Stones have been found with *Roma* upon it; and all the Names of the *Roman* Emperors, Conſuls, and Proconſuls, both in Stone, and

* This Nuiſance has been long removed; and I can affirm, that there have not been half a Score Executions, for theſe twenty Years.

in

in Coin of Silver and Braſs, with their Emperor's Image upon them. So the *Picts* Wall goes through *Northumberland* into *Cumberland*; where I end my Peregrination and Travel, keeping myſelf within the Limits and Bounds of *Northumberland*.

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A Narration of the late Accident in the *New-Exchange*, on the Twenty-firſt and Twenty-ſecond of *November*, 1653. *Stylo Vet.* Written by the moſt noble and illuſtrious Lord, *Don Pantaleon Sa*, Brother to his Excellency of *Portugal*, Extraordinary Legate in *England*, to his much eſteemed Nobility of *England*, and to all of the beloved and famous City of *London* from *Newgate*'s Priſon. *London*, printed in the Year, 1653. *Quarto*, containing fourteen Pages.

MANY will wonder, what Feelings I have to be detained in a Place ſo unſuitable to my Condition, whilſt few vouchſafe me their Commiſeration, all deem me worthy of Reproof. Truly, I do acquieſce in this, to me, harſh Tenor of *Engliſh* Juſtice, and obey it without Reſiſtance, to this univerſal and undeſerved Hatred towards me and ours. Notwithſtanding, becauſe I am conſcious of my own Intentions herein, I cannot but grieve to ſee the whole Envy and Malice of this Affair purſue only my Part, not having given, neither the firſt nor the ſecond Time, any Occaſion for it, without permitting, that we, remote Strangers from our native Country, enjoy any Pity at all. Much I am afflicted, that few cheriſh my Cauſe, moſt withſtand it, and, as it were, none interpoſe themſelves, to aſcribe this unhappy Accident, as really it ought, to Chance, rather than to Malice; to the Ignorance of ſome Particulars, than to the Pertinacy of all; to the reciprocal Hurly-burly, than to the pretended Violence of one only Side. This I only ſay, to that End, that I may lay open the Buſineſs, and Intentions herein, ſo to be made apparent to the moſt beloved Gentry and People of *England*, that all may more eaſily compaſſionate my Perſon and Condition, and reſtore to me and ours again their Love and Favour, which truly, in theſe Circumſtances, I equally value with my Life.

It no wiſe can be conceived how deeply I am ſtruck, when I reflect that I am come to that Point, that neither I, in my proper Cauſe, nor others can be heard for me, many imagining their Aim and Honour to withſtand me as much as is poſſible; yea, and that thoſe, that aſſiſt me herein, therefore are deemed Principals in the Act. Whence to you all, who read this, I leave it to be judged, what an unſpeakable Grief I muſt needs inwardly feel, when I hear ſuch ſtrange Speeches againſt me every where in this City, and that, only for my Sake, my Country-men all and Nation diſpleaſe them. Truly, if it were at firſt as it is now bruited, I might juſtly ſeem a Madman towards my Brother, moſt uncivil to all the *Engliſh* Gentry, and ungrateful to all this City, wherein I have ſo long been, and ſo well known: But theſe forerunning Diſcourſes, at firſt, diſcredit themſelves by their Variety, and, afterwards, totally become groundleſs.

1. Should I, as it is ſaid, oppreſs the *Engliſh*, or withſtand them from whom my Brother, ſent hither particularly by my King, demands Peace and Amity, and under whoſe Protection we all are: Should I commit, by ſuch a Levity, everlaſtingly by me to be repented, that I ſhould not alſo ſeem to intend what my Brother, with ſo much Pains,

hitherto endeavoured to effect? I would not have been ſo great an Enemy to myſelf, both in the Opinion of my Brother, and in the Eſteem of my King, in whoſe Hands it lies to diſpoſe of my whole Life, Honour, and Fortune; which, ſince it is ſo, I confide none will exaggerate my Cauſe, or accuſe me beyond Reaſon.

2. Should I hate the *Engliſh* Gentry? Alas, I am a Gentleman myſelf; and, indeed, I much ever deſired to deſerve their Love and Eſteem: I never would have dreamed ſuch a Folly, unleſs I had firſt forgot my own Birth, in which, ſo far I am from doing Wrong, that I endeavoured to ſhew myſelf, as I was able, a true Follower of my Brother, whom I ſtill perceived and noted heartily deſirous to oblige all Gentlemen, by whatſoever Manner of Civility and Kindneſs he could afford them.

3. Should I, *laſtly*, on ſet Purpoſe, bring I know not what Arms to beſiege the *Exchange?* I witneſs Heaven, and beg Pardon firſt of all this Common-wealth, to which I totally ſubmit myſelf, then again of my dear Brother, if either of them harbour ſuch an Opinion of my Deportments: Nay, if by Chance I had indiſcreetly offended in this Kind, it might have been aſcribed to my unexperienced Youth, and pardonable; and every indifferent Judge will find me to have only fought to defend myſelf and Honour, and not in the leaſt to offend others. And I ſwear to Heaven, I knew nothing of what is ſpoke of Powder, which was found in a Hackney-Coach.

Some will object, Why would I go and meet the Threats I might have before heard of? *Firſt*, I believed no ſuch Threats, which, I conjectured, could not proceed but from a very few; eſpecially, when I reflected on the great Civilities and Kindneſſes which, for this Year and more, had been betwixt the *Engliſh* and *Portugal* Gentry, and that all Differences might be decided by ſome other handſome Mean, and not by the like Threats. Again, How could I imagine any Hinderance to go to ſo publick a Place, which I ſee open to all Nations, even to the baſeſt Sort of People? If I had been forbidden any private Houſe, by its Owner, or, by a Decree of Parliament, from any publick Place, I had kept Home, and not ſtirred, to manifeſt, with Joy and Promptneſs, my Obedience therein to this Common-wealth. And thus I feared none, nor ſuſpected, in the leaſt, that any would aſſault me, when they ſaw me unarmed; neither did I think, that a publick Place could defend me, when my Brother's Houſe is patent to all. Notwithſtanding, being Danger of Life and Honour muſt be provided againſt, I would not go totally unprepared, in Caſe any where I ſhould be offended.

Coming therefore to the *Exchange*, as I was wont to do, on the Twenty-firſt of *November*, 1653, ſo to gain and increaſe Love and Acquaintance with the *Engliſh* Gentlemen, I walked with a certain *Engliſhman*, new arrived from *Portugal*, who aſſured me of the Civilities he enjoyed among my Country-men there: As we two thus Hand in Hand diſcourſed, behold, on a ſudden, an *Engliſh* Gentleman obtrudes himſelf betwixt us with great Violence; I regarded not this, until I heard that Party and my Companion at Variance. At this, though I underſtood little, yet I very much reſented it; becauſe I earneſtly wiſhed nothing of Scandal attempted where I might have any Thing to do. This was my Mind then, as they will eaſily believe, who behold me with an impartial Eye. But what? Out of Hand the Gentleman caſteth at me moſt contumelious Words, repeating them twice or thrice in the *French* Tongue, againſt me alone, who had not offended him; calling me *Jean Foutre*, *Brugher*, and *Coquin:* I pray, What Fleſh alive, in theſe Conjunctures, could have contained himſelf from taking a juſt Revenge? Let any ſpeak, Whether he could have patiently took the like injurious Words from me? If not, Why ſhould it be my Charge and only Blame, not to have been then ſo patient as to hold my Hands without repelling him, making at me in ſo ſcurvy a Manner? It is true, I then ruſhed upon him; yet, naked as I was, without either Sword, or any Weapon that could do him the Harm he, in that Mutiny, received. Here quickly a World of *Engliſh* crouded about me, by whom I was unkindly, yea harſhly abuſed, and, by naked Swords drawn againſt my Life, compelled to withdraw myſelf thence as I could, eſpecially perceiving none there ſo favourable as would either ſpeak or ſtand in my Behalf.

Upon this, I was not a little afflicted, and tenderly felt what was acted againſt me, a Gentleman, a Stranger, and Innocent, if I had

had been rightly underſtood; againſt whom, none, in my own Country, durſt have attempted ſo much; if not for the Honour of my Deportment, at leaſt for the Reſpect and Duty of my Birth. I ſay no more, but leave it to your Commiſeration to reflect how deeply I reſented this. I know you are well inſtructed all in thoſe wholſome Counſels of Holy Writ, and therefore, with greater Confidence, I now, and ever, did caſt myſelf into your Arms, fearing nothing, *Levit.* xix. *ver.* 33. *And if a Stranger ſojourn with thee in your Land, ye ſhall not vex him.* Exod. xxii. *ver.* 21. *Thou ſhalt neither vex a Stranger, nor oppreſs him, for ye were Strangers in the Land of* Egypt. Exod. xxiii. *ver.* 9. *Alſo thou ſhalt not oppreſs a Stranger, for ye know the Heart of a Stranger, ſeeing ye were Strangers in the Land of* Egypt. I am ſorry that the Gentleman, the Cauſe of all this, ſhould have been wounded; and, if any of my Followers did it, I am the more ſorry, although it were done in my Defence. But, I call God to witneſs, I had not ſo much as a Pin in my Hand then, by which I could in the leaſt harm him.

With theſe unhandſome Injuries I thought to have reſted, hoping the Party, that had affronted me, would have been ſenſible of what he had done, and ſo I would have deemed myſelf ſufficiently ſatisfied. But what? There were ſeveral who abuſed divers *Portugal* Gentlemen, then caſually walking, with Blows and Words. Nay, the Gentleman, of whoſe Wound was complained ſo much, aſſiſted by many others, meeting a *Portugal* Gentleman, ignorant of what had paſſed, ruſhed upon him, and, with a Blow in the Face, wanted but a little to put out one of his Eyes.

I was, and am, ſure all this did proceed but from ſome few ill affected Perſons, and therefore, the Day following, I eſteemed it ſuperfluous to look to myſelf more than uſually.

I ſlighted thoſe, who then publickly bragged, that no *Portugueſe* ſhould then dare to return and expatiate there again: For I ſhould much have admired, if, from the Plurality of this Nation, ſo dear to us all, ſuch hard Speeches and Prohibitions had proceeded, eſpecially remembering how all *Engliſh*, and particularly Gentlemen, are, and have always been loved, and honoured in my Country, where *Portugal* againſt *Portugal* would have boldly and laudably ſtood for any Stranger in ſuch a Rencounter, according to that *Polyanthea*, *Verbo hoſpitalitatis redeo: Do no Harm, nor affront a Gueſt and Stranger; do not ſo much as indanger his Safety*, &c.

Upon theſe Conſiderations, I came the next Night to the *Exchange*, but with a far other Intent than I am accuſed of: I, myſelf, brought no Arms at all, nor any of thoſe that then entered with me; ſo great was my Confidence in the Affection I hoped from the greateſt Part of whomſoever I ſhould find there, ſought for always, and deſerved by my Brother and myſelf. This I did on Purpoſe, perſuading myſelf, with ſweet and civil Language, and with my unarmed Habit of both Mind and Body, to appeaſe and moderate thoſe that, by Chance, might be there unſatisfied, by reaſon of the Miſtake happening the Night before. I call God to witneſs, who ſearcheth the Secrets of Hearts, and I appeal alſo to all the *Engliſh* Gentlemen there to argue me, if hitherto I flinch from the Truth.

For myſelf, I ſtood not at all in Awe of thoſe Threats which I was informed of; but ſome of our Domeſticks followed me of their own Accord, apprehending ſome Danger in my Behalf, ſo to aſſiſt me, if Need were, but only in a defenſive Way, whereſoever it were requiſite. It is true, all are prone to love and reſpect me, to whom I will not give any Thanks upon this Occaſion, but only reſent, and grieve, that they ſhould follow me in ſo great a Number, whoſe Duty, I aſſure them, ſhall be leſs acceptable, becauſe it was not expected; for, I do proteſt, I dreamed not of half ſo many, as that Night came after me. Although, among theſe, ſome had too many Arms, as I ſaid before, yet would not attempt any Thing, if I ſhould enjoy quietly the Liberty of my accuſtomed Walk. I confide, nothing can be laid to their Charge, as done otherwiſe than I relate; yet, if any Thing were untowardly and fooliſhly committed by any one of them, I beſeech it may not be, or ſeem, my Fault, who was ſeriouſly ignorant of it; and I would rigorouſly puniſh them, if my Brother but granted me Leave; nay, I would importune his Excellency, and my King alſo, with bowed Knees, for ſuch a Power, ſo exceſſive is my Sorrow for this moſt unhappy Accident, in which, I hear, we have diſpleaſed ſo many of

this City, and ſingularly of the *Exchange* Merchants, who have aſſerted many Things, wholly unknown to me, againſt me and ours.

It is hard to take away the firſt Impreſſions ſo deeply grounded; yet, I humbly beg of them all, that, without any partial Love or Averſion, each one would ſay no more than his Conſcience dictates, and he aſſuredly knows. I doubt not, this I demand, for none can but pity us, ſeeing we are ſo ſmall a Company, ſo remote from our Country, and to that Condition brought, that moſt are prone to cenſure and condemn us by the very Name of *Portugueſe*; eſpecially, becauſe the total Envy of all this Buſineſs, by moſt, is only aſcribed to us. Let none, I pray, be ſo much our Enemy, as to exaggerate our Crime above Truth, but let all favour us for our former Affection, rather than hate us for this preſent Event.

For you, noble *Engliſh* Gentlemen, pardon me, if I were ſo touched with too quick a Spur of Honour, that nothing could retard me from coming to the ſecond, yet by me unexpected Broil. I never imagined what ſo unluckily fell out, but put a greater Confidence in the civil Character I framed of each one (nor was I deceived in moſt) of a more kind and gallant Diſpoſition, than to give an Origin or Provocation to all this which preſſeth me alone. You know, and experience, how ardent the Thought of Glory is in generous Souls; whence, I grant, that I do not contemn my Life, but I far more value my Honour: Although, I proteſt, if I could have foreſeen what befel, for all thoſe Threats, I had not come to the *Exchange*, but would have waved my Honour, a little blemiſhed by the indiſcreet Counſels and Threats of ſome few: I would not, I ſay, have ventured ſo, before I had made my Way, by my Civility to you all, and procured a better Underſtanding reciprocally betwixt both Parties. But, believe me, I did not think it my Duty either to fear or fly, or to be reconciled to any that juſtly would meet me there upon any unhandſome Terms; for, indeed, I was conſcious that I had peradventure received, but given no Offence to any, that would aright reflect and underſtand me.

Let here that *Engliſh* Gentleman ſpeak, if he will honour and befriend me ſo far in theſe my Straits, for he muſt needs call to Mind, how I then carried myſelf: He firſt expoſtulated quietly with me for what befel the Night before; to whom I replied, in all Meekneſs and Civility, That I was ready, if Need were, to ſatisfy him, and all the *Engliſh* Gentry, as was fit for me to do, and them to demand. This alſo I added and deſired, That none ſhould ſo miſtake me, as to eſteem it any Injury, Contempt, or Quarrel, to them at all; for, indeed, the *Portugal* Gentry can neither preſume, nor wiſh, to conteſt with the *Engliſh*, from whom they ſeek and deſire a firm and ſtable Peace and Union.

While thus Things were carried, behold, all the *Exchangemen*, with great Noiſe, ſhut up their Shops, which I will not interpret to any ill Intention againſt my Perſon; for both I in *French*, as I could, and divers *Engliſh* Gentlemen, cried out aloud, What is the Buſineſs? What needs all this? To what Purpoſe ſo great a Change? Nevertheleſs, no *Portugueſe* did hitherto endeavour any Hoſtility at all, until ſuch Time as a Piſtol was diſcharged, upon the very Aſcent of the lower Walk to the Higher. Here began the unhappy Mutiny, wherein ſo much Ill followed, which I grieve as much as any *Engliſhman* whatever. Unhappy Man! Whoſe Shot that was, a moſt raſh Action, and Cauſe of all this; whether *Engliſh* or *Portugueſe*, if taken, he deſerves no light Puniſhment. I am ſorry, from the Bottom of my Heart, that my People ſhould ſo love me, as, for the Fear they conceived of me, to have made Way through that Throng to ſeek me. I am ſorry, I ſay, becauſe, on both Parts, Blood was ſhed in that Confuſion.

For all this, tell me, I pray, Why that, which ſo unhappily fell out, ſhould only produce Malice againſt me and ours? Is it, becauſe that Powder was found in a Coach? I do proteſt, before Almighty God, I knew nothing of that; nay, I hope that my Brother will not leave him unpuniſhed who committed ſo undiſcreet an Action; not only, thereby, to give Satisfaction to this deſerving Gentry, and loving People, but to myſelf alſo; ſeeing, for that, and ſuch other inconſiderate and tumultuous Actions, I ſuffer theſe no ordinary Things, and very diſproportionable to my Perſon.

This I write, to ſhew my Inclinations impartially for *Portugueſe* and *Engliſh*, both whom I deſire to be dear; yea, and to give the trueſt Relation I could of all this Buſineſs, with

with my Intentions therein. I doubt not, but my Brother, as the Greatneſs of this Affair required, hath made his Addreſſes to the moſt excellent Council, to whoſe Prudence and Safe-guard I commit myſelf: Nay, I truſt and rely more to the Piety of this Nation towards Strangers, and People remote from their Country, than to this Narration of mine, which hath no other Defence for me, but naked Truth; which I lay before the Eyes of all this City, that none have a partial Averſion for me and ours, though otherwiſe this Buſineſs, hitherto, as I hear, in News-Books related, might juſtly deſerve.

I aſk, *laſtly*, in all Humility, of all the *Engliſh* Gentry, that they will not eſteem any Wrong done them by me; ſince even what is effected, was not, nor ſhall the Like be ever intended by me and ours. Aſcribe, I pray you, this whole Accident to Chance, rather than to deliberate Envy, and pardon it, for the Love our Nation hath ever borne to yours. So I demand mine from you, Gentlemen, as my Brother, for his King, Peace and Amity, from all your Common-wealth. Unleſs I were too long, I would compaſſionate many who have ſuffered moſt in this unfortunate Chance; but ſuch Perſon, or Perſons, I will endeavour to comfort and ſatisfy, when I ſhall be delivered from this Priſon, as much inferior to my native Quality, as, I hope, above my Miſdemeanour. In the mean Time, I lament equally, and more, this ſad Conjuncture, than the humble and abject Condition wherein I am, and ſo friendly ſubſcribe myſelf,

*To all the* Engliſh *Gentry, and*

*whole City of* London, *in all Duty*

Newgate, Decemb. 8, 1653. *a devoted Servant,*

PANTALEON SA.

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## The *London* Printer his Lamentation; or, The Preſs oppreſſed, or overpreſſed. *September*, 1660. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

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*In this Sheet of Paper is contained, firſt, a ſhort Account of Printing in general, as its Uſefulneſs, where and by whom invented; and then a Declaration of its Eſteem and Promotion in* England, *by the ſeveral Kings and Queens, ſince its firſt Arrival in this Nation; together with the Methods taken by the Crown for its better Regulation and Government, till the Year* 1640; *when, ſays the Author, this Trade, Art and Myſtery, was proſtituted to every vile Purpoſe, both in Church and State; where he bitterly inveighs againſt* Chriſtopher Barker, John Bill, Thomas Newcomb, John Field, *and* Henry Hills, *as Interlopers, and, under* the King's Patent, *were the only Inſtruments of inflaming the People againſt the King and his Friends*, &c. *As more fully appeareth in the following Paper.*

HOW venerable and worthily honoured, in all Kingdoms and Commonwealths, the wonderful and myſterious Invention, Utility, and Dignity of Printing have always been, cannot be rationally contradicted; comparing it eſpecially with the miſerable Condition and Barbarouſneſs of the Ancients, as well in the Eaſtern as the Weſtern Parts of the World (as *Strabo de Situ Orbis* writeth) who, as he ſaith, for the better Conveying to Poſterity the memorable Acts and Monuments of their preſent Times, conceived and contrived at firſt no better *Medium*, than the Impreſſion thereof with their Fingers, or little Sticks in Aſhes or Sand, thinly diſperſed and ſpread abroad in Vaults and Cells: But, Experience being the Miſtreſs of Art, ſome better Wits at length invented Knives, and other Inſtrumens, for the Inciſion of Letters in Barks of Trees; others, for the Graving or Carving of them in Stone; others, with Pincers in Leaves of Laurel,

Laurel, Fig-trees, and other craſſy Leaves (as in *China*, and other Parts of the *Indies* and Eaſtern Countries) impreſſed their Memorials in uncouth Characters: Since that, the Uſe of Lead was brought in Eſtimation, for the Inſculption of Words in a more convenient Method. But (as the Adage is true, *Facile eſt inventis addere*, and Uſe tends every Day more and more to Perfection) the happy Experiment firſt of Parchment, and then of Paper, was ingeniouſly found out, with the Uſe of Canes, Pencils, Quills, and Ink of ſeveral Sorts: Yet, all this While, the Benefit, accruing by that Invention, tended no further, than to the Compoſing of one ſingle Manuſcript at one Time, by the Labour and Inſcription of one ſingle Perſon: The Rarity and Paucity whereof hath cauſed ſuch Honour, Reverence, and Authority to be put upon the Antiquities of our Anceſtors, as they worthily merit.

But, at length, this vaſt Expence of Time and Pains forced Men's Wits, by a cogent Neceſſity, to enquire into, and ſearch out the more occult and ſecret Myſteries of Art, for the better Convenience and Communication of their Writings: And thereupon, by the Bleſſing of Almighty God, upon the Study and Induſtry of *John Gottenburg*, the rare and incomparable Myſtery and Science of Printing of Books was invented and practiſed at *Mentz* in *Germany*, above two-hundred Years ago; and, ſoon after, that Art was brought over into *England* by one *William Caxton*, a worſhipful Mercer of the famous City of *London*, and there put in Uſe, with meritorious Approbation of the Religious and Virtuous King *Henry the Sixth*, and all the Eſtates of this Kingdom. Since which Time, being about two-hundred and twenty Years elapſed, that ingenious Myſtery, Splendor of Art, and Propagatrix of Knowledge hath been duly countenanced and encouraged, with ſo much Favour and Reſpect of all our *Engliſh* Princes, that it is, by laudable Succeſſion of Time, arrived at that exquiſite Perfection, as we now ſee it in itſelf. For true is the Character of a Printer, to wit:

*Imprimit ille die, quantum non ſcribitur anno.*

In *Engliſh* thus:

In one Day's Time a Printer will print more,
Than one Man write could in a Year before.

To pretermit the Honour and Eſteem placed upon it, in particular, by *Henry the Eighth*, and *Edward the Sixth*, and the Incorporation of the Stationers Company by Queen *Mary*, merely and only for her Favour and Reſpect to the Printers, and not to the Bookſellers (albeit they were both in their ſeveral Faculties then conſtituted in one Body and Society, under one generical and individual Term of *Stationers* *): Let us come to the Reign of the glorious Queen *Eliſabeth*, of ever bleſſed Memory; and then we ſhall plainly and perſpicuouſly diſcover her Majeſty's great Love and Royal Affection to Printing and Printers; who, for the Sake of them and it, ſo far deſcended from her Royal Throne, as that her Highneſs not only made ſeveral gracious Grants unto them, for better Maintaining their Poor, but alſo graciouſly recommended (for the ſpecial Encouragement, and better Subſiſtence of the Maſter Printers) the Regulation of that Myſtery, and the Profeſſors thereof, to the Right Honourable and Judicious, the Lords of her Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy-Council; who, 23 *Junii*, 28 *Eliſ.* made a memorable and noble Decree in the *Star-Chamber*, confining the Number of Maſter Printers in *England* to the Number of twenty, to have the Uſe and Exerciſe of Printing-houſes for the Time being (beſides her Majeſty's Printers, and the Printers allowed for the Univerſities) limiting and confining them within ſuch an excellent Method and ſtrict Regulation, as tended very much to the Peace and Security of the Church and State. But, as the World waxeth old as doth a Garment, and the Corruptions and evil Manners of Times and Men grow daily to a greater Maturity and Ripeneſs in Sin and Wickedneſs; and that all human Kind are boldly inclined to ruſh through any forbidden Miſchief (like the old Race of the Giants, and the Builders of *Babel*) ſo in Tract and Proceſs of Time, and eſpecially in theſe later Days (notwithſtanding the Severity and Authority of that good Decree

* As may more particularly be ſeen in the Charter of this Company, lately publiſhed by *Thomas Oſborne* of *Gray's-Inn*.

of

of the Queen's Time) Printing and Printers, about the Year 1637, were grown to ſuch a monſtrous Exceſs and exorbitant Diſorder, that the prudent Limits and Rules of that laudable Decree were as much tranſgreſſed and infringed at that Time, as the *King's-Bench* Rules in *Southwark* have been extended and eloined in later Days, for Want of due Execution of Juſtice.

Wherefore, by the ſpecial Command of our late Royal and moſt Illuſtrious King *Charles*, of bleſſed Memory, the Right Honourable *Thomas* Lord *Coventry*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*; the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, his Grace the Lord Biſhop of *London*, Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, the Lords Chief Juſtices, and the Lord Chief Baron, being ſat together in Council in the *Star-Chamber*, 11 *July*, 13 *Car.* and reviewing and maturely conſidering the ſaid Decree and Ordinances of the Queen's Time; in very great Wiſdom, Prudence, and Policy of State, thought fit and adjudged not only to confirm the ſame, but alſo to make and ſubjoin thereto ſeveral uſeful and convenient Additions and Supplements, as the Reaſon of State and the Neceſſity of the Times did then require. Which laſt Decree (with due Renown to the Memory of the Makers thereof) was the beſt and moſt exquiſite Form and Conſtitution for the good Government and Regulation of the Preſs, that ever was pronounced, or can reaſonably be contrived, to keep it in due Order and regular Exerciſe.

But now may we well with Sorrow cry out at this Day, with the Comedian, *O Tempora, O Mores!* or, in another Senſe, with the Spouſe in the Canticles, *Ch.* ii. *v.* 15. *Take us the Foxes, the little Foxes, that ſpoil the Vines, for our Vines have tender Grapes.* Never was there ſuch an honourable, ingenious, and profitable Myſtery and Science in the World ſo baſely intruded upon, and diſeſteemed, ſo careleſly regarded, ſo unworthily ſubjected to Infamy and Diſgrace, by being made ſo common, as Printing hath been ſince 1640, in the Days of our miſerable Confuſions and Calamities: Neither can it be repaired, or reſtored to its native Worth and regular Conſtitution, ſo long as ſuch horrid Monſtroſities and gibbous Excreſcences are ſuffered to remain and tumour in that diſorderly and confuſed Body, as now it exiſteth in itſelf.

The exceſſive Number of Printing-houſes and Maſter-printers, or ſuch at leaſt as uſe and exerciſe the Faculty of Printing (though ſome be Bookſellers only by Trade and Education, and others are of other Trades, not relative to Printing) is at preſent multiplied and increaſed to above triple the Number of twenty, conſtituted by that Decree of the *Star-Chamber*; ſo that, by Means of that exorbitant and exceſſive Number of above ſixty Printing-houſes in and about *London*, and the neceſſitous Conditions of many of the Printers themſelves, and the Impoſition of others upon them (who, if they will not adventure to print for them what is unlawful and offenſive to the State and Government, being treaſonable and ſeditious, and moſt profitable for Sale, ſhall not be employed upon Things lawful and expedient) all the Irregularities, Inconveniences, and Miſchiefs, that can be imagined to be committed and done by the too much Liberty and Licenciouſneſs of the Preſs, have been and are occaſioned at this Day, and daily will (without ſome ſpeedy Remedy and Reſtriction, for the better Encouragement of the honeſt and ingenious Artiſts) be continued amongſt us. How can it, in Reaſon, be conceived to ſtand with the Royalty and Dignity of his moſt Excellent Majeſty (whom God Almighty proſper and preſerve) or with the Safety and Security of his Kingdoms, to permit and ſuffer either the fore-mentioned Inconveniencies for the future, or ſuch notorious Impieties and abominable Indignities and Inſolences, done and offered to his Majeſty's moſt Sacred Perſon and Eſtate, to go unpuniſhed in the Actors thereof; who are nevertheleſs in Truth and Reality his Majeſty's Printers; againſt whom there is juſt Cauſe of Complaint at this preſent. As for Example, Mr. *Chriſtopher Barker* and Mr. *John Bill*, by their Education and Quality, have little or no Skill or Experience in the Faculty and Art of Printing, as to the manual Operation thereof, being never brought up in that Myſtery: And the old Proverb is and will be true, to wit, *Senex Pſittacus non capit ferulam.* And albeit they are ſaid and intitle themſelves (by a very queſtionable and doubtful Authority both in Law and Equity) to be his Majeſty's Printers; yet indeed are they but nominal and titular; for that the manual Work and Impreſſion itſelf, as well of the late Acts of Parliament, as alſo of his Majeſty's Proclamations, and other Royal Acts of State, hath been actually performed by *Thomas Newcomb*, *John Field*, and *Henry Hill*, Printers:

Printers: Which three Perſons, to give them their proper Characters, have been the only Inſtruments and Incendiaries againſt, and Enemies to his moſt Sacred Majeſty, and his Friends, in their Stations and Qualities, before and ever ſince the deteſtable and unparalleled Murder of our bleſſed Sovereign his Royal Father, as far as the Extent of the Preſs could make them capable or extant.

Who printed the pretended Act of the Commons of *England* for the Setting up an High Court of Juſtice, for the Tryal of his martyred Majeſty, in 1648? Or, the Acts for Aboliſhing Kingſhip, and Renouncing the Royal Line and Title of the *Stuarts?* Or, for the Declaring what Offences ſhould be adjudged Treaſon? For Taking the Engagement? For Sale of Dean and Chapters Lands? For Sale of the King's, Queen's, and Prince's Goods and Lands, and the Fee-farm Rents? For Sale of Delinquents Lands? Or, the Proclamation of the 13th of *September*, 1652, after the Fight at *Worceſter*, offering one-thouſand Pounds to any Perſon, to bring in his Majeſty's Perſon? But only *John Field*, Printer to the Parliament of *England* (and ſince, by *Cromwell*, was and is continued Printer to the Univerſity of *Cambridge)* omitting many other treaſonable Offences, and egregious Indignities done by him and *H. Hills* to the Royal Family, and good old Cauſe of the King and Kingdom, in all the late Tyrannical Uſurpations. Who printed the *Weekly Intelligencer*, and *Mercurius Politicus*, with the *Caſes of the Commonwealth ſtated*, and that *Intereſt will not lye*, for *Marchamont Nedham*, Gent. from 1650, till the bleſſed and aſſured Hopes of his Majeſty's Reſtoration of late, but *Thomas Newcomb*, Printer, dwelling over-againſt *Baynard's-Caſtle* in *Thames-ſtreet?* And with what familiar Titles of Honour did they ſalute his Majeſty therein, we pray, but of young *Tarquin*, the Son of the late *Tyrant*, the *Titular* King of *Scots*, the young *Pretender*, with an infinite more of the like treaſonable Extraction? Which, for Brevity's Sake, and for that they are of *Milton*'s Strain, and ſo publickly known, and were the weekly Traſh and Trumpery of every Hawker, Pedlar, and petty Carrier, we omit.

But we cannot as yet paſs over his Majeſty's good Friends, *Hills* and *Field* (take them *conjunctim* and *diviſim):* What Zealots and Factors, or Blood-hounds or Tarriers rather, they have been for that Abſtract of Traitors, Tyrants and Uſurpers, *Oliver Cromwell*, his Son *Richard*, and the pretended Committee of *Safety*, in ſearching for, ſeizing and ſuppreſſing, as far as they could, all Books, Treatiſes, and Papers, aſſerting the King's Right and Title to the Crown, or tending to the Promotion of his Intereſt, and Vindication of his Authority, the worſt of his Majeſty's Enemies muſt neceſſarily, with Shame and Deteſtation, confeſs! And is this all that hath been done by *Hills* and *Field* to his Majeſty only, and his Royal Relations and Intereſts? No! Their Impieties and Inſolences have mounted as high, as to become actual and profeſſed Traitors againſt the glorious Crown and Dignity of the *King of Kings*, bleſſed for ever: Have they not invaded, and ſtill do intrude upon his Majeſty's Royal Privilege, Prerogative, and Pre-eminence; and, by the puſillanimous Cowardice, and inſignificant Compact of Mr. *Chriſtopher Barker*, and another of his Name, and, not without probable Suſpicion, by the Conſent and Connivance of Mr. *John Bill* (though he was artificially defeated in his Expectations of Profit) have they not obtained (and now keep in their actual Poſſeſſion) the Manuſcript Copy of the laſt Tranſlation of the Holy Bible in *Engliſh*, atteſted with the Hands of the venerable and learned Tranſlators in King *James*'s Time, ever ſince the Sixth of *March*, 1655; and thereupon, by Colour of an unlawful and forced Entrance in the *Stationers* Regiſtry, printed and publiſhed ever ſince, for the moſt Part, in ſeveral Editions of Bibles (conſiſting of great Numbers) ſuch egregious Blaſphemies and damnable Errata's, as have corrupted the pure Fountain, and rendered God's holy Word contemptible to Multitudes of the People at Home, and a *Ludibrium* to all the Adverſaries of our Religion? Have they not ſuffocated and ſuppreſſed all Books containing pious and religious Prayers and Devotions, to be preſented and offered to the Bleſſed Trinity, for the Bleſſing of Heaven upon his Majeſty's Royal Perſon and Family, and the Church and State, by preventing and obſtructing the Printing of the Common-Prayer, Primmers, and Pſalters, contrary to the Statute of 1 Queen *Eliſabeth*, *c.* 2. and other good Laws and Ordinances, and the Eccleſiaſtical Canons of the Church of *England*; unleſs that they contained Prayers for their late Protector! And are theſe ſmall Offences to be paſt and pardoned, or ſuch as ſhall deſerve the Favour of Indemnity and Oblivion? God forbid!

*Impunitas*

*Impunitas peccati præbet anſam peccandi.* The not Puniſhing of Offences emboldeneth Offenders to commit greater Enormities with brazen Brows, as if they were incorrigible: And, as the Proverb ſaith, *He, that ſaves a Thief from the Gallows, ſhall be firſt robbed himſelf.* Is not the King as the Breath of our Noſtrils, the Anointed of the Lord, his Perſon ſacred, his Authority dreadful? And is not all our preſent and future Security and Happineſs involved in his Majeſty's Preſervation and Proſperity? And ſhall his Majeſty's moſt apparent and implacable Enemies be chiefly entruſted in the great Concernments of his State and Government, as *Newcomb*, *Hills*, and *Field* are under his titular Printers? God forbid. Are there not honeſt and well affected Printers in *London*, ſufficient and able and willing to ſerve his Majeſty, but his grandeſt Adverſaries muſt be picked out for his Service? And are there not Lodgings enough about the City to be had for Convenience, but Mr. *Chriſtopher Barker* and his Family muſt now be entertained at the Houſe of that libidinous and profeſſed Adulterer *Henry Hills* in *Alderſgate-ſtreet*? One that for his Hereſy in Religion (being an *Anabaptiſt*) and his Luxury in Converſation (having hypocritically confeſſed his Fact in Print, and been impriſoned for his Adultery with a Taylor's Wife in *Blackfriars* (would ſcandaliſe a good Chriſtian, and an honeſt Man, to be in his Company. But, it ſeems, the old Confederacy compacted between *Barker*, *Hills*, and *Field*, by the Agitation of *Nedham*, upon their Converſion of the Copy of the Bible, cannot yet be forgotten; albeit it tend never ſo much to the Diſhonour, Diſparagement, and Prejudice of his Majeſty's Affairs? And therefore it is more than Time, as is humbly conceived, that as well the Eſtabliſhment of his Majeſty's Office of Printer, as alſo the Regulation of the Number of Printers in *England* within good Rules and Limits, were ſpeedily provided for and determined; and not any longer be carelefly and improvidently left and ſubjected to ſuch extreme Miſchiefs, and fatal Inconveniences. And moreover, it is very fit to be taken into Conſideration, how much Miſchief and Sedition a Preſs at *New England* may occaſion and diſperſe, in this Juncture of Time, if the Licentiouſneſs thereof be connived at, and any longer tolerated; whenas we daily ſee ſuch Ventilations of Opinions, inclining to Factions and Seditions, are the common Merchandiſe of the Preſs about the City of *London*; which, to a ſober Chriſtian and loyal Subject, are plainly deſtructive both of Church and State; which God for his Glory unite, preſerve, and propagate in the old good Order and Government.

Having thus truly repreſented to publick View the Cauſe of our Lamentation, we will never deſpair of his Majeſty's ſeaſonable and timely Redreſs; being humbly confident, that, for Want of loyal and dutiful Information preſented to his Majeſty, many *Fanaticks* and diſaffected Perſons to his Perſon and Government, by a little counterfeit Converſion and hypocritical Subjection, do continue and creep into his Majeſty's Service, in many great Places of Truſt and Profit, who, being dyed in Grain in the Principles of popular Liberty, would willingly caſt off his Majeſty's ſacred Authority, and abandon his Perſon, as they did his Royal Father's, if God, for our Sins, in Judgment, ſhould permit them the leaſt Opportunity. *Quod malum infandum avertat Deus!*

But, briefly to conclude, we moſt humbly ſubmit the Neceſſity of our ſpeedy Reformation and Redreſs, upon Conſideration of the many great Miſeries and Calamities, that have happened not only in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, but alſo in *Germany*, *France*, the *Netherlands*, *Switzerland*, and other Countries and Places, by the exorbitant and unlawful Exerciſe of Printing in modern Times. Which, had the Science and Uſe thereof been known in the Time of the grand Profeſſion of the *Donatiſt* and *Arian* Hereſies, would have immerged and drowned the whole World in a ſecond Deluge of Blood and Confuſion, to its utter Deſtruction, long Time ſince. Yet however, if our Myſtery be confined within fit and convenient Bounds, and not permitted *tranſilire limites*, it is and will be of ſingular Uſe and Convenience to his Majeſty and his Dominions: Otherwiſe, though the Art be ſo exquiſite and excellent in itſelf, yet, by Corruption and Depravation, it will become the more pernicious and perillous: As the ſtrongeſt and richeſt Wine, for Want of good Curing, will turn to the ſharpeſt Vinegar; and a little Wound or Contuſion, neglected, will ſoon mortify and corrupt itſelf to an immedicable Gangrene.

*Ignis, ab exiguo naſcens, extinguitur undâ;*
*Sed poſtquàm crevit, volitantq; ad ſydera flammæ,*
*Vix putei, fontes, fluvii ſuccurrere poſſunt.*

In *Engliſh* thus:

*A little Fire to quench is done with Eaſe;*
*But, when it rages, and the Flames increaſe,*
*Ponds, Fountains, Rivers ſcarce can it ſurceaſe.*

The Application is eaſily inferred, in Reference to the Inconvenience of exorbitant and irregular Printing in general. And, for his Majeſty's titular Printers Mr. *Barker* and Mr. *Bill*, let them conſider themſelves (as all other wiſe Men will and muſt do) under this trite and excellent Aphoriſm, to wit, *Impoſſibile eſt, vel verè admodùm difficile, ut qui ipſa opera non tractant, peritè valeant judicare.*

*Impoſſible, or very hard be't will,*
*To judge a Work well, wherein th'ave no Skill.*

If a Preſentment ſhould be made of the Matter of this Complaint to any capable Inqueſt in this Kingdom, they would indorſe it *Billa vera*, and not return it with an *Ignoramus*.

*All which is moſt humbly ſubmitted to publick Conſideration, in Hopes of Regulation and ſpeedy Reformation.*

*God ſave the King.*

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Obſervations both Hiſtorical and Moral upon the Burning of *London*, *September* 1666. With an Account of the Loſſes. And a moſt remarkable Parallel between *London* and *Moſcow*, both as to the Plague and Fire. Alſo an Eſſay touching the Eaſterly Wind. Written by Way of Narrative, For Satisfaction of the preſent and future Ages. By *Rege Sincera*. *London*, printed by *Thomas Ratcliffe*, and are to be ſold by *Robert Pawlet*, at the *Bible* in *Chancery-Lane*. 1667. *Quarto*, containing thirty-eight Pages.

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*Many have written concerning this memorable Fire of* London *in* 1666. *But, I preſume, they, that read this, will agree, that none has done it with more Conciſeneſs, Impartiality, and Perſpicuity.*

In the firſt Place, *The Author delivers the plain Hiſtorical Fact, without any Exaggeration or foreign Inſinuations, and* then *enquires, Who has done it? In which Enquiry, he endeavours to ſhew, that it was a Puniſhment ſent by a good and wiſe God upon the City, for juſt, wiſe, and good Cauſes.*

Thirdly, *Enquiring what hath done it? He endeavours to prove, that this was the greateſt Fire that ever happened upon the Earth, ſince the Burning of* Sodom *and* Gomorrah, *and ſhews, at a moderate Computation, that the Loſs amounted to, at leaſt,* 7,335,000 *Pounds. To which, by Way of Conſolation, he adds an Account of the Greatneſs of the City of* Moſcow, *and its Viſitation firſt with a raging Plague, and in the Year following with a conſuming Fire, contrived by the* Tartars, *who purſued the Czar to that City, and ſetting Fire to it on all Sides, which not only burnt the Houſes*

*Houſes and Stuff, but deſtroyed* 200,000 *People alſo in its Flames, in leſs than four Hours Time.*

Fourthly, *He expatiates on the Praiſe of this City of* London, *and then endeavours to find out the Cauſe and Accidents by which this Fire was kindled and promoted; and concludes with ſome proper Reflexions on the Reaſon and Time of this Conflagration.*

To his much honoured and reſpected Friend, *John Buller*, Eſq; a worthy Member of the honourable Houſe of Commons.

*SIR,*

*THIS little Treatiſe having lain dormant in a Corner of my Deſk ever ſince its Birth (which was three Weeks after the Fire) hath got at laſt ſo much Strength as to walk Abroad. The Reaſon of its long Repoſe was, that I expected when ſome more pregnant Wit and better Pen would have undertaken this Taſk, which is altogether out of my Profeſſion and Employment: But, finding that hitherto all that hath been written concerning it, as to the Narrative of its Beginning, Progreſs, and Ending, hath been thought defective, I have given it Leave to ſhew itſelf Abroad, with Obſervations thereon, under your honourable Name, as well to avoid the Malignancy of Cenſure, as to teſtify unto the World how much I am*

Your humble and

affectionate Servant,

*Rege Sincera.*

BEFORE we proceed any further in the Examination of ſo lamentable and diſmal a Subject, we have thought fitting, for the Curioſity of thoſe that ſhall read theſe Lines, and for the Satisfaction of Poſterity, in whoſe Hands it may chance to come, to ſet down the true and naked Narrative of the Fact as it did happen, and as it hath been printed by the Conſent of his Majeſty, and of the publick Authority, that the Reader, being made certain of the Truth of the Accident, may the more willingly proceed to the Examination of thoſe Obſervations we have made upon it.

*Whitehall, September* 8.

ON the Second Inſtant, at One of the Clock in the Morning, there happened to break out a ſad and deplorable Fire in *Pudding-Lane*, near *New-Fiſh-ſtreet*; which falling out that Hour of the Night, and in a Quarter of the Town (ſo cloſe built with wooden pitched Houſes) ſpread itſelf ſo far before Day, and with ſuch Diſtraction to the Inhabitants and Neighbours, that Care was not taken for the timely Preventing the further Diffuſion of it, by pulling down Houſes, as it ought to have been; ſo that this lamentable Fire, in a ſhort Time, became too big to be maſtered by the Engines, or Working near it. It fell out moſt unhappily too, that a violent Eaſterly Wind fomented it, and kept it burning all that Day, and the Night following ſpread itſelf up to *Grace-church ſtreet*, and downwards from *Cannon-ſtreet*, to the Water-ſide, as far as the *Three-Cranes* in the *Vintry*.

The People, in all Parts about it, diſtracted by the Vaſtneſs of it, and their particular Care to carry away their Goods, many Attempts were made to prevent the Spreading of it, by pulling down Houſes, and making great Intervals; but all in vain, the Fire ſeizing upon the Timber and Rubbiſh, and ſo continuing itſelf even through thoſe Spaces, and raging in a bright Flame all *Monday* and *Tueſday*, notwithſtanding his Majeſty's own, and his Royal Highneſs's indefatigable and perſonal Pains to apply all poſſible Remedies to prevent it, calling upon, and helping the People with their

Guards, and a great Number of Nobility and Gentry unweariedly aſſiſting therein; for which they were requited with a thouſand Bleſſings from the poor diſtreſſed People. By the Favour of God, the Wind ſlackened a little on *Tueſday* Night, and the Flames meeting with brick Buildings at the *Temple*, by little and little it was obſerved to loſe its Force on that Side; ſo that, on *Wedneſday* Morning, we began to hope well, and his Royal Highneſs never deſpairing, or ſlackening his perſonal Care, wrought ſo well that Day, aſſiſted in ſome Parts by the Lords of the Council before and behind it, that a Stop was put to it at the *Temple-Church*, near *Holborn-bridge*, *Pye-corner*, *Alderſgate*, *Cripple-gate*, near the lower End of *Coleman-ſtreet*, at the End of *Baſinghall-ſtreet*, by the *Poſtern*, at the upper End of *Biſhopſgate-ſtreet*, and *Leadenhall-ſtreet*, at the *Standard* in *Cornhill*, at the Church in *Fanchurch-ſtreet*, near *Clothworkers-hall* in *Mincing-lane*, at the Middle of *Mark-lane*, and at the *Tower-Dock*.

On *Thurſday*, by the Bleſſing of God, it was wholly beat down and extinguiſhed, but ſo as that Evening it unhappily broke out again at the *Temple*, by the Falling of ſome Sparks (as is ſuppoſed) upon a Pile of wooden Buildings; but his Royal Highneſs, who watched there that whole Night in Perſon, by the great Labours and Diligence uſed, and eſpecially by their applying Powder to blow up the Houſes about it, before Day moſt happily maſtered it.

Divers Strangers, *Dutch* and *French*, were during the Fire apprehended, upon Suſpicion that they contributed miſchievouſly to it, who were all impriſoned, and Informations prepared to make a ſevere Inquiſition thereupon by my Lord Chief Juſtice *Keeling*, aſſiſted by ſome of the Lords of the Privy-Council, and ſome principal Members of the City; notwithſtanding which Suſpicions, the Manner of the Burning all along in a Train, and ſo blown forwards in all its Way by ſtrong Winds, make us conclude the Whole was an Effect of an unhappy Chance; or, to ſpeak better, the heavy Hand of God upon us for our Sins, ſhewing us the Terror of his Judgments in thus raiſing the Fire; and immediately after his miraculous and never enough to be acknowledged Mercy, in putting a Stop to it when we were in the laſt Deſpair, and that all Attempts for the quenching it, however induſtriouſly purſued, ſeemed inſufficient. His Majeſty then ſat hourly in Council, and in his own Perſon making Rounds about the City, in all Parts of it where the Danger and Miſchief was greateſt, till next Morning, that he ſent his Grace the Duke of *Albemarle*, whom he called from Sea to aſſiſt him on this great Occaſion, to put his happy and ſucceſsful Hand to the Finiſhing of this memorable Deliverance.

About the *Tower*, the ſeaſonable Orders given for plucking down Houſes, to ſecure the Magazines of Powder, was more eſpecially ſucceſsful, that Part being up the Wind; notwithſtanding which, it came almoſt to the very Gates of it; ſo as, by this early Proviſion, the ſeveral Stores of War, lodged in the *Tower*, were intirely ſaved; and we have further this infinite Cauſe, particularly to give God Thanks, that the Fire did not happen in any of thoſe Places where his Majeſty's Naval-ſtores are kept; ſo, though it hath pleaſed God to viſit us with his own Hand, he hath not, by diſ-furniſhing us with the Means of carrying on the War, ſubjected us unto all our Enemies.

Through this ſad Accident, it is eaſy to be imagined, how many Perſons were neceſſitated to remove themſelves and Goods into the open Fields, where they were forced to continue ſome Time, which could not but work Compaſſion in the Beholders. But his Majeſty's Care was more ſignal on this Occaſion, who, beſides his perſonal Pains, was frequent in conſulting always for relieving thoſe diſtreſſed Perſons; which produced ſo good Effect, as well by his Majeſty's Proclamations, and the Orders iſſued to the neighbouring Juſtices of Peace, to encourage the Sending in of Proviſion to the Markets, which are publickly known, as by other Directions, that (when his Majeſty, fearing leſt other Orders might not yet have been ſufficient, had commanded the Victualler of his Navy to ſend Bread into *Moorfields*, for the Relief of the Poor, which, for the more ſpeedy Supply, he ſent in Baſkets out of the Sea-ſtores) it was found that the Markets had been already ſo well ſupplied, that the People, being unaccuſtomed to that Kind of Bread, declined it, and ſo it was returned in great Part to his Majeſty's Stores again, without any Uſe made of it.

And we cannot but obſerve, to the Confutation of all his Majeſty's Enemies, who endeavour to perſuade the World Abroad, of great Parties and Diſaffection at Home againſt his Majeſty's

Majeſty's Government, that a greater Inſtance of the Affection of this City could never be given, than hath been now given in this ſad and[9] deplorable Accident, when, if at any Time, Diſorder might have been expected from the Loſſes, Diſtraction, and almoſt Deſperation of ſome Perſons in their private Fortunes, Thouſands of People not having to cover them. And yet, in all this Time, it hath been ſo far from any Appearance of Deſigns or Attempts againſt his Majeſty's Government, his Majeſty and his Royal Brother, out of their Care to ſtop and prevent the Fire, frequently expoſing their Perſons with very ſmall Attendants in all Parts of the Town, ſometimes even to be intermixed with thoſe who laboured in the Buſineſs, yet nevertheleſs there hath not been obſerved ſo much as a murmuring Word to fall from any; but, on the contrary, even thoſe Perſons, whoſe Loſſes rendered their Condition moſt deſperate, and to be fit Objects of their Prayers, beholding thoſe frequent Inſtances of his Majeſty's Care for his People, forgot their own Miſery, and filled the Streets with their Prayers for his Majeſty, whoſe Trouble they ſeemed to compaſſionate before their own.

## *Obſervations.*

THE Philoſophers, Rhetoricians, and Lawyers do agree, that all the Circumſtances of a Fact are happily contained in a *Latin* Verſe framed for that Purpoſe, as well to illuſtrate the Method, which is the Life of Hiſtory, as to help the Memory, which is to reap the Benefit of it; the Verſe runneth thus:

*Quis, quid, ubi, quibus auxiliis, cur, quomodo, quando?*

Who hath done it, what hath he done,
Where, by what Means, wherefore, how, when?

Although theſe Disjunctives ſeem at firſt Sight to carry no great Senſe, nevertheleſs, when they ſhall be thoroughly examined, it will be found, that they do contain all that can be ſaid upon a Subject, and that out of them as out of ſo many living Springs may be drawn all that is neceſſary for the Clearing of a propounded Queſtion; and we will not be aſhamed in this to follow the Method of the Schools and the Authority of the Learned, knowing that whatſoever Fault ſhall be found in it, will rather be imputed to our Incapacity, than to the Foundation we have built upon. Therefore to begin.

*Quis?*

Who hath done it?

### SECT. I.

FOR the Clearing of the Darkneſs wherein the human Underſtanding is naturally wrapped up, in diſtinguiſhing the ſeveral Accidents and Events that happen daily in this ſublunary World: The Philoſophers have eſtabliſhed two principal Cauſes, whereunto every one may have Recourſe for his Satisfaction and the Securing of himſelf, that nothing happeneth by Chance, which is the Opinion of deſperate and atheiſtical Perſons. The firſt and univerſal Cauſe is God Almighty, who, as he alone hath created the World, ſo hath he alſo reſerved to himſelf alone the Government thereof, inſomuch that the leaſt Accidents that befal, depend merely from his Providence, neither is there any Thing hidden to him with whom we have to do; it is he without whoſe Leave and Knowledge not a Hair falleth from our Heads, and who telleth us by his Prophet that, 'There is no Evil in the City but he 'hath done it. This is that firſt Cauſe which ought to captivate our Underſtandings under its Will, to make us admit all Events with an equal Mind, and ſubmit our Patience to his Diſpenſations, ſaying with *David*, 'I did hold 'my Peace becauſe, thou didſt it, *Pſal.* 1. '*Verſe* 21.' The other Cauſes are called *ſecond* Cauſes, becauſe moſt commonly God maketh Uſe of them for the Accompliſhing of his Will, and theſe are divided into as many Branches as there are individual Creatures in the World. By theſe a Man liveth, being begotten by the Seed of his Parents; dieth being ſuffocated, falleth being drunk, is drowned in making Shipwreck, *&c.* Where it is to be obſerved, that ſeveral ſecond Cauſes may concur together to the Production of one and the ſame Effect; as in this ſad and lamentable Accident we ſee the Careleſneſs of a *Baker*, the Solitarineſs and Darkneſs of the Night, the Diſpoſition of old and ruinous Buildings,

the

the Narrowneſs of the Streets, the Abundance of combuſtible and bituminous Matter, the foregoing Summer extraordinary hot and dry, a violent Eaſterly Wind, and the Want of Engines and Water, concur as it were unanimouſly to the Production of this wonderful Conflagration, and to do in four Days what four Armies of Enemies (not oppoſed) could ſcarce have done in eight. The Aſtrologers, whoſe Science is as abſtruſe as uncertain, would fain introduce another Cauſe between the firſt and the ſecond, to wit, the Poſition and Influence of the Celeſtial Bodies; but this Accident will contribute much to ſtop their Mouths; for either they could not foreſee it, or elſe, having foreſeen it, they ſhould have given us Precaution of it, as they do of many other more frivolous Things, and of leſs Conſequence than this; and which are never true but by a Suppoſition that, if they do not happen in our Country, they may happen in another, which is called to *whiten Black*: Let us therefore conclude, that the two Cauſes abovementioned, that is, firſt and ſecond, are ſufficient to move us to humble ourſelves in the Sight of God, who having the Year before deſtroyed in the Space of ſix Months about an Hundred-thouſand People; and ſeeing our impenitent Hearts and ſeared Conſciences return again to our firſt Vomiting, of Pride, Drunkenneſs, Swearing, falſe Dealings, Whoring, Treachery, and other Vices; after he hath taken away the Health of ſome, he taketh away the Wealth of others, and threateneth the reſt with an impendent Famine, by the laſt exceſſive Rains he did ſend, and may ſend again in this Sowing-time; and it will avail nothing here to ſay, as I have heard many, that other Countries, as *France* and *Italy*, are guilty of as many, if not greater Crimes than we are, ſeeing that God chaſtiſeth every Son he loveth, and that he beginneth his Judgments by his own Houſhold, and this Nation having received more Proſperities and Bleſſings from his Hands than any other, and accordingly more peculiarly bound to ſerve and obey him than all the reſt, whom he will find well enough, when he ſeeth his due appointed Time: 'For 'that Servant that knew his Lord's Will, and 'prepared not himſelf, neither did according 'to his Will, ſhall be beaten with many 'Stripes; but he that knew not, and did commit Things worthy Stripes, ſhall be beaten 'with few Stripes: For unto whom much is 'given, of him ſhall be much required, and 'to whom Men have committed much, of 'him they will ask the more. *Luke* xii. 47, '48.'

*Quid?*

What hath he done?

## SECT. II.

THE Anſwer is eaſy. An Incendy, a Conflagration, a Ruin and Devaſtation by Fire, ſuch (as I believe) did never happen by any natural and ordinary Means, for that of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* was ſupernatural and miraculous, the Like being never heard before nor after, that it ſhould rain Fire and Brimſtone ſuddenly, and in ſuch a Quantity in fair Weather; for the Scripture mentioneth that the Sun was riſen upon the Earth; beſides, that, inſtead of calcining the ſaid Towns into Powder, as Fire and Brimſtone will do all ſolid Bodies, it not only turned them, but alſo the Ground on which they ſtood, into a bottomleſs bituminous Lake, which to this Day remaineth before our Eyes for a fearful Example of the Heinouſneſs of Sin, and of the Severity of God's Juſtice. Concerning the Conflagration of *Troy*, and that of *Rome*: The Firſt may be fabulous, or exaggerated by the familiar Hyperboles of Poets, to whoſe Relation chiefly we owe our Belief in that Point. As for that of *Rome*, it is to be believed, that thoſe Heaps of Stones and Marbles, of which ſhe was then built, gave a great Check, if not a Stop, to the Raging of the Fire, and ſtood in the Way of the Tyrant's Pleaſure. Concerning others, as that of * *Conſtantinople*, † *Cracow*, ‡ *Venice*, ‖ *Vienna* in *Auſtria*, § *Delft* in *Holland*, ** *Malines* and *Antwerp*, they came nothing near this, which in three Days and three Nights, of about Four-hundred and ſixty Acres of Ground upon which the City of *London* ſtood, hath ſwept away about Three-hundred and fifty, which is at the Rate of four Parts in five, having deſtroyed about Twelve-thouſand

* *Turkiſh* Hiſtory. † *M. Cromen.* ‡ *Paulus Jovius*, 12 Book. ‖ *Cuſpinian* in Vita Imp. § *Adr. Junius*, ** *Guicciardin*, 12 Book.

Houſes,

Houſes, eighty-ſeven Parochial Churches, beſides ſix or ſeven conſecrated Chapels, and the magnificent and ſtately Cathedral Church of St. *Paul*, the publick and moſt excellent Buildings of the *Exchange*, *Guild-hall*, *Cuſtom-houſe*, and all or very near the Halls belonging to every private Company, beſides an innumerable Quantity of Goods of all Sorts, this City being the beſt Magazine not only of *England*, but alſo of all *Europe*; but, amongſt the reſt, it was a Treaſure unſpeakable of four Commodities, which, for their Luggage and Cumberſomeneſs, could not be reſcued from the Jaws of that unmerciful Element, that is, Wine, Tobacco, Spices, and Books. As for Books, the Bookſellers, who dwelled for the moſt part round about the Cathedral Church, had ſheltered their Books in a ſubterraneal Church under the Cathedral, called St. *Faith*'s, which was propped up with ſo ſtrong an Arch and maſſy Pillars, that it ſeemed impoſſible the Fire could do any Harm to it; but, the Fire having crept into it through the Windows, it ſeized upon the Pews, and did ſo try and examine the Arch and Pillars, by ſucking the Moiſture of the Mortar that bound the Stones together, that it was calcined into Sand: So that, when the Top of the Cathedral fell upon it, it beat it flat, and ſet all Things in an irremediable Flame. I have heard judicious Men of that Trade affirm, that the only Loſs of Books in that Place, and *Stationers-hall*, publick Libraries, and private Perſons Houſes, could amount to no leſs than 150,000 Pounds. I have ſeen Bells and iron Wares melted, Glaſs and Earthen-pots melted together, as it had been by a Fire of Fuſion; the moſt big and ſolid Stones (as thoſe of the Cathedral) ſlit, ſcaled, and in ſome Parts calcined to Powder by the Violence of the Flames. Nevertheleſs, as God's Mercy is above all his Works, and he remembereth it always amongſt his Judgments, I could not learn of above Half a Dozen People that did periſh by that woeful Conflagration; one of them was of my Acquaintance, and a Watch-maker living in *Shoe-lane*, behind the *Globe*-Tavern; his Name was *Paul Lawell*, born in *Strasbourg*, who, being about eighty Years of Age, and dull of Hearing, was alſo deaf to the good Admonitions of his Son and Friends, and would never deſert the Houſe till it fell upon him, and ſunk him with the Ruins in the Cellar, where afterwards his Bones, together with his Keys, were found.

Although the Loſs of ſo famous a City, and of the Riches contained within its Precinct, be ineſtimable, nevertheleſs, to ſatisfy the Curioſity of the Reader, and that of Poſterity, as alſo, to give ſome Light unto thoſe, who, with a more mature Deliberation, ſhall attempt the full Hiſtory of it; we will ſet down the chiefeſt Heads by which it is valued, leaving the Liberty to the judicious Reader, to add to, or ſubtract from, as he ſhall think fit; for we do not pretend here to give an exact Account of all the Loſſes, which we hope, ſome better Wits, and that are more at Leiſure, will undertake hereafter: But only to invite them, by this, to a more curious and earneſt Inquiry of the Truth, and ſo tranſmit to Poſterity a fearful Example of God's Judgment, that they may, in avoiding Sin, alſo avoid the Like, to the Glory and Praiſe of his moſt holy Name.

Let it, therefore, be ſaid again, that, by the Computation of the beſt Geometricians, the City of *London*, within the Walls, was ſeated upon about four-hundred and ſixty Acres of Ground; wherein were built about fifteen Thouſand Houſes, beſides Churches, Chapels, Schools, Halls, and publick Buildings; out of this Quantity of Houſes, twelve Thouſand are thought to be burnt, which is four Parts of five, each Houſe being valued, one with another, at twenty-five Pounds a Year's Rent, which, at twelve Years Purchaſe, maketh three-hundred Pounds, the Whole amounting to three Millions ſix-hundred Thouſand Pounds.

Fourſcore and ſeven Parochial Churches, beſides that of St. *Paul*'s the Cathedral, and ſix conſecrated Chapels, the *Exchange*, *Guildhall*, *Cuſtom-Houſe*, the Halls of Companies, and other publick Buildings, amounting to Half as much, *i. e.* one Million eight-hundred Thouſand Pounds.

The Goods that every private Man loſt, one with another, valued at Half the Value of the Houſes, *i. e.* one Million eight-hundred Thouſand Pounds.

About twenty Wharfs of Coals and Wood, valued at a thouſand Pounds a Piece, *i. e.* twenty Thouſand Pounds.

About

About one-hundred Thouſand Boats and Barges, one Thouſand Cart-loads, with Porters to remove the Goods to and fro, as well for the Houſes that were a burning, as for thoſe that ſtood in Fear of it, at twenty Shillings a Load, *i. e.* one-hundred and fifty Thouſand Pounds.

In all ſeven Millions three-hundred thirty-five Thouſand Pounds.

This being reduced to the Account of *French* Money, taking one Pound Sterling for thirteen Livres, amounteth to ten-thouſand five-hundred and ſixty-nine Millions, ſix-hundred and ſeventy-five Thouſand Livres.

Now, O *London!* it may well be ſaid of thee, *How doth the City ſit ſolitary, that was full of People; how is ſhe become as a Widow; ſhe that was great among the Nations, and Princeſs among the Provinces?* Jerem. Lam. *chap.* i. 1. But Courage, O thou that art now my Country, thou art fallen into the Hands of God, and not of Men; he that chaſtiſeth thee is thy Father, and, if he hath a Rod to puniſh thee, he hath alſo a Staff to comfort thee; turn to him, and he will turn to thee, for he is merciful and long-ſuffering, not willing that any ſhould periſh, but that all ſhould come to Repentance; therefore, be not overwhelmed with Sorrow, nothing hath befallen thee, but hath happened to others before thee; and, if it be true, that the Likeneſs, and Participation of Afflictions, doth mitigate the Senſe of them, that I may ſomething allay thy preſent Sorrow, I will relate thee a Story that hath much parallel with thine, to ſhew thou haſt not been the only Miſerable: It is a true one, written and teſtified by an honourable *Dutch* Merchant, who was an Eye-witneſs to it; and, although it hath been once printed, yet, becauſe the Book is ſcarce, and the Language foreign, I thought thou wouldſt not take it ill, if I ſhould impart it unto thee.

*Moſcow*, the chief City of all the Countries of the Emperor of *Ruſſia*, is a very great City, but not well compacted; it hath, in Compaſs, with the Suburbs, well inhabited, and as full of People as the Town, about three *German* Leagues and a Half, which maketh about fourteen *Engliſh* Miles; the Compaſs of the Town, within the Walls, is about three *Engliſh* Miles; the Streets and Path-ways are of great Trees ſet cloſe together, and ſome Boards by the Houſes Side; and it is ſo dirty in rainy Weather, that it is impoſſible to go through the City, otherwiſe than on Horſe-back; according to the Cuſtom of the Country, where Horſes are of ſmall Value, and of little Expence, never being ſhod for any Journey whatſoever, unleſs it be during the Ice. The Houſes are but one Story high, or two at the moſt, all built with Wood, ſet up at the Top one of another: There are, in the City, Suburbs, and Caſtle, about five-thouſand five-hundred Churches, built, for the moſt Part, like Chapels, moſt of them with great Trees ſet one upon another. The great Duke's Lodging is alſo built of Wood, which he thinketh wholſomer than Stone; the Caſtle is pretty well fortified with Walls and broad Ditches; it occupieth as much Room as all the reſt of the City. On one Side of it dwell the *Sins*, on the other the *Optiſins*, who are as the Treaſurers of the Great Duke, in whoſe Hands, as ſoon as you come, you muſt put in all your Merchandiſes. Being departed from *Nerva*, about the Tenth of *July*, 1570, we came, on the Beginning of *Auguſt*, to *Moſcow*, where I found the Great Duke *, and his Officers, buſy in ſeeking out about thirty Perſons, who fell all under the Sword of the common Hangman, except one who was caſt alive in boiling Water; and this, becauſe they had taken Bribes: Moſt of them were great Lords, and Familiars with the Great Duke; others were Merchants of *Novogrod*, with their Wives, Children, and Families, accuſed of Treaſon in the Behalf of the King of *Poland*. Few Days after, a horrid Plague invaded the Town of *Moſcow*, and the Places about it, with ſuch Violence, that, in four Months, there died above two-hundred and fifty Thouſand People; and it was particularly obſerved, that, in eight Days, that is, from the Tenth to the Eighteenth of *Auguſt*, there died two-thouſand ſeven-hundred and three Prieſts; and this Plague did continue ſo fiercely, that, in the End of it, every one wondered when he met any Body of his Acquaintance.

* This Great Duke was *John Baſilides*, the famous Tyrant.

This

This extraordinary Miſery was followed, the Year after, on the Fifteenth of *May*, by a ſtrange Ruin and Conflagration; the Occaſion was, that the Emperor of the *Tartarians*, being diſcontented that the *Ruſſians* did not pay him ſome annual Tribute; and hearing beſides, that the Great Duke, by his Tyranny and Maſſacres, had ſo depopulated the Country, that he ſhould find no great Reſiſtance that Way, did ſummon him to pay the ſaid Tribute; but the Great Duke returned nothing in Anſwer, but ſpightful and reproachful Words; wherefore, the *Tartarian* came out of his Country, about the End of *February*, followed with an Army of one-hundred Thouſand Horſe, who, within the Space of two Months and a Half, did ride about five-hundred *German* Leagues, which make two-thouſand *Engliſh* Miles: When they were come about two Days Journey from the Frontiers of the Duke, he reſolved to meet them, and to give them Battle; but he loſt it with a prodigious Slaughter of his Men. The Duke, knowing that the *Tartarian* would ſeek him out, ran away, as faſt and as far as he could: He was only within nine Leagues of *Moſcow*, when the *Tartarians* came and encompaſſed the Town, thinking he was within; they ſet a-fire all the Villages round about it; and, ſeeing that the War would prove too tedious for them, reſolved to burn that great City, or, at leaſt, the Suburbs of it: For this Purpoſe, having placed their Troops round about it, they ſet Fire on all Sides, ſo that it ſeemed a burning Globe; then did ariſe ſo fierce and violent a Wind, that it drove the Rafters and long Trees from the Suburbs into the City; the Conflagration was ſo ſudden, that no Body had Time to ſave himſelf, but in that Place where he was then: The Perſons, that were burnt in this Fire, were above two-hundred Thouſand; which did happen, becauſe the Houſes are all of Wood, and the Streets paved with great Fir-trees, ſet cloſe together, which, being oily and roſinous, made the Incendy unexpreſſible, ſo that, in four Hours Time, the City and Suburbs were wholly conſumed. I and a young Man of *Rochelle*, that was my Interpreter, were in the Middle of the Fire, in a Magazine vaulted with Stone, and extraordinarily ſtrong, whoſe Wall was three Feet and a Half thick, and had no Air but on two Sides; one wherein was the Coming in and Going out, which was a long Alley, in which there were three iron Gates, diſtant about ſix Feet from each other; on the other Side there was a Window, or Grate, fenced with three iron Shutters, diſtant Half a Foot one from another: We ſhut them inwardly, as well as poſſibly we could; nevertheleſs, there came in ſo much Smoke, that it was more than ſufficient to choak us, had it not been for ſome Beer that was there, with the which we refreſhed ourſelves now and then. Many Lords and Gentlemen were ſtifled in the Caves, where they had retired, becauſe, their Houſes being made of great Trees, when they fell, they cruſhed down all that was underneath; others, being conſumed to Aſhes, ſtopped all the Paſſages of going and coming out, ſo that, for Want of Air, they all periſhed. The poor Country People, that had ſaved themſelves, in the City, with their Cattle, from threeſcore Miles round about, ſeeing the Conflagration, ran all into the Market-place, which is not paved of Wood, as the reſt; nevertheleſs, they were all roaſted there, in ſuch Sort, that the talleſt Man ſeemed but a Child, ſo much had the Fire contracted their Limbs; and this, by Reaſon of the great Houſes that were round about; a Thing more hideous and frightful than any can imagine. In many Places of the ſaid Market, the Bodies were piled, one upon another, to the Heigth of Half a Pike; which put me into a wonderful Admiration, being not able to apprehend, nor underſtand, how it was poſſible they ſhould be ſo heaped together.

This wonderful Conflagration cauſed all the Fortifications of the Town-wall to fall, and all the Ordnance, that were upon it, to burſt. The Walls were made of Brick, according to the ancient Way of Building, without either Fortifications, or Ditches: Many, that had ſaved themſelves among them, were, nevertheleſs, roaſted, ſo fierce and vehement was the Fire; among them, many *Italians* and *Walloons* of my Acquaintance. While the Fire laſted, we thought that a Million of Cannons had been thundering together, and our Thoughts were upon nothing but Death, thinking that the Fire would laſt ſome Days, becauſe of the great Circumference of the Caſtle and Suburbs; but all this was done in leſs than four Hours Time, at the End of which, the Noiſe growing leſs,

we were curious to know, whether the *Tartarians*, of whom we ſtood in no leſs Fear than of the Fire, were entered. They are a warlike People, though they eat nothing but Roots, and ſuch other like Subſtance, and drink only Water. The greateſt Lords among them feed upon Fleſh baked between a Horſe and the Saddle, wherein rideth the Horſeman: Nevertheleſs, they are very ſtrong, luſty, and inured to all Hardſhip, as, alſo, are their Horſes, who are wonderful ſwift, and will travel further, in one Day, eating nothing but Graſs, than ours will do in three, feeding upon Oats; therefore, the *Tartarians* come ſo eaſily, from ſo far, to invade the *Ruſſians*. They have alſo that Craft, that they only come in the Summer, for the Conveniency of their Horſes: Their Country is temperate, from whence they come about the latter End of *February*, that they may be in *Ruſſia* about the Beginning of *June*, and go back again, into their own Country, at the End of it, leſt they ſhould be overtaken by the Winter in *Ruſſia*; which, if it ſhould fall out, they would be all ſtarved, becauſe of the great Deſerts uninhabited, containing above three-hundred *German* Leagues, and, therefore, void of all Relief, as well for themſelves, as for their Horſes, there being then no Graſs upon the Ground; which conſtraineth them to make ſuch a Journey, which is of above twelve-hundred *German* Leagues, in four or five Months Time, with all their Army, which conſiſteth commonly of about one-hundred and fifty Thouſand, or two-hundred Thouſand Horſes, as good as can be; but the Horſemen are but ſlightly armed, having, for all Weapons, a Jack of Mail, a Dart, and Bow and Arrows; they know nothing of what belongeth to Guns, having, in all their Country, but two Cities, wherein the Emperor keepeth his Court, without any Villages or Houſes, but are contented to live under Tents, which they remove to and fro, as they ſee Occaſion.

But to come again to our Miſery, after we had hearkened a While, we heard ſome *Ruſſians* running to and fro, through the Smoke, who were talking of walling the Gates, to prevent the Coming in of the *Tartarians*, who were expecting when the Fire went out. I and my Interpreter, being come out of the Magazine, found the Aſhes ſo hot, that we durſt ſcarce tread upon them; but, Neceſſity compelling us, we ran towards the chief Gate, where we found twenty-five or thirty Men eſcaped from the Fire, with whom, in a few Hours, we did wall that Gate, and the reſt, and kept a ſtrict Watch all that Night with ſome Guns that had been preſerved from the Fire. In the Morning, ſeeing that the Place was not defenſible with ſo few People as we were, we ſought the Means to get into the Caſtle, whoſe Entry was then inacceſſible; the Governor was very glad to hear of our Intention, and cried to us, *We ſhould be very welcome*; but it was a moſt difficult Thing to come in, becauſe the Bridges were all burnt, ſo that we were fain to get over the Wall, having, inſtead of Ladders, ſome high Fir-trees thrown from the Caſtle to us, wherein, inſtead of Rounds to get up, they had made ſome Notches, with a Hatchet, to keep us from ſliding: We got up then, with much ado; for, beſides the evident Inconveniency of thoſe rough Ladders, we did carry about us the Sum of four-thouſand Thalers, beſides ſome Jewels, which was a great Hinderance to us to climb along thoſe high Trees; and that, which did double our Fear, was, that we ſaw before our Eyes ſome of our Company, that had nothing but their Bodies to ſave, yet tumble down from the Middle of thoſe high Trees into the Ditch, full of burnt Bodies, ſo that we could not tread but upon dead Corpſes, whoſe Heaps were ſo thick every where, that we could not avoid to tread upon them, as if it had been a Hill to climb up; and that, which did augment our Trouble, was, that, in treading upon them, the Arms and Legs broke like Glaſs; the poor Limbs of theſe Creatures being calcined, by the vehement Heat of the Fire, and our Feet ſinking into thoſe miſerable Bodies, the Blood and the Filth did ſquirt in our Faces, which begot ſuch a Stench all the Town over, that it was impoſſible to ſubſiſt in it.

The Twenty-fifth of *May*, in the Evening, as we expected, in great Perplexity, what the *Tartarians* would attempt againſt us, who were about four-hundred in the Caſtle: The *Tartarians*, whom we had ſaluted with our Guns, and killed ſome of them that were come too near one of the Caſtle-gates, began to go back the ſame Way that they came in, with ſo much Speed, that, the next Morning, all that Torrent was drained up; for which, having given God Thanks, and ſet our Buſi-

neſs

neſs in Order, as well as the preſent Calamity would permit, we went away from that deſolate Place.

Now, O *London!* conſider that thy Fate is not peculiar to thyſelf, and that will allay the Bitterneſs of thy Sufferings; remember alſo, that, if thou ſanctifieſt this Affliction to thy Uſe, the Lord promiſeth by his Prophet, *That thoſe ſhall reap in Joy who did ſow in Tears.* Pſal. cxxvi. 6.

*Ubi?*

*Where?*

## SECT. III.

IN the richeſt City of *Europe*, and perhaps in the World; the greateſt Magazine that could be found for all Sorts of Merchandiſes, incomparable for the Salubrity of the Air, and Conveniency of Situation; magnificent in publick Buildings; illuſtrious in good Deeds; renowned for Hoſpitality; famous for Government; venerable for Antiquity; having ſubſiſted about two-thouſand Years; inhabited by Citizens, whoſe Courage was equal to their Fortunes; in a Word, a City of which it might be ſaid more truly than of *Ormus*:

*Si terrarum orbis quaqua patet annulus eſſet,*
*Londinum illius gemma decuſque foret.*

This Circumſtance, which we tread over ſo ſlightly, that we may not be ſuſpected of Flattery, is not the leaſt that aggravateth the Enormity of this Accident; there is none of thoſe Characters, we have given it, but are very true, and might be the worthy Employment of a better Pen than mine, and the Subject of a full Volume.

*Quibus Auxiliis?*

By whoſe Help?

## SECT. IV.

HERE we muſt have Recourſe to what we have ſaid before in the firſt Paragraph, when we ſpoke of the ſecond Cauſes, and ſay that God hath made Uſe chiefly of eight Things to accompliſh this Work. The Negligence of the Maſter or his Servants, in whoſe Houſe the Fire did firſt begin; the Solitarineſs of the Night, the Narrowneſs of the Place, the Weakneſs of the Buildings, the Quantity of combuſtible and bituminous Matters gathered thereabouts, the preceding Summer which was extraordinarily hot and dry, the Eaſt-wind that blew violently all that While, and the Want of Engines and Water to quench the Fire; we ſhall give every one its little Section, to ſatisfy the Curioſity of theſe, who inquire ſo much of the Cauſes that have made this Conflagration ſo violent, diſmal, and irremediable.

I. Though there be ſome Accidents which no human Prudence can prevent; as when a Man either in his own Houſe, or going through the Street, is craſhed by a ſudden Ruin; nevertheleſs, the Philoſophers are not to blame, when they ſay that every one may be the Author of his own Fortune, for it is certain, that, if a Man neglecteth or forſaketh that Providence given him by Nature, he doth together forſake the Inſtrument and the Means which his good Genius maketh Uſe of, to make him avoid the ill Accidents that may befall him; for, as our Soul doth only act by the Organs of our Body, ſo our Genius either good or bad cannot act but by the Means of our Soul; now if our Soul enjoyeth a ſound and temperate Body, and doth her Functions with Purity and Facility; that Genius, which is always near hand, and as it were whiſpering at our Ear, doth move and ſtir her to the Preſervation of whatſoever belongeth or concerneth her: If, on the Contrary, this Soul inhabiteth a Body dyſcratiated, melancholick, full of Obſtructions, or drowned in the Exceſſes of Eating and Drinking, or Paſſions, its Nature being igneous, and never ceaſing from Action; it neceſſarily followeth, that, according to the Diſpoſition of the Organs, ſhe turneth to the wrong Way, and neglecteth thoſe Things wherein ſhe is merely concerned. Now, in Things that might be prevented or remedied, it is an invalid Excuſe to ſay, I would never have thought that ſuch a Thing ſhould happen. For who can attribute it to a mere Accident to put Fire in an Oven, and to leave a Quantity of dry Wood, and ſome Flitches of Bacon by it, within the Sphere of its Activity, and ſo go to Bed, in leaving his Providence with his Slippers.

I remember that, ſome thirty-ſix Years ago, in a Town of *Brie*, a Province of *France*, called *Sezane*, upon a *Sunday* Morning, a Woman

that kept a Chandler's Shop, having Occaſion to ſnuff a Candle, threw the Snuff into a Corner of her Shop, among ſome old Rags and Papers, and ſo ſhutting the Door went to *Maſs*; but, within the Space of half an Hour, and before ſhe could come back again, not only her Houſe, but thoſe of her Neighbours were all in a Flame, which being helped by an Eaſt-wind which blew at that Time, and which is the moſt dangerous of all the Winds for Incendies, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter, did in the Space of a Day and a Night conſume the whole Town, conſiſting of about four-hundred Houſes. Can this be called a mere Accident, ſince there is Nobody ſo void of common Senſe, but might have either foreſeen, or prevented ſo calamitous a Conſequence?

II. The ſecond Cauſe of this Misfortune is, the Time wherein it did happen, to wit, about One of the Clock in the Night, when every one is buried in his firſt Sleep; when ſome for Wearineſs, others by Deboiſtneſs, have given Leave to their Cares to retire; when Slothfulneſs and the Heat of the Bed have riveted a Man to his Pillow, and made him almoſt incapable of waking, much leſs of acting and helping his Neighbours.

III. The Narrowneſs of the Place did alſo much contribute to this Conflagration, for the Street where it did happen, as alſo moſt of thoſe about it, were the narroweſt of the City, inſomuch that in ſome a Cart could ſcarce go along, and in others not at all. The Danger, I did once run of my Life thereabouts by the Crowd of Carts, hath cauſed me many Times to make Reflexion on the Covetouſneſs of the Citizens, and Connivency of Magiſtrates, who have ſuffered them from Time to Time to incroach upon the Streets, and to jet the Tops of their Houſes, ſo as from one Side of the Street to touch the other; which, as it doth facilitate a Conflagration, ſo doth it alſo hinder the Remedy, and beſides taketh away the Liberty of the Air, making it unwholeſome, and disfigureth the Beauty and Symmetry of the City. I hope that for the Future his Majeſty, his Council, and that of the City, will take Care that ſuch Diſorder happen no more, and will cauſe this City to be as commodious in its Buildings, as it is happy in its Situation.

IV. Now followeth the Weakneſs of the Buildings, which were almoſt all of Wood, which by Age was grown as dry as a Chip: This Inconvenience will eaſily be remedied, in Building the Houſes with Stone or Brick, according to the Statutes and Ordinances of Parliament provided and enacted long ago in that Behalf, though for the moſt Part ill obſerved.

V. The Quantity of combuſtible and bituminous Matter hath given the greateſt Encouragement to this devouring Fire; for, as the Place where the Fire begun was not far from the *Thames*, and from thoſe Wharfs where moſt Merchandiſes are landed, ſo *Thames-ſtreet*, and others thereabouts, were almoſt Nothing elſe but Magazines of combuſtible and ſulphureous Merchandiſes: Thereabouts were a prodigious Quantity of Oil, Butter, Brandy, Pitch, Brimſtone, Saltpetre, Cables, *&c.* and by the *Thames* Side were almoſt all Wharfs full of Coals and Wood. Now as Fire of itſelf is nothing but Light which corporifieth itſelf in the Matter, and acteth more or leſs according to the Diſpoſition of it, as we ſee that a Fire of Straw is leſs violent than that of Coals; it followeth that this Fire, having lighted upon theſe ſulphureous and bituminous Matters, did feed upon them as in its proper Element, and not only devoured them with Eaſe, but imparted to the next combuſtible Matters a Diſpoſition more fitting and apt to receive it. The Nature of this ſulphureous Fire was evidently ſeen in the Melting of Bells, Iron, Pots, Glaſſes, and other metallick Things, and in the Calcining of Stones and Bricks, which no other ſingle Fire of Wood, Coals, or other vulgar Matter could have done. I remember that, ſome four or five Years ago, the Lightning fell in *Herefordſhire* without doing any Harm in the Country, but, being extinguiſhed of itſelf, the Exhalation of it did mix itſelf with a ſtrong Weſterly Wind, that came as far as *London*, beating down Houſes, plucking up Trees by the Roots, and, to ſhew its nitrous and ſulphureous Nature, did as it were neglect to touch Wood, but did chiefly ſtick upon Metal, and either broke or bent it; the Tokens of it are ſeen to this Day upon the Steeples of *Bow-church*, St. *Andrew*, St. *Giles Cripplegate*, the *May-Pole*, and other Places. Theſe ſulphureous Matters were alſo the Cauſe of another Inconveniency, which

is,

is, that the Fire, being corporified in them, did extend the Sphere of its Activity at a further Diſtance than ordinary, and caſt its burning Beams furtheſt off, mixing more exactly its Atoms in the Air, which it turneth almoſt into its own Nature; which was the Cauſe, that Nobody could come nearer that Fire than a hundred or two-hundred Paces.

VI. The foregoing Summer, that was extraordinarily hot and dry, had alſo diſpoſed the Matter of the Buildings to admit the Fire more quickly and eaſily, by ſucking not only the intrinſecal Moiſture that was in them, but alſo that of the Air which might have moiſtened them; for, though there be no Rain falling, nevertheleſs there is a certain vapouriſh Moiſture in the Air, which, if it be not dried up, doth moiſten all porous Things intrinſecally, and doth condenſe itſelf upon the ſolid ones, in the Form of an oleaginous Moiſture, as doth appear upon Marbles and Glaſſes.

VII. In cometh now the Eaſt-wind to play its Part in this Tragedy. That unfortunate Wind, of which it is commonly ſaid, that it is neither good for Man nor Beaſt, did blow with ſuch a wonderful Fierceneſs all the Time of the Conflagration, that it did not only quicken the Fire, as Bellows do the Furnaces, but alſo, getting into the Streets, and among the Houſes, when it found any Let or Hinderance that did recoil it back, it blew equally both to the Right and to the Left, and cauſed the Fire to burn on all Sides, which hath perſuaded many that this Fire was miraculous: I myſelf remember, that going into ſome Streets at that Time and having the Wind impetuouſly in my Face, I was in Hope that at my Return I ſhould have it in my Back, but it was all one, for the Reaſon aforeſaid. It would be here too tedious to ſpeak of the Nature of Winds, and to ſhew many Reaſons why this Wind is ſo dry in *England*, as to burn the Flowers and Leaves of the Trees, more than the hotteſt Sun can do; one, which, I think ſatisfactory, will ſerve for all: It is therefore to be obſerved, that Winds do not only participate of the Nature of the Places where they are begot, but alſo of that of the Countries through which they paſs: Now all the Southern, Weſtern, and Northern Winds muſt paſs through the great Ocean to come into *England*, in which Paſſage there mixes with them Abundance of Vapours, which cauſe their Moiſture, except the North-wind, wherein the Moiſture is condenſed by the Cold; but the Eaſt-wind to come to us muſt paſs over the greateſt Continent in the World, *France*, *Germany*, *Hungary*, *Greece*, *Perſia*, &c. even to *China*; ſo that, in purſuing ſuch a Tract of Land, it not only droppeth down by the Way its moiſt Effluviums, the Earth, as it were, ſucking them for its Irroration, but alſo carrieth along all the hot and dry Exhalations that perpetually ariſe out of the Earth, which is the Cauſe of its dry and burning Quality. I had formerly a little Garden, where I did beſtow as much Pains and Care as I could, to bring up ſome young Fruit-trees that were in it, having the Advantage of a very good Mould; but being ſeated Eaſtward, and cloſed narrowly by a brick Wall on either Side; this Wind, that reigneth conſtantly here in *England*, in the Months of *March*, *April*, and Beginning of *May*, did, in their Budding, ſo burn the Leaves and the Flowers, that the hotteſt Sun could not do the like; ſo that I was fain to give it over, having been two or three Years, before I could underſtand that Myſtery, and the Nature of that Wind in this Country, for there are ſome other Countries where this Wind is ſalubrious and fruitful enough.

VIII. It was alſo a great Contributing to this Misfortune, that the *Thames* Water-houſe was out of Order, ſo that the Conduits and Pipes were almoſt all dry; as alſo, that the Engines had no Liberty to play, for the Narrowneſs of the Place, and Crowd of the People, but ſome of them were tumbled down in the River, and among the reſt, that of *Clerkenwell*, eſteemed one of the beſt.

And thus, courteous Reader, thou ſeeſt an admirable Concurrence of ſeveral Cauſes, for the putting of God's Will in Execution; in other Cities that are not ſubject to Conflagrations, as *Paris*, which is all built of Free-ſtone, the Inundations have ſeveral Times played their Pranks; other Towns, as in *Italy*, that think themſelves exempted from Fire and Water, come to their Periods by fearful Earthquakes; others, that eſcape Fire, Water, and Earth, do periſh by the Meteors of the Air, and are calcined by the Lightning; ſo that God Almighty never wanteth Inſtruments to compaſs his Will; and it ſeemeth that the four Elements, of which this World is compounded,

Pounded, do conſpire againſt the Happineſs and Quietneſs of Man, when, by their daily Prevarications, they go about to confirm the Diſobedience of our firſt Parents.

*Cur?*

Why?

SECT. V.

HERE it is that we muſt wholly ſtoop and humble ourſelves under the mighty Hand of God, and anſwer with the Apoſtle, *O the Depth of the Riches of the Wiſdom and Knowledge of God, how unſearchable are his Judgments, and his Ways paſt finding out! For who hath known the Mind of the Lord, or who hath been his Counſellor?* Rom. xi. 33. Let it ſuffice thee, O Man, to know, that whether he hath done it to puniſh thee for thy Sins, or to try thy Faith and exerciſe thy Patience; if thou canſt make Benefit of this Affliction, and ſanctify it to thy Uſe; we know that all Things work together for Good, to them that love God.

*Quomodo?*

How?

SECT. VI.

THIS Circumſtance is anſwered by the Contents of the fourth.

*Quando?*

When?

SECT. VII.

WHEN we were newly come out of a Civil War of twenty Years ſtanding, where it is thought above One-hundred-thouſand People did periſh.

When the Plague had the Year before ſwept away above One-hundred-thouſand People, and was ſtill raging.

When the Kingdom was exhauſted of Money, and Trade loſt.

When we had Wars with *France*, *Denmark*, and *Holland*, and not without Fear of Diviſions among ourſelves.

Then, even then, came this dreadful Fire, after the Aggregation of ſo many Judgments before (like *Job*'s Comforter, after his unwelcome Meſſengers) but then, even then, did our ſeeming utter Deſtruction appear; but, by our heavenly Father's paternal Corrections, and by his Mercy, we are ſecured from our Fears by Peace and Quietneſs, both at Home and Abroad, and reſtored to the Hopes of a flouriſhing Nation, and the moſt glorious City of the World.

*Creſcit ſub pondere virtus.*

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## A Satyr on the Earl of *Oxford*, Lord *Bolingbr---k*, Mr. *Moor*, and Mr. *Prior*. *MS.*

OH! the wretched Peace-Makers,
*Bob*, *Harry*, *Arthur*, *Matt.**
Who've loſt our Trade,
Our Friends betray'd,
And all to ſerve a Chamber-maid †.

Oh! the wretched damn'd ſham Peace,
That muſt our Rents and Stock decreaſe,
Muſt ſtarve our Poor,
And open the Door
To let in a *Popiſh* Son of a Wh——

*Marlborough* the Great,
Our Foes did defeat,
May they ſtill by him be bang'd;
May the Skip ‡ be ſtript,
And the Drawer ‖ whipt,
But *Bob* and *Harry* hang'd.

* *Oxford, Bolingbrook, Moor, Prior.* † *Maſſam.* ‡ *Moor.* ‖ *Prior.*

The

The Memoirs of Monſieur *Du Vall*, containing the Hiſtory of his Life and Death. Whereunto are annexed his laſt Speech and Epitaph. Intended as a ſevere Reflexion on the too great Fondneſs of *Engliſh* Ladies towards *French* Footmen, which, at that Time of Day, was a too common Complaint.

*Si quis*
*Opprobriis dignos latraverit, integer ipſe,*
*Solventur riſu tabulæ.* Horat.

*London*: Printed 1670. *Quarto*, containing nineteen Pages.

*Claude du Vall* was born, *Anno* 1643, at *Domfront* in *Normandy*, a Place very famous for the Excellency and Healthfulneſs of the Air, and for the Production of Mercurial Wits. At the Time of his Birth, (as we have ſince found, by Rectification of his Nativity, by Accidents) there was a Conjunction of *Venus* and *Mercury*, certain Preſages of very good Fortune, but of a ſhort Continuance. His Father was *Pierre du Vall*, a Miller; his Mother *Marguerite De la Roche*, a Taylor's Daughter. I hear no Hurt of his Parents, they lived in as much Reputation and Honeſty, as their Conditions and Occupations would permit.

There are ſome that confidently aver he was born in *Smock-alley* without *Biſhopſgate*; that his Father was a Cook, and ſold boiled Beef and Porridge: But this Report is as falſe as it is defamatory and malicious, and it is eaſy to diſprove it ſeveral Ways; I will only urge one demonſtrative Argument againſt it: If he had been born there, he had been no *Frenchman*; but, if he had been no *Frenchman*, it is abſolutely impoſſible he ſhould have been ſo much beloved in his Life, and lamented at his Death by the *Engliſh* Ladies.

His Father and Mother had not been long married, when *Marguerite* longed for Pudding and Mince pye, which the good Man was fain to beg for her at an *Engliſh* Merchant's in *Rouen*, which was a certain Sign of his Inclination to *England*. They were very merry at his Chriſtening, and his Father, without any Grumbling, paid alſo then the Fees for his Burial; which is an extraordinary Cuſtom at *Domfront*, not exerciſed any where elſe in all *France*, and of which I account myſelf obliged to give the Reader a particular Account.

In the Days of *Charles the Ninth* of that Name, the Curate of *Domfront* (for ſo the *French* name him whom we call Parſon and Vicar) out of his own Head, began a ſtrange Innovation and Oppreſſion in that Pariſh; that is, he abſolutely denied to baptiſe any of their Children, if they would not at the ſame Time pay him alſo the Funeral Fees; and what was worſe, he would give them no Reaſon for this Alteration, but only promiſed to enter Bond for himſelf and his Succeſſors, that hereafter all Perſons, paying ſo at their Chriſtening, ſhould be buried *gratis*: What think ye the poor People did in this Caſe? They did not pull his Surplice over his Ears, nor tear his Maſs-book, nor throw Crickets at his Head; no, they humbly deſired him to alter his Reſolution, and amicably reaſoned it with him; but he, being a capricious Fellow, gave them no other Anſwer, but, What I have done, I have done, Take your Remedy where you can find it; 'tis not for Men of my Coat to give an Account of my Actions to the Laity. Which was a ſurly and quarrelſome Anſwer, and unbefitting a Prieſt. Yet this did not provoke his

his Pariſhioners to ſpeak one ill Word againſt his Perſon or Function, or to do any illegal Act. They only took the regular Way of complaining of him to his Ordinary, the Archbiſhop of *Rouen*. Upon Summons, he appears; the Archbiſhop takes him up roundly, tells him, He deſerves Deprivation, if that can be proved which is objected againſt him: And aſked him, What he had to ſay for himſelf? After his due Reverence, he anſwers, That he acknowledges the Fact, to ſave the Time of examining Witneſſes; but deſires his Grace to hear his Reaſons, and then do unto him as he ſhall ſee Cauſe. I have been, ſays he, Curate of this Pariſh theſe ſeven Years; in that Time I have, one Year with another, baptiſed a hundred Children, and buried not one. At firſt I rejoiced at my good Fortune, to be placed in ſo good an Air; but, looking into the Regiſter-book, I found, for a hundred Years back, near the ſame Number yearly baptiſed, and not one above five Years old buried: And, which did more amaze me, I find the Number of the Communicants to be no greater now than they were then: This ſeemed to me a great Myſtery; but, upon further Enquiry, I found out the true Cauſe of it; for all that are born at *Domfront* were hanged at *Rouen*. I did this to keep my Pariſhioners from Hanging, encouraging them to die at Home, the Burial Duties being already paid.

The Archbiſhop demanded of the Pariſhioners, Whether this was true or not? They anſwered, That too many of them came to that unlucky End at *Rouen*. Well then, ſaid he, I approve of what the Curate has done, and will cauſe my Secretary, in *perpetuam rei memoriam*, to make an Act of it; which Act the Curate carried Home with him, and the Pariſh chearfully ſubmitted to it, and have found much Good by it; for, within leſs than twenty Years, there died fifteen of natural Deaths, and now there die three or four yearly.

But, to return to *Du Vall*, it will not, I hope, be expected that I ſhould, in a true Hiſtory, play the Romancer, and deſcribe all his Actions from his Cradle to his Saddle, telling what childiſh Sports he was beſt at, and who were his Play-fellows; that were enough to make the Truth of the whole Narration ſuſpected; only one important Accident I ought not to omit.

An old Friar, accounted very expert in Phyſiognomy and judicial Aſtrology, came on a Time to ſee old *Du Vall* and his Wife (for ſo we call him to diſtinguiſh him from his Son). They had then, by extraordinary good Fortune, ſome *Norman* Wine, that is, Cider, in their Houſe, of which they were very liberal to this old Friar, whom they made heartily welcome, thinking nothing too good for him.

For thoſe ſilly People, who know no better, account it a great Honour and Favour, when any Religious Perſon, as a Prieſt or Friar, are pleaſed to give them a Viſit, and to eat and drink with them. As theſe three were ſitting by the Fire, and chirping over their Cups, in comes *Claude*, and broke the Friar's Draught, who fixed his Eyes attentively upon him, without ſpeaking one Word for the Space of half an Hour, to the Amazement of *Claude*'s Parents, who, ſeeing the Friar neither ſpeak nor drink, imagined he was ſick, and courteouſly aſked him, Brother, what ails you? Are you not well? Why do you ſo look upon our Son? The Friar, having rouſed himſelf out of his Extaſy, Is that Stripling, ſays he, your Son? To which, after they had replied, Yes, Come hither, Boy, quoth he; and, looking upon his Head, he perceived he had two Crowns, a certain Sign that he ſhould be a Traveller. This Child, ſays he, will be a Traveller, and he ſhall never, during his Life, be long without Money; and, wherever he goes, he will be in extraordinary Favour with Women of the higheſt Condition. Now, from this Story, the Certainty of Phyſiognomy and judicial Aſtrology is evidently proved; ſo that from henceforward whoever ſhall preſume to deny it, ought not to be eſteemed a Perſon in his right Wits.

*Pierre* and *Marguerite* looked upon the Friar as an Oracle, and mightily rejoiced at their Son's good Fortune; but it could not enter into their Imagination, how this ſhould come to paſs, having nothing to leave him as a Foundation to build ſo great a Structure upon.

The Boy grew up, and ſpoke the Language of the Country fluently, which is Lawyers *French*, and which (if I ſhould not offend the Ladies, in comparing our Language with theirs) is as much inferior to that at *Paris*, as *Devonſhire* or *Somerſetſhire Engliſh* to that ſpoken at *White-hall*.

I ſpeak not this to diſgrace him, for, could he have ſpoke never ſo good *French*, it is not in ſuch high Eſteem there as it is here; and it very

very rarely happens, that, upon that Account alone, any great Man's Daughter runs away with a Lacquey.

When he was about thirteen or fourteen Years old, his Friends muſtered their Forces together to ſet him up in the World; they bought him Shoes and Stockings, for (according to the laudable Cuſtom of that Country, of inuring their Youth to Hardſhip) till then he had never worn any; they alſo bought him a Suit of the Brokers, gave him their Bleſſing and twenty *Sous* in his Pocket, and threw an old Shoe after him, and bid him go ſeek his Fortune: This Throwing of an old Shoe after him was looked upon as a great Piece of Prodigality in *Normandy*, where they are ſo conſiderable a Merchandiſe; the Citizens Wives of the beſt Quality wearing old Shoes chalked, whence, I ſuppoſe, our Cuſtom of Wearing white Shoes derives its Original.

His Friends adviſed him to go to *Paris*, aſſuring him he would not fail of a Condition there, if any could be had in the World; for ſo the *French* call *Paris*. He goes to *Rouen*, and fortunately meets with Poſt-Horſes, which were to be returned, one of which he was proffered to ride *gratis*, only upon Promiſe to help to dreſs them at Night. And, which was yet more fortunate, he meets ſeveral young *Engliſh* Gentlemen, with their Governors, going to *Paris*, to learn their Exerciſes, to fit them to go a wooing at their Return Home; who were infinitely ambitious of his Company, not doubting but, in thoſe two Days Travel, they ſhould pump many conſiderable Things out of him, both as to the Language and Cuſtoms of *France*, and, upon that Account, they did very willingly defray his Charges.

They arrive at *Paris*, and light in the *Fauxbourg St. Germain*, the Quarter wherein generally the *Engliſh* lodge, near whom alſo, our *Du Vall* did earneſtly deſire to plant himſelf. Not long after, by the Interceſſion of ſome of the *Engliſh* Gentlemen (for in this Time he had indeared himſelf to them) he was admitted to run on Errands, and do the meaneſt Offices at the St. *Eſprit*, in the *Rue de Boucherie*. A Houſe, in thoſe Days, betwixt a Tavern, an Ale-houſe, a Cook's Shop, and a Bawdy-houſe, and, upon ſome of theſe Accounts, much frequented by the *Engliſh* his Patrons. In this Condition he lived unblameable, during ſome Time, unleſs you eſteem it a Fault to be ſcabby, and a little given to filching Qualities, very frequent in Perſons of his Nation and Condition.

The Reſtoration of his Majeſty, which was in 1660, brought Multitudes of all Nations into *England*, to be Spectators of our Jubilee; but, more particularly, it drained *Paris* of all the *Engliſh* there, as being moſt concerned in ſo great a Happineſs; one of them, a Perſon of Quality, entertained *Du Vall* as his Servant, and brought him over with him.

What Fortunes he ran through afterwards, is known to every one, and how good a Proficient he was in the laudable Qualities of Gaming and making Love. But one Vice he had which I cannot pardon him, becauſe it is not of the *French* Growth, but Northern and ungenteel, I mean that of Drinking; for, that very Night he was ſurpriſed, he was overtaken.

By theſe Courſes (for I dare not call them *Vices*) he ſoon fell into Want of Money, to maintain his Sport; that, and his Stars, but chiefly his own Valour, inclined him to take the generous Way of Padding; in which he quickly became ſo famous, that, in a Proclamation for the Taking ſeveral notorious Highway-men, he had the Honour to be named firſt.

This is the Place where I ſhould ſet down ſeveral of his Exploits; but I omit them, both as being well known, and becauſe I cannot find in them more Ingenuity than was practiſed before by *Hind* and *Hannum*, and ſeveral other mere *Engliſh* Thieves.

Yet, to do him Right, one Story there is that ſavours of Gallantry, and I ſhould not be an honeſt Hiſtorian, if I ſhould conceal it.

He with his Squadron overtakes a Coach, which they had ſet over Night, having Intelligence of a Booty of four-hundred Pounds in it: In the Coach was a Knight, his Lady, and only one Serving-maid, who, perceiving five Horſemen making up to them, preſently imagined that they were beſet; and they were confirmed in this Apprehenſion, by ſeeing them whiſper to one another, and ride backwards and forwards: The Lady, to ſhew ſhe was not afraid, takes a Flageolet out of her Pocket and plays: *Du Vall* takes the Hint, plays alſo, and excellently well, upon a Flageolet of his own, and in this Poſture he rides up to the Coach-ſide. Sir, ſays he, to the Perſon in the Coach, your Lady plays excellently, and I doubt not but that ſhe dances as well; Will you pleaſe to walk

walk out of the Coach, and let me have the Honour to dance one Currant with her upon the Heath. Sir, ſaid the Perſon in the Coach, I dare not deny any Thing to one of your Quality and good Mind; you ſeem a Gentleman, and your Requeſt is very reaſonable: Which ſaid, the Lacquey opens the Boot, out comes the Knight, *Du Vall* leaps lightly off his Horſe, and hands the Lady out of the Coach. They danced, and here it was that *Du Vall* performed Marvels; the beſt Maſter in *London*, except thoſe that are *French*, not being able to ſhew ſuch Footing as he did in his great riding *French* Boots. The Dancing being over, he waits on the Lady to her Coach; as the Knight was going in, ſays *Du Vall* to him, Sir, you have forgot to pay the Muſick: No, I have not, replies the Knight, and, putting his Hand under the Seat of the Coach, pulls out a hundred Pounds in a Bag, and delivers it to him; which *Du Vall* took with a very good Grace, and courteouſly anſwered, Sir, you are liberal, and ſhall have no Cauſe to repent your being ſo; this Liberality of yours ſhall excuſe you the other three-hundred Pounds, and, giving him the Word, that, if he met with any more of the Crew, he might paſs undiſturbed, he civilly takes his Leave of him.

This Story, I confeſs, juſtifies the great Kindneſs the Ladies had for *Du Vall*; for in this, as in an Epitome, are contained all Things that ſet a Man off advantageouſly, and make him appear, as the Phraſe is, *much a Gentleman*. Firſt, here was Valour, that he and but four more durſt aſſault a Knight, a Lady, a Waiting-Gentlewoman, a Lacquey, a Groom that rid by to open the Gates, and the Coachman, they being ſix to five, odds at Football; and beſides, *Du Vall* had much the worſt Cauſe, and Reaſon to believe, that whoever ſhould arrive, would range themſelves on the Enemy's Party. Then he ſhewed his Invention and Sagacity, that he could *ſur le Champ*, and, without ſtudying, make that Advantage of the Lady's Playing on the Flageolet. He evidenced his Skill in Inſtrumental Muſick, by playing on his Flageolet; in Vocal by his Singing; for (as I ſhould have told you before) there being no Violins, *Du Vall* ſung the Currant himſelf. He manifeſted his Agility of Body, by lightly diſmounting off his Horſe, and with Eaſe and Freedom getting up again, when he took his Leave; his excellent Deportment, by his incomparable Dancing, and his graceful Manner of Taking the hundred Pounds; his Generoſity, in taking no more; his Wit and Eloquence, and Readineſs at Repartees, in the whole Diſcourſe with the Knight and Lady, the greateſt Part of which I have been forced to omit.

And here (could I diſpenſe with Truth and Impartiality) neceſſary Ingredients of a good Hiſtory) I could come off with flying Colours, leave *Du Vall* in the Ladies Boſoms, and not put myſelf out of a Poſſibility of ever being in Favour with any of them.

But I muſt tell the Story of the *Sucking-Bottle*; which, if it ſeem to his Diſadvantage, ſet that other againſt it which I am come from relating. The Adventure of the Sucking-bottle was as follows:

It happened another Time, as *Du Vall* was upon his Vocation of Robbing, on *Black-heath*, he meets with a Coach richly fraught with Ladies of Quality, and with one Child, who had a Silver Sucking-bottle; he robs them rudely, takes away their Money, Watches, Rings, and even the little Child's Sucking-bottle: Nor would he, upon the Child's Tears, nor the Lady's earneſt Interceſſion, be wrought upon to reſtore it; till at laſt one of his Companions (whoſe Name I wiſh I could put down here, that he may find Friends when he ſhall ſtand in Need of them) a good-natured Perſon (for the *French* are Strangers both to the Name and Thing) forced him to deliver it. I ſhall make no Reflexions upon this Story, both becauſe I do not deſign to render him odious, or make this Pamphlet more prolix.

The Noiſe of the Proclamation, and the Rewards promiſed to thoſe who ſhould take any therein named, made *Du Vall* retire to *France*. At *Paris* he lives highly, makes great Boaſtings of the Succeſs of his Arms and Amours in *England*, proudly bragging, He could never encounter with any of either Sex that could reſiſt him. He had not been long in *France*, but he had a Fit of his old Diſeaſe, Want of Money, which he found to be much augmented by the thin Air of *France*; and therefore, by the Advice of his Phyſicians, leſt the Diſeaſe ſhould ſeize upon his Vitals, and make him lie by it, he reſolves to tranſport himſelf into *England*; which accordingly he did; for, in Truth, the Air of *France* is not good for Perſons of his Conſtitution, it being the Cuſtom there to travel in great Companies well armed, and with little Money; the Danger of being reſiſted, and the

Danger

Danger of being taken is much greater there; and the *Quarry* much leſſer than in *England:* For, if by Chance a dapper Fellow, with fine black Eyes, and a white Peruke be taken there, and found guilty of Robbing, all the Women in the Town do not preſently take the Alarm, and run to the King to beg his Life.

To *England* he comes, but, alas! his Reign proves but ſhort, for, within few Months after his Return, before he had done any Thing of great Glory or Advantage to himſelf, he fell into the Hands of Juſtice, being taken drunk at the *Hole in the Wall* in *Chandois-ſtreet*; and well it was for the Bailiff and his Men that he was drunk, otherwiſe they had taſted of his Proweſs; for he had in his Pocket three Piſtols, one whereof would ſhoot twice, and by his Side an excellent Sword, which, managed by ſuch a Hand and Heart, muſt, without Doubt, have done Wonders. Nay, I have heard it atteſted by thoſe that knew how good a Markſman he was, and his excellent Way of Fencing, that, had he been ſober, it was impoſſible he could have killed leſs than ten. They farther add, upon their own Knowledge, he would have been cut as ſmall as Herbs for the Pot, before he would have yielded to the Bailiff of *Weſtminſter*; that is to ſay, he would have died in the Place, had not ſome great Perſon been ſent to him, to whom he might with Honour have delivered his Sword and himſelf. But taken he was, and that too *a bon Marche*; without the Expence of Blood or Treaſure committed to *Newgate*, arraigned, convicted, condemned, and on *Friday*, *January* the 21ſt, executed at *Tyburn*, in the twenty-ſeventh Year of his Age (which Number is made up of three times nine) and left behind him a ſad Inſtance of the irreſiſtible Influence of the Stars, and the Fatality of Climacterical Years.

There were a great Company of Ladies, and thoſe not of the meaneſt Degree, that viſited him in Priſon, interceded for his Pardon, and accompanied him to the Gallows; a Catalogue of whoſe Names I have by me, nay, even of thoſe who, when they viſited him, durſt not pull off their Vizards, for fear of ſhewing their Eyes ſwoln, and their Cheeks blubbered with Tears.

When I firſt put Pen to Paper, I was in great Indignation, and fully reſolved, nay, and I think I ſwore, that I would print this Muſter-roll. But, upon ſecond Thoughts, and calmer Conſiderations, I have altered my fierce Reſolution, partly becauſe I would not do my Nation ſo great a Diſgrace, and eſpecially that Part of it to whom I am ſo intirely devoted. But principally, becauſe I hoped milder Phyſick might cure them of this *French* Diſeaſe, of this inordinate Appetite to Muſhrooms, of this degenerous Doating upon Strangers.

After he had hanged a convenient Time, he was cut down, and, by Perſons well dreſſed, carried into Mourning-Coach, and ſo conveyed to the *Tangier Tavern* in St. *Giles*'s, where he lay in State all that Night, the Room hung with black Cloth, the Hearſe covered with Eſcutcheons, eight wax Tapers burning, and as many tall Gentlemen with long black Clokes attending; *Mum* was the Word, great Silence expected from all that viſited, for fear of diſturbing this ſleeping Lion: And this Ceremony had laſted much longer, had not one of the Judges (whoſe Name I muſt not mention here, leſt he ſhould incur the Diſpleaſure of the Ladies) ſent to diſturb this Pageantry. But I dare ſet down a Mark whereby you may gueſs at him. It is one betwixt whom and the Highway-men there is little Love loſt, one who thought the Fellow had Honour enough done him, that he was not buried under the Gallows.

This Story of Lying in State ſeemed to me ſo improbable, and ſuch an audacious Mockery of the Laws, that, till I had it again and again from ſeveral Gentlemen, who had the Curioſity to ſee him, I durſt not put it down here, for fear of being accounted a notorious Lyar.

The Night was ſtormy and rainy, as if the Heavens had ſympathiſed with the Ladies, and ecchoed again their Sighs, and wept over again their Tears.

As they were undreſſing him, in order to his Lying in State, one of his Friends put his Hands in his Pocket, and found therein the Speech, which he intended to have made, written with a very fair Hand; a Copy whereof I have, with much Coſt and Induſtry, procured, and yet do freely make it publick, becauſe I would not have any Thing wanting, in this Narration.

### Du Vall's *SPEECH.*

I Should be very ungrateful (which, amongſt Perſons of Honour, is a greater Crime, than that for which I die) ſhould I not acknowledge my Obligation to you, fair *Engliſh* Ladies. I could not have hoped, that a Perſon of my Nation, Birth, Education, and Condition could have had ſo many and powerful Charms

to captivate you all, and to tie you ſo firmly to my Intereſt, that you have not abandoned me in Diſtreſs, or in Priſon; that you have accompanied me to this Place of Death, of ignominious Death.

From the Experience of your true Loves I ſpeak it, nay, I know I ſpeak your Hearts; you could be content to die with me now, and even here, could you be aſſured of enjoying your beloved *Du Vall* in the other World.

How mightily, and how generouſly, have you rewarded my little Services! Shall I ever forget that univerſal Conſternation amongſt you, when I was taken? Your frequent, your chargeable Viſits to me at *Newgate?* Your Shrieks, your Swoonings, when I was condemned? Your zealous Interceſſion and Importunity for my Pardon?

You could not have erected fairer Pillars of Honour and Reſpect to me, had I been a *Hercules*, and could have got fifty Sons in a Night.

It has been the Misfortune of ſeveral *Engliſh* Gentlemen, in the Times of the late Uſurpation, to die at this Place, upon the honourableſt Occaſion that ever preſented itſelf, the Endeavouring to reſtore their exiled Sovereign: Gentlemen, indeed, who had ventured their Lives, and loſt their Eſtates in the Service of their Prince; but they all died unlamented, and uninterceded for, becauſe they were *Engliſh*. How much greater, therefore, is my Obligation, whom you love better than your own Countrymen, better than your own dear Husbands? Nevertheleſs, Ladies, it does not grieve me, that your Interceſſion for my Life proved ineffectual; for now I ſhall die with little Pain, a healthful Body, and, I hope, a prepared Mind. For my Confeſſor has ſhewed me the Evil of my Way, and wrought in me a true Repentance; witneſs theſe Tears, theſe unfeigned Tears. Had you prevailed for my Life, I muſt, in Gratitude, have devoted it wholly to you; which yet would have been but ſhort; for, had you been found, I ſhould have ſoon died of a Conſumption; if otherwiſe, of the Pox.

He was buried with many Flambeaux, and a numerous Train of Mourners, moſt whereof were of the beautiful Sex. He lies in the middle Iſle, in *Covent-Garden* Church, under a plain white marble Stone, whereon are curiouſly engraved the *Du Vall*'s Arms, and, under them, written in Black, this Epitaph.

Du Vall's *EPITAPH.*

HEre lies *Du Vall:* Reader, if Male thou art,
Look to thy Purſe; if Female, to thy Heart.
Much Havock has he made of both; for all
Men he made ſtand, and Women he made fall.
The Second Conqu'ror of the *Norman* Race;
Knights to his Arms did yield, and Ladies to his Face;
Old *Tyburn*'s Glory, *England*'s illuſtrious Thief;
*Du Vall*, the Ladies Joy; *Du Vall*, the Ladies Grief.

*The Author's Apology, why he conceals his Name.*

SOme there are, without Doubt, that will look upon this harmleſs Pamphlet, as a Libel and invective Satire, becauſe the Author has not put his Name to it; but the Bookſeller's Printing his true Name, and Place of Abode, wipes off that Objection.

But, if any Perſon be yet ſo curious, as to inquire after me, I can aſſure him, I have conjured the Stationer not to declare my Name ſo much as to his own Wife; not that I am aſhamed of the Deſign, no, I glory in it; nor much of the Manner of Writing, for I have ſeen Books, with the Authors Names to them, not much better written; neither do I fear I ſhould be proud, if the Book takes, and creſtfallen, if it ſhould not; I am not a Perſon of ſuch a tender Conſtitution:

——— *Valeat res ludicra, ſi me*
*Palma negata macrum, donata reducat opimum.*

But, upon other preſſing and important Reaſons, though I am reſolved not to be known, yet I intend to give you ſome Account of myſelf, enough to exempt me from being ſo pitiful and inconſiderable a Fellow, as, poſſibly, ſome incenſed Females may endeavour to repreſent me.

I was bred a Scholar, but let none reproach me with it, for I have no more Learning left, than what may become a well-bred Gentleman. I have had the Opportunity, if not the Advantage, of ſeeing all *France* and *Italy* very particularly; *Germany* and the *Spaniſh Netherlands en paſſant*. I have walked a Currant, in the Hands of Monſieur *Provoſts*, the *French* King's

King's Dancing-maſter; and ſeveral Times puſhed at the *Plaſtron* of Monſieur *Filboy le vieux*. Now, I hope, theſe Qualities, joined with a white Peruke, are ſufficient to place any Perſon *hors de la portee*, out of the Reach of Contempt.

At my Return from *France*, I was adviſed by my Friends to ſettle myſelf in the World, that is, to marry; when I went firſt amongſt the Ladies upon that Account, I found them very obliging, and, as I thought, *coming*. I wondered mightily, what might be the Reaſon could make me ſo acceptable; but afterwards found it was the Scent of *France*, which was then ſtrong upon me; for, according as that Perfume decayed, my Miſtreſſes grew colder and colder.

But that, which precipitated me into Ruin, was this following Accident: Being once in the Company of ſome Ladies, amongſt other Diſcourſes, we fell upon the Compariſon betwixt the *French* and *Engliſh* Nations: And here it was, that I, very imprudently, maintained, even againſt my Miſtreſs, That a *French* Lacquey was not ſo good as an *Engliſh* Gentleman. The Scene was immediately changed; they all looked upon me with Anger and Diſdain; they ſaid I was unworthy of that little Breeding I had acquired, of that ſmall Parcel of Wit (for they would not have me eſteemed a mere Fool, becauſe I had been ſo often in their Company) which Nature had beſtowed upon me, ſince I made ſo ill Uſe of it, as to maintain ſuch Paradoxes. My Miſtreſs for ever forbids me the Houſe, and, the next Day, ſends me my Letters, and demands her own; bidding me pick up a Wife at the Plough-tail, for it was impoſſible any Woman well bred would ever caſt her Eyes upon me.

I thought this Diſgrace would have brought me to my Grave; it impaired my Health, robbed me of my good Humour. I retired from all Company, as well of Men as of Women, and have lived a ſolitary melancholy Life, and continued a Batchelor, to this Day.

I repented heartily, that, at my Return from my Travels, I did not put myſelf into a Livery, and, in that Habit, go and ſeek Entertainment in ſome great Man's Houſe; for it was impoſſible, but Good muſt have arrived to me from ſo doing. It was *a la mode* to have *French* Servants; and no Perſon of Quality, but eſteemed it a Diſgrace, if he had not two or three of that Nation in his Retinue; ſo that I had no Reaſon to fear, but that I ſhould ſoon find a Condition.

After I had inſinuated myſelf into one of theſe Houſes, I had juſt Reaſon to expect, if I could have concealed myſelf from being an *Engliſhman*, that ſome young Lady with a great Portion ſhould run away with me, and then I had been made for ever. But, if I had followed bad Courſes, and robbed upon the High-way, as the Subject of this Hiſtory did, I might have expected the ſame Civilities in Priſon, the ſame Interceſſions for my Life, and, if thoſe had not prevailed, the ſame glorious Death, Lying in State in *Tangier* Tavern, and being embalmed in the Ladies Tears. And who is there, worthy the Name of a Man, that would not prefer ſuch a Death before a mean, ſolitary, and inglorious Life?

I deſign but two Things in the Writing this Book: One is, That the next *Frenchman* that is hanged may not cauſe an Uproar in this Imperial City; which I doubt not but I have effected.

The other is a much harder Taſk: To ſet my Countrymen on even Terms with the *French*, as to the *Engliſh* Ladies Affections: If I ſhould bring this about, I ſhould eſteem myſelf to have contributed much to the Good of this Kingdom.

One Remedy there is, which, poſſibly, may conduce ſomething towards it.

I have heard, that there is a new Invention of Tranſfuſing the Blood of one Animal into another, and that it has been experimented by putting the Blood of a Sheep into an *Engliſhman*. I am againſt that Way of Experiments; for, ſhould we make all *Engliſhmen* Sheep, we ſhould ſoon be a Prey to the *Loure*.

I think I can propoſe the Making that Experiment, a more advantageous Way. I would have all Gentlemen, who have been a full Year, or more, out of *France*, be let Blood weekly, or oftener, if they can bear it. Mark how much they bleed; tranſfuſe ſo much *French* Lacquey's Blood into them; repleniſh theſe laſt out of the *Engliſh* Footmen, for it is no Matter what becomes of them. Repeat this Operation *toties quoties*, and, in Proceſs of Time, you will find this Event: Either the *Engliſh* Gentlemen will be as much beloved as the *French* Lacquies, or the *French* Lacquies as little eſteemed as the *Engliſh* Gentlemen.

But to conclude my Apology: I have certainly great Reaſon to conceal my Name; for, if I ſuffered ſo ſeverely for only Speaking one Word in a private Company, what Puniſhment will be great enough for a relapſed Heretick publiſhing a Book to the ſame Purpoſe? I muſt certainly do as that *Iriſh* Gentleman that let a Scape in the Preſence of his Miſtreſs; run my Country, *ſhave my Head, and bury myſelf in a Monaſtery, if there be any charitable enough to harbour a Perſon guilty of ſuch* heinous Crimes.

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Reaſons and Propoſals for a Regiſtry or Remembrancer of all Deeds and Incumbrances of real Eſtates, to be had in every County, moſt neceſſary and advantageous, as well for Sellers and Borrowers, as Purchaſers and Lenders. To the Advance of Credit, and the general Good, without Prejudice to any honeſt-minded Perſon, moſt humbly offered to Conſideration. By *Nicholas Philpot*, of *New-Inn. Oxford*, Printed by *W. Hall*, for *Richard Davis*, 1671. *Quarto*, containing ten Pages.

IT is moſt apparent, that Fraud and Deceit increaſes continually; for Remedy whereof, there have been many wholſome Laws made, which are no ſooner publiſhed, than evaded by ſome new contrived Artifice.

Until 27 *Eliſ.* no Proviſion was made againſt fraudulent Conveyances, and then, that Miſchief being grown high, was a moſt excellent Law enacted to remedy it; without which none durſt purchaſe, and conſequently none could ſell Lands in thoſe Days, as it is evident by the great Number of Caſes controverted therein.

Yet, notwithſtanding the well Penning of that Statute, and the learned Expoſitions upon it, this Law is not, at all Times, able to ſuppreſs or avoid a Fraud, ſubtly contrived, as by Payment of Money, or giving Security in publick, and then repaying or reſtoring it in private, or the like; but, if a publick Regiſtry, or Remembrance of all Conveyances and Incumbrances on real Eſtates, were ſettled in each County, all Miſchiefs and Inconveniencies whatſoever, by precedent Grants and Incumbrances, would be prevented to Purchaſers and Creditors, unleſs it were by their own wilful Neglect; and, if ſo, they are deceived by themſelves, and none elſe.

The Uſefulneſs, and Benefit to all his Majeſty's Subjects, of what is propoſed, appears, and is demonſtrable in nothing more, than the vaſt Number of Suits and Actions in the Courts at *Weſtminſter*, ariſing merely by reaſon of precedent and concealed Incumbrances, which have, and daily do waſte and conſume the whole Subſtance of ſuch as are concerned in them; and two Parts in three, at leaſt, of all Suits touching real Eſtates, depending in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, are ſprung from this Miſchief.

To inſtance particular Examples of Perſons deceiving, and deceived in this Kind, is not neceſſary, it being ſo epidemical and obvious, nor can be mentioned without Scandal to ſuch as are guilty therein; yet, to ſatisfy Curioſity, I could vouch and juſtify, within the Circuit of the ſmall County wherein I live, to the Value of above forty Thouſand Pounds, at leaſt, of them at this Time in being; and, I preſume, there are very few, who are acquainted with Dealings in the World, that

cannot

cannot demonſtrate too many ſad Inſtances of the like Kind, in their own reſpective Countries.

The Terror of this Miſchief affrights Perſons, who have Money to lend unto thoſe that want it, and occaſions the Demanding of too unreaſonable Securities, which inforces Men to engage their Friends, as well as their Lands, to ſatisfy ſcrupulous Lenders; and hath ſo far weakened Credit, as that a Lender, in theſe Days, will rather ſet at Five *per Cent* to a City Goldſmith, or Scrivener, upon a Note of his Hand, than at Six to a Country Gentleman on his Mortgage, Judgment, or Statute, and with a prudent Foreſight too; for, in the one Caſe, if his Security proves defective, he ſpends, perhaps, all he hath to endeavour the Recovery of it; and, in the other, being out of Hopes, he is freed from further Trouble or Charge, and ſits down by his firſt Loſs.

As the Diſcovery of precedent Incumbrances would be to the great Benefit, Safety, and Satisfaction of Purchaſers and Lenders; ſo would it prove no leſs advantageous to Borrowers and Sellers, by giving them Credit to raiſe Money on Sale, or Engagement of their Lands, as Occaſion requires, without drawing in (and thereby often ruining) their Friends to be engaged with them; or giving general Securities by Judgments, Statutes, and Recogniſances, which attach their whole Eſtates, and make them uncapable of ſelling or diſpoſing any Part of it, upon what emergent Occaſions ſoever; this as to the ſober and circumſpect Debtors.

Then, as for the young Gallants, who know no more of attaining to Eſtates, than the Derivation of their Deſcent, and, at ſixteen Years old, hop to the Univerſity, then, at nineteen, fly to *London*, where, by one-and-twenty, their uncurdled Brains evaporating into Froth and Air, they, like young Jackdaws, are enfranchiſed into the Society of the old Rooks of the City, who, having diſcovered their warm Neſts in the Country, ſoon lead them into the Snares and Lime-twigs of Judgments and Statutes. The principal Means of their Delivery and Preſervation will be a timely Diſcovery of their firſt Engagement, which the Thing propoſed will effect; for, when once the Incumbrance they create is diſcovered, by the Entry of it in their own Country, without which no conſiderable Sum will be raiſed, then the Parent, if living, is fairly forewarned to check the Son's Prodigality; if otherwiſe, the Unthrift will be inforced to diſcharge his old Engagement before his new will be taken; and the very Apprehenſion of Diſcovery will cauſe many to forbear thoſe Follies, which, though ſubject unto, they abhor to have known.

When an Eſtate is once involved in unfathomed Incumbrances, then it creates Suits upon Suits, the Expence whereof ſoon devours all, without either ſatisfying the Creditors, or leaving any Thing to remain for the Debtor.

It is very obſervable how the State and Condition of the Seller alters the Rate and Quickneſs of the Sale.

If a Perſon, reputed to be indebted, or engaged, offers Land to ſell, none will adventure to deal, for Fear of precedent Incumbrances, unleſs it be upon very great Advantages of an under Value, in regard of the Danger; when as a Man, void of that Prejudice, may ſoon ſell at the uttermoſt Value.

There are Perſons who drive a Trade in Brokerage of Money, whoſe Courſe is this: Upon the Application of a Borrower, he finds out the Money, propoſes the Security, and names himſelf for one. This double Kindneſs obtains a bountiful Reward out of the Sum, and, likewiſe, undoubted Counter-ſecurity, not only againſt this Engagement, but alſo all others in future, for my Broker intends not to deſert his freſh Man ſo. Then, for his general Indemnity, he takes a luſty previous Judgment of his Friend, as more concealable than a Statute, and, upon the Credit of it, makes new Supplies, from Time to Time, as Occaſion requires. When the old Debt is called in, as it muſt be once a Year, he engages a-new, taking up ſo much more Money as will ſupply the preſent Occaſions of the Borrower, and reward the Broking-ſurety. If the Principal and his co-engaged Country Securities, theſe Things being reciprocal betwixt them, prove ſlack or defective, whereby the broking Bondſman is hardly ſet upon, he reſolves to ſubmit to the Law, and takes up his Quarters in the *Fleet* or *Marſhalſees*; and then, to extend his Judgment, to gain ſome Part of Recompence for being undone by his Kindneſs to his Friend, whoſe Eſtate is far ſhort to recompenſe his Damage, although he was never worth a Groat more than what

he got by theſe Means. My Application is, that, if theſe Judgments came to be entered, Perſons of ſubſequent Concernment would come to the Diſcovery of them, and thereby avoid, or be timely relieved againſt them.

The Difficulty to borrow Money proceeds not from its Scarcity, but the Diffidence of good Security; for it is generally known, that thoſe who need it not, and have Eſtates, may borrow what they pleaſe on eaſy Terms, when as Perſons in Debt cannot procure it without much Trouble and Charge.

If moneyed Men could ſafely deal in Purchaſes or Mortgages of Lands, the Obſtruction whereof is only concealed and undiſcoverable Incumbrances, they would not keep their Treaſure lying by them without Profit to themſelves, or Uſe to the Publick, but ſet it abroad to Benefit; and none, who are Owners of Land, could want Money, at any Time, to ſerve their Occaſions. This would promote Trade and Commerce betwixt all Men.

The too frequent and abominable Villainy of forging, eraſing, altering, and antedating of Conveyances, would be wholly prevented by the Means of this Regiſtry.

It will very much aſſiſt Executors to diſcover their Teſtators Debts of Record, whereby to know how to make due Adminiſtration with Safety to themſelves.

Objections may be made, which, though weak in themſelves, yet ſome may think them fit to receive an Anſwer: As

1. The Matter propoſed would diſcover Men's Eſtates to their Prejudice, their Debts would be made known, and ſo their Credit and Reputation weakened; and others, who deſire to conceal their Fortunes, would be diſcovered to the World, and thereby liable to Taxes and burthenſome Offices, which now they avoid.

*Anſwer.* As to the Firſt, the Support of Credit and Repute, by having Poverty undiſcovered, is like the Concealing of a Wound till it comes to an uncurable Ulcer; and the Effects of it can never recover the Patient, but will at laſt deſtroy him, and deceive all who truſt in him.

As for the other, it is moſt juſt and equitable, that they ſhould bear and undergo Taxes and Burthens proportionable to their Eſtates, and not lay it on the Shoulders of thoſe who are of leſs Ability.

2*d Ob.* It would give Opportunities to pick Holes, and find out Defects in Men's Conveyances.

*Anſwer* 1. Many Perſons, having once gotten a Poſſeſſion, hold by Wrong, or Pretence of Conveyances which they have not, occaſioning many Suits for Diſcovery thereof; which need not be, if the publick Regiſtry did demonſtrate it.

2. The Regiſtering may be brief and ſhort, ſetting forth the Effect of the Conveyance. Beſides, ſcarce any in theſe Days do ſell or grant Land, without keeping an exact Copy or Counterpart, by which Defects, in Caſe there be any, will more appear, than it can do by the Regiſtry.

3*d Ob.* It would put Purchaſers to an unneceſſary Trouble and Charge.

*Anſwer.* The Charge will be inconſiderable to the great Satisfaction they receive, by being freed from the Danger of precedent Titles; and the Trouble cannot be much, when an Office for the Purpoſe is kept in the Shire-town, or chief City of the County.

There is yet another Objection, which, though perhaps it will not be openly owned, yet may covertly prove more obſtructive than all the reſt; and that is, the growing Students of the Law, who obſerve, with Admiration, the vaſt Wealth and Honour acquired by their Predeceſſors in their Functions, may ſee Cauſe of deſpairing the Like to themſelves, if this preventive Remedy is ſet on Foot: But the genuine and candid Expoſition of the Law's Uſe and Intention, forbids all Contradiction of what tends to the publick Tranquillity and Welfare; and therefore, I hope, there needs not much to be ſaid in Confutation of what will not be publickly aſſerted. And this I dare aver that many learned Lawyers have been deceived in their Purchaſes, by precedent Titles of the very Money which they got in controverting the like Caſes for their Clients.

Having thus far diſcourſed of the great Benefit, and, indeed, abſolute Neceſſity of what is propoſed, I ſhall add my Conjectures of an Order, Manner, and likewiſe the Charge in Execution of the Buſineſs in Hand.

1. That the Regiſtry be kept in the Shire-town, or chief City of each County, and all Incounties of Cities and Towns, ſaving ſome great Cities particularly to be mentioned, be included

included within the out County, it being not worth the Attendance for ſome Incounties alone.

2. That the Entry of each Deed, Grant, Fine, common Recovery, Will, and Conveyance be in large Books of royal Paper bound, which are more durable than Parchment, and to contain only the Date, Parties Names, Conſideration, Lands granted, to whom, for what Term or Eſtate, what Uſes, upon what Conditions or Limitations, and the Endorſement or Subſcription of Witneſſes, omitting all other Covenants; and this is to be done briefly and conciſely, only the Lands granted to be full and at large, for Expedition-ſake; the Purchaſer may bring an Abſtract with him, which being compared and examined by the Regiſter, and the Deed ſigned by him, the Entry may be made by the Abſtract.

3. If the Deed contains Lands in ſeveral Counties, then an Entry to be made in each County, as to ſo much as lies within the ſame.

4. As for Judgments, Statutes, and Recogniſances, to be briefly entered with their Dates, Number, Rolls, and Courts where recorded, in ſuch and ſo many Counties, as the Cogniſor's Lands do lie in; and, in Caſe of ſubſequent Purchaſes, then where, when, and as often as ſuch Purchaſes ſhall be made, for the Diſcovery whereof, the Creditor or Purchaſer is to take Care at his Peril.

5. As for Copyhold Eſtates, they are always conveyed openly in the Lord's Court, by way of Surrender, and therefore need no other Diſcovery; but, in Caſe of Leaſes made, or Terms granted by Deed of Copyhold Eſtates, by the Lord's Licenſe, or otherwiſe, thoſe to be regiſtered.

6. This Regiſtering not to be uſed as binding Evidence of the Making or Execution of any Deed (in regard it is done at the Inſtance of the Grant, in the Granter's Abſence) but only to ſerve for a Diſcovery of it to ſuch as ſhall be concerned.

7. To the End the preſent Generation may reap ſome Benefit of this Work, that all Deeds, Aſſurances, and real Incumbrances, made or created ſince the Year 1660, be regiſtered within a Year, at the Peril of the Grantees or Cogniſees being poſtponed.

8. That all other Regiſtries be made within four Months after the Date, and then to be effectual as from the Date, at the Peril of being poſtponed to all intervening before it is regiſtered, but not to be forecluded of regiſtering at any Time, running the Hazard of poſtponing. And if any will ſo far rely upon his Security, and his Granter or Cogniſor's Integrity, without regiſtering it, to ſtand good againſt all but Creditors and Purchaſers.

9. That an exact Alphabet be kept of all the Granters and Cogniſors Names, with their Titles and Additions, and the Number or Folio wherein their Act is regiſtered. And, in regard ſome Perſons are called by ſeveral Sirnames, with Alteration of Title and Addition, that, for better Aſſurance, another Alphabet be kept of the Names of the Towns and Places wherein the Lands granted do lie, for both theſe Alphabets together muſt be infallible.

10. As for Fees of the Office: Every Entry, not exceeding three Sheets, each Sheet containing twelve Lines, and eight Words in every Line, two Shillings, and for every Sheet exceeding, ſix Pence.

For the Alphabeting of each Entry, ſix Pence.

For a Search and Sight of the Entry, for every ten Years, five Shillings; and, if for any leſs Number of Years, eight Pence for each Year.

For Copies of every Sheet written as aforeſaid, ſix Pence.

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A Treatiſe concerning *Regiſters* to be made of Eſtates, Bonds, Bills, &c. With Reaſons againſt ſuch Regiſters by the Honourable Mr. *William Pierrepoint*. MS.

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THE Expences, concerning ſuch Regiſters, would be unſupportable to the Subjects of this Kingdom; their Charges for the firſt Year (by being compelled to regiſter their Deeds made in Times paſt) would be above Six-hundred Thouſands, and above Two-hundred Thouſand Pounds, for every Year for the Time to come.

And ſuch hath been the Careleſneſs (if not worſe) of Truſtees, Widows, their Second, or other Huſbands, Guardians of Orphans, Sequeſtrators, and other Plunderers, in the late Times of Troubles, concerning Deeds which came into their Hands, as not in one Eſtate of Twenty, but ſome Defect in Law would be found therein, if every Perſon might peruſe their Deeds, as all might do, if they were recorded.

Many now quietly enjoy their Lands, chief Rents, and other juſt Profits out of the Lands of other Perſons; becauſe, it is believed, they have good Deeds to ſhew for them, and queſtionleſs their Anceſtors, or thoſe under whom they claim, had ſuch Deeds; many have intired their Manors, by ſeveral Purchaſes and Exchanges from Freeholders, within their ſaid Manors, and thereby made great Improvements; ſome Deeds are loſt, Regiſters would diſcover the Wants of thoſe Deeds, many Hundreds of Perſons would thereby loſe their Lands, chief Rents, and juſt Profits out of the Lands of other Perſons, and have their incloſed Grounds thrown open to Commons.

Creditors lend their Monies on Judgments, Statutes, Recogniſances, Mortgages, Bonds, or Bills; Judgments, Statutes, and Recogniſances are recorded, the Nature of them, Suits thereunto; the Defect therein is that the Records of Judgments are ſo difficultly to be found out, for, Judgments being recorded in Chancery, by Rules of Common Law, in the *King's-Bench*, in the *Common-Pleas*, in the *Exchequer*, and many Hundreds in every Term, in Time as they happen, it is ſcarcely poſſible to find them in due Time, to the great Damages of many Perſons.

Theſe Defects may be redreſſed by making fit Alphabetical Kalendars of Judgments in every of thoſe Courts, and ſuch Kalendars may be eaſily done, and will be readily made by the Clerks in thoſe ſeveral Courts, if by Act of Parliament ſome reaſonable Fee be allowed to ſuch Clerks for ſo doing; as to take two Pence for Search for every Year, as is allowed by the Statute 27 *Eliſabeth*, Chap. iv. for Search for Statutes Merchant, and of the Staple.

Mortgages are of like Nature with Judgments and Statutes, wherein Lands mortgaged are of double Value to the Money lent on them; and with general Warranty againſt all Perſons, and the Monies to be repaired at ſix or twelve Months, ſo as ſeldom to be Incumbrances on Lands, longer than for the Mortgager's Life; therefore, it may be of greater Benefit than Prejudice to record Mortgages: But therein will be Difficulties which will require ſerious Conſideration, as, amongſt others, becauſe ſome Mortgages are made by abſolute Sales with Defearances Collateral, and ſome Purchaſers are concerned to keep ancient Mortgages on Foot, aſſigned to Truſtees for Security of their Purchaſes.

In the Time of the Rump, an Act of Parliament, as they falſly called it, was by ſome Men there violently proſecuted for Regiſtering all Deeds, pretending what they ſo preſſed was to prevent Frauds againſt Purchaſers and Creditors, but they were ſuch who had no Money to lend, or wherewith to buy Lands; the Regiſtering of Mortgages for the Time to come was not much oppoſed, but that did not ſatisfy them; their Aims were their private Gains to have or ſell Regiſters Places, thereby to ſhare amongſt themſelves above a Hundred-thouſand Pounds yearly: The Officers, in ſuch Regiſters, would have to themſelves ſo much at leaſt, over and above all Charges and Expences therein.

If Bonds and Penal Bills (which are quick Securities, and but for ſhort Times) ſhould be made void, if not regiſtered, the Prejudices which might happen thereby to Creditors are apparent.

*Quadraginta* hath been writ for *Quadringenti*, Forty for Four-hundred; then he who had truly lent Two-hundred Pounds on ſuch a Bond, if this Miſtake had been diſcovered, could not, in the Court of Common Law, have recovered on that Bond more than forty Pounds; and ſo may eaſily be Miſtakes in *Quinquaginta* for *Quingenti*, Fifty for Five-hundred, *Nonaginta* for *Nonaginti*, Ninety for Nine-hundred, and ſo for many others; but, the Miſtakes not being diſcovered, the Creditors have had their Monies lent well paid, without Demand to ſee the Bonds, or hear them read,

read, or being put to any Charges or Troubles in Suits.

Bonds and Bills are no effectual Incumbrances on Lands, until ſued to Judgments.

When Kalendars are made, whereby Judgments may be ſpeedily diſcovered, then there can be little Prejudice by not Recording Bonds and Bills; but the Recording them would deſtroy Trade, two Parts of three, in Trade, being carried on upon Credit.

Many Tradeſmen have borrowed great Sums of Money, and taken up Wares on Bonds and Bills; have lived well, and paid all their Creditors to their Satisfactions; have enriched this Kingdom, and raiſed good Eſtates to themſelves and their Heirs, who at ſome Times have owed to ſeveral Creditors, on Bonds and Bills, much more than they were then worth; which if it had been then known, and which Regiſters would have laid them open, they would have had their Bonds and Bills ſued againſt them to Judgments, when it would have been to their Ruin; but each Creditor, believing thoſe Perſons did owe nothing, or but little but to themſelves, did not ſue or moleſt their Debtors.

In like Condition would have been many Gentlemen Free-holders and Farmers, who were neceſſitated to borrow Money, and take up Goods on their Bonds and Bills, for the Managements of their Eſtates, to provide Stocks, and other Neceſſaries; which if it had been known at all Times, what they owed to all Creditors, would then, when they had not been able to pay, have had their Bonds and Bills ſued to Judgments, and thereon their Lands and Goods ſeized, their Bodies impriſoned, or they to lie hid, or to fly into Foreign Parts, to the ineſtimable Damages of this Kingdom thereby bereaved of the Benefits from the Abilities of their Minds, and Labours of their Bodies.

## *Concerning the Regiſtering of Bargains and Sales and Settlements of Lands of Inheritance.*

GREAT Miſchiefs appear therein to preſent View, more are rationally to be feared. In theſe Deeds are no double Values, no general Warranty, no Time of Redemption, no Cauſe to peruſe thoſe Deeds every ſix or twelve Months (as are in Mortgages) and wherein Defects ſeldom appear till after the Seller's Death.

For theſe Deeds muſt be regiſtered at large, Word for Word, or by taking Extracts out of them.

The Wit of Man cannot draw ſuch Extracts without Errors. The Judgment of Man is not capable to prevent all Miſtakes and Miſunderſtandings in ſuch Extracts.

If all Deeds of Purchaſe and Settlements of Lands of Inheritance muſt be regiſtered at large, Regiſter Records would be ſo voluminous in ten Years, as no good Uſe could be made of them.

In forty Years Experience, I have not known or heard (yet I have enquired of many Lawyers of great Practice) of above three Cauſes in all the Courts of Judicature, which have gone againſt Purchaſers who paid valuable Conſiderations, and thoſe Cauſes, not in the Whole, to the Value of Thirty-thouſand Pounds; which, if ſo, as I doubt not but when examined, it will be found to be ſo, then, if theſe Regiſters had been eſtabliſhed forty Years ſince, Regiſter-Offices would have had from the Subjects Eighty-hundred-thouſand Pounds, at Two-hundred-thouſand Pounds yearly, to have ſaved Thirty-thouſand Pounds defrauded, and that but in forty Years; I know that ſeveral Perſons would have loſt their Lands, if ſome others had known their Deeds. I have had ſome References to me, and thereon Peruſal of Deeds, wherein were ſuch Defects, as, if their Deeds had not been private to thoſe they truſted, they would have loſt their Lands for which they paid a full Value.

Theſe Regiſters will cauſe Differences and Diſcontents in Families between Huſbands and their Wives, Parents and their Children, and Children amongſt themſelves. Whilſt a Father keeps his Deeds of Settlements of his Eſtate private to himſelf, his Wife and Children each hoping for better than is done for them (perhaps then the Eſtate can bear) yet they live in Love and Quiet; but, if they ſhould know, which by theſe Regiſters they would know, what the Settlements are, Wives would be unquiet, Children would be undutiful, the eldeſt Brother would think his youngeſt Brothers and Siſters had too much, and they, that they had too little. A Father may have good Cauſe to give to ſome younger Son or Daugh-

ter, more than to the other: This the others will call Inequality, and Want of natural Affection to them; they would live in Envy and Hatred.

Fathers, to have Houſehold Contentment, muſt then, although againſt their Judgments of what is fitteſt to be done by them, make no Deeds of Settlements of their Eſtates, but leave all to be diſpoſed by their laſt Wills and Teſtaments, thereby ſubjecting their Eſtates to Wrongs and Frauds by Executors, or Adminiſtrators, and themſelves to Troubles and Vexations in their Sickneſſes and Weakneſſes, as neither to live quietly nor die quietly.

Many have ſudden Exigents to borrow Money under irrecoverable Damages, if not provided therewith in ſome ſhort Time, who have Lands of clear Titles and of double the Value of the Monies they would borrow thereupon, yet their Lands lying remote, as if in *Yorkſhire* or *Devonſhire*, when they need the Monies in *London*.

*London* is the great Market of Lands, there is the great Stock of Monies for the whole Kingdom; the Lender's Council in Law, if theſe Regiſters ſhould be eſtabliſhed, muſt adviſe their Clients, not to lend Monies on Lands, till the Regiſters, in the Countries where thoſe Lands are, be ſearched, and by able Men of whoſe Abilities and Honeſties they are ſatisfied; theſe Delays neceſſitate great Expences, much Time is waſted, the Opportunities for thoſe Monies loſt, and they who needed ſuch Monies irrecovefably damnified; it cannot be an eaſy or cheap Buſineſs for Purchaſers to get due Knowledge of the Sellers Deeds regiſtered in remote Places; it would be chargeable and dangerous to conveigh their Deeds of Purchaſe, to be regiſtered in diſtant Places.

Many are concerned on Marriages, and other Settlements, to make large Deeds; many Skins of Parchment, wherein their Lands, in many ſeveral Counties, are conveighed; theſe Deeds muſt be regiſtered in every ſeveral County wherein any Land lieth therein conveighed; or, if ſuch Deeds be to be regiſtered only in one County, with References therein to the other Counties, this, beſides other Inconveniences which would follow thereon, would ſend Men for making Searches on thoſe References, Eaſt, Weſt, South, and North, certainly to their great Charges, probably to little Purpoſe.

All Frauds, which have hitherto been committed by Cheats, may be done by Clerk Regiſters, and more than have hitherto been known.

Their Temptations, to gain by Bribery, would probably be greater than their Honeſties to reſiſt; they would have Means and Opportunities to act Frauds which none yet have had.

Deeds of Purchaſe of Lands to be recorded in theſe Regiſters muſt take their Force, either from their Dates or Caption of taking Acknowledgments of them, or from the Time they are entered in the Regiſters; if from their Dates or Captions, as if from ſix Months after either of them, then fraudulent Purchaſers have ſix Months Time to conceal ſuch Deeds, and, they and the Sellers combining, the Sellers may make ſubſequent Deeds of Sale of the ſame Lands to Purchaſers on full Values, and defraud them; the fraudulent Purchaſers, regiſtering their precedent Deeds within the ſix Months, would have the Lands, thoſe Regiſters being Records.

If Deeds of Purchaſe muſt take their Force from the Entries of them into the Regiſters, then ſo many Deeds would be brought to a Regiſter-Office in one Day, as it would be impoſſible to regiſter them the ſame Day; the Preference in Time, to regiſter them, would fall to the Will of Clerks, Regiſters, and the juſt Purchaſers in their Mercies.

If ſeveral Deeds of Sale of the ſame Lands ſhould be made, ſome for a full Value, ſome Fraudulent, and the juſt Deeds brought to the Regiſters, the ſame Day, before the fraudulent Deeds, the Regiſter Clerk is bribed, and the fraudulent Deeds are firſt recorded in the Regiſter-Offices, the fraudulent Purchaſers will have the Lands.

If the Clerk Regiſters (who being ordered to regiſter Deeds in Time, as they come to them) will not be bribed to do otherwiſe; yet fraudulent Sellers may have fraudulent Deeds, and juſt Deeds ready to execute ſo ſoon before or after the juſt Deeds, as, if the fraudulent Buyers cannot otherwiſe be before the juſt Purchaſers at the Regiſter-Offices with their Deeds, Horſes will be laid for them, whereby to outride the others; ſo fraudulent Deeds would be firſt recorded in thoſe Regiſters, and the Purchaſers for full Values would be defrauded of the Lands and of their Monies.

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Conſiderate Men cannot believe, but that ſuch Perſons, who now contrive and act Frauds, will commit more Frauds when they ſhall have more Means to do ſo, or that Clerk Regiſters will not take Bribes for falſe Entries of Deeds into the Regiſters, when they ſhall have, beſides other Tricks, ſuch ready Excuſes for their Miſ-entries when found out: That it was but their Miſtake in ſuch a Croud of Buſineſs; their Bribes taken are not eaſily proved, but ſuch Miſ-entry, if but a Miſtake, would be fatal to the honeſt Purchaſers.

Forged Deeds are now vacated by the Courts of Judicature, but Deeds forged, if regiſtered in thoſe Regiſters made Records, could not be vacated by any Court of Judicature.

I have heard ſome Men ſay, that Forgeries and other Frauds would be prevented by making ſuch Offences in Clerk Regiſters, if Contrivers or Acceſſary thereunto, to be Felony without Benefit of Clergy; this may deceive ſudden Apprehenſions, but conſiderate Men will foreſee ſuch Birds of Prey would ſoon know, that thoſe Scarecrows would not kill them.

Clerk Regiſters, by their Offices, would have ſuch Means to keep their Frauds in Darkneſs, and to tamper with Jurors, as Juries would not find that they had full Evidence to take away their Lives; and ſuch Forgeries would probably be concealed, till after the Forgers Deaths, who ſeldom leave Eſtates ſufficient to anſwer Damages to the Parties wronged by them. Bribe-takers will be Bribe-givers; moſt commonly great Cheaters are notorious Livers, and die Beggars.

Men will enjoy their Monies, and other Goods, in their Houſes much ſafer, by keeping their Doors well locked and barred, than they would do if they ſhould be compelled to leave their Doors open, although the moſt ſevere Penalties of Sufferings and Death ſhould be impoſed on thoſe who ſhould ſteal any of their Goods out of their Houſes; we do not ſuffer Prejudices for Want of Officers toward the Law, but our Grievances are very great by over many Officers, and their Clerks, Attornies, and Sollicitors. Officers will raiſe Profits to themſelves, whoever loſe by it; the more Officers, the more will be the Frauds and Oppreſſions; more than Two-thouſand Clerks and Sollicitors, concerning thoſe Regiſters, would be employed in theſe Regiſter-Offices.

It cannot be rationally thought that all theſe Officers, when firſt made, will be able and honeſt; it is not to be ſuppoſed that thoſe in Succeſſion will be ſo; there will be unworthy Hirelings to diſcover to inſatiable Covetors of the Eſtates of others, and to riotous Waſters of their own Eſtates, the Flaws in Deeds; and to diſcover Flaws in Deeds to ſuch Men would be as to publiſh to Thieves, what Jewels, Monies, Plate, and other Goods, Perſons have in their Houſes, and in what Places; or, when they are to travel, what Monies or other Goods they will take with them, to what Place they go, which Way, and with what Company.

Theſe Regiſters would, in many fundamental Things, ſubvert our Common Law, which is a ſufficient Reaſon to fear great Evils from them.

11 *H.* 7. *cap.* 3. An Act of Parliament was made to put Penal Laws in Execution by Information, although without Preſentments or Indictments by Juries. It had as fair and flattering a Preamble as any Act for Regiſters can have, to be for avoiding many Miſchiefs, which were to the high Diſhonour of God, to the great Let of the Common Law, and to the great Let of the Wealth of the Land; but it proved to be to the high Diſhonour of God, to the great Let of the Common Law, and Wealth of the Land, and, on grievous Complaints againſt it, was repealed, 1 *H.* 8. *cap.* 6. and hath been deteſted ever ſince.

If a Council of Law be examined as a Witneſs upon Oath, in a Court of Judicature, of the Secrets of his Client's Eſtate, he is not bound to make any Diſcovery of them. If he revealeth any Thing in his Client's Deeds to his Client's Damage, our Common Law puniſheth ſuch a Lawyer. By the Common Law, no Purchaſer for a valuable Conſideration is to be compelled to ſhew his Deeds of Purchaſe.

Theſe Regiſters would compel all Perſons to diſcover what was in their Deeds; would give Copies of all Deeds to every Perſon's Adverſary, to every Attorney, Sollicitor, and rapinous Perſon, whereby to make Preys of the Eſtates of honeſt and quiet Perſons.

One in a Room peruſing his Deeds, another comes thither to him; the Owner of the Deeds, upon ſome ſudden Occaſion, goeth out,

out, and layeth the written Side downwards; if, on his Return, he finds the other Perſon to have laid the written Side upwards, *Engliſhmen* eſteem this a great Incivility; but, if he finds the other Perſon taking Copies of his Deeds, it is inſufferable.

Many Men, who, not long ſince, declared their Opinions for all Deeds to be regiſtered, both for the Time paſt, and Time to come, do now ſpeak againſt the Regiſtering of Deeds for the Time paſt; ſome, I believe, from Candour and Ingenuity, being convinced of the Miſchiefs and Inconveniences thereof; but ſuch Men are ſeriouſly to conſider, that, if they grant, that all Perſons ſhould be compelled to regiſter their Deeds for the Time to come, they would thereby be ſo far engaged, as hereafter not to reſiſt to have all Deeds regiſtered for the Time paſt: It will be preſſed, that herein Time paſt, and Time to come, are Links of the ſame Chain, as, for one to be without the other, the Chain would be broken and uſeleſs; it will be preſſed to try retroſpect Deeds for ſome few Years paſt, and after for more Years, and never reſt until all be yielded; many will be perſuaded to yield to further Follies, to maintain the Errors they have committed, rather than, by contracting, to ſhew their former Weakneſs. Beſides, on the ſame Reaſons for Regiſtering Deeds of Inheritance, to prevent Frauds againſt Purchaſers and Creditors, other Deeds alſo muſt be regiſtered, all Leaſes for Lives or Years, the Charges whereof would be inſupportable by Tenants; for, if Regiſtering Deeds of Lands would prevent ſuch Frauds, the Regiſtering of Leaſes would prevent Frauds from Leaſes; and, in Juſtice, it ought to be done, if the Allegations for Regiſtering of Deeds of Lands of Inheritance were true, elſe it would be permitted, that Purchaſers of Leaſes, and Creditors, on Securities by Leaſes, might be defrauded for any Eſtates they ſhould have by Leaſes for Lives or Years.

We have yet no Law which compels any Perſon to record his Deeds of Purchaſe, Covenants or Truſts. The Statute 27 *H.* 8. *cap.* 16. for Inrollment of Deeds of Bargain and Sale, inviteth ſome, but forceth none; not one Deed of an hundred is inrolled on that Statute wherein Covenants or Truſts are expreſſed.

No human Wiſdom can foreſee to make Laws to prevent all future Frauds; when new Frauds are invented and acted, new Laws are to be made to ſuppreſs them: We have ſome good Laws to avoid fraudulent Conveyances, yet thoſe Laws are defective; Regiſters cannot ſupply thoſe Defects; if Regiſters ſhould prevent one ſmall Fraud, they would raiſe twenty worſe Frauds.

It is worthy the Wiſdom of Parliament, by ſome new Laws, to provide further for avoiding fraudulent Conveyances, but without taking from us, by Regiſters, the good Laws we already have.

It is is worthy of moſt ſerious Conſideration, that, if theſe Regiſters were ſettled by a Law, that vaſt and wealthy Body of Regiſter-Officers would ſoon be able to raiſe and maintain great Stocks of Monies, whereby to gain more Authority, and thereby more Profit to themſelves, by new Laws concerning Regiſters, and obſtruct the Paſſing of Laws to take from them any Powers or Profits, although thoſe Powers and Profits were common Grievances to others; their Wealth would enable them to gratify ſuch as would be of their Party, and to oppreſs others that were againſt them. It is probable that every principal Regiſter, and many of their Clerks, would be Members of the Houſe of Commons.

If the Inconveniences, from Regiſter-offices, being in every County, ſhould ſettle them in fewer Places, as if into ſeven of the moſt convenient Places for the Subjects to reſort unto from their reſpective Habitations, then this Kingdom would ſoon be under ſeven Juriſdictions; every ſeveral Regiſter-office will neceſſitate, that a Court of Judicature be with it for Superintendency on the Management thereof, to determine Queſtions as they ſhould ariſe (which would be very many and daily) concerning Miſtakes, Miſunderſtandings, and Miſ-entries of Clerk Regiſters.

Several Judicatures would introduce ſeveral Rules and Courſes of Proceeding; Men would ſeldom buy or ſell on Credit, out of their own Judicatures, when they did not know by what Rules or Courſes of Proceedings thoſe Tranſactions ſhould be judged; they would be fearful of the Influences which the Inhabitants of the ſeveral Juriſdictions would have on the Judges and Jurors in their ſeveral Judicatures, which would break the Commerce and Trade which the ſeveral Parts of this Kingdom now have each with the other.

The Union of our Law, which is the Unity

for

for our common Benefits, would be loſt in our Cauſes concerning our Lands or Goods, altho' the Tryals of Matters of Fact by Juries are twice yearly in the ſeveral Counties, to the great Eaſe and Benefit of the Subjects; yet the Judgments in Points of Law, on thoſe Tryals, are, in the Courts of the *King's-Bench*, *Common-Pleas*, and *Exchequer*, before the Judges of thoſe Courts, learned in our Laws; this keeps the Law intire, and to be the ſame throughout the whole Kingdom.

It cannot be foreſeen how far thoſe new Judicatures would intrench on the Intireneſs and Intereſt of the Monarchy of this Kingdom; ſeven ſeveral Judicatures, in ſeven ſeveral Juriſdictions, might endanger Endeavours for another Heptarchy; the Perſons in the ſeveral Juriſdictions would be ſo involved by their Intereſts in the Judgments given in their ſeveral Judicatures, as to leave no Means unattempted to maintain thoſe Judgments, and to be unquiet when Proceedings ſhould be againſt their Perſons or Eſtates, elſewhere than in their own Judicatures.

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## The *Br--iſh* Ambaſſadreſs's Speech to the *French* King. *MS.*

*The following was a* MS. *in the Earl's Library, and in a few Lines expoſes the Intrigues of the Court and the ſad Condition the Church and Nation was in, at the latter End of Queen* Ann's *Reign, it may be, better, and more clearly, than has been ever done before.*

HAIL Tricking Monarch! more ſucceſsful far
In Acts of Peace, than glorious Deeds of War.
As *A*——'s great Ambaſſadreſs I come,
With News, that will rejoice both you and *Rome*.
Ne'er did the *F*——*h* Affairs ſo gaily ſmile,
Theſe hundred Years, as now in *B*———'s Iſle;
For *there the Spirit of blind Deluſion* reigns,
And ſpreads its Fury o'er the ſtupid Swains.
The L—s, the C——s, and the Prieſts conſpire
To raiſe your Power, and their own Ruin higher.
Nay, even the Q——n, with Qualms of Conſcience preſt,
Seems to advance your Cauſe above the reſt.
Her generous Temper can't forget ſo ſoon
The Royal Favours you have always done,
Both to her Father and his injur'd Son;
And therefore is contriving, every Day,
Her mighty Debt of Gratitude to pay.
For you ſhe has ceas'd the Thunder of the War,
Laid up her Fleets, and left her Channel bare;
For you the Fighting *Marlborough*'s diſgrac'd,
And in his Room a peaceful General * plac'd;
For you ſhe broke her Word, her Friends betray'd,
With Joy look'd on, and ſaw them † Victims made:
That pious Princeſs, when I left her Court,
The Place where none but Friends to you reſort,
Bid me go greet you in the kindeſt Words,
That the moſt ſacred Tye of Love affords:
And tell you that ſhe mourns, with ſacred Pains,
The mighty Loſs you've borne theſe ten Campaigns.

* Duke of *Ormond*. † *Denain*.

And therefore now reſolves to give you more
By this laſt Treaty than you had before,
And to its former Height raiſe your declining Power.
She knows ſhe has no Right the Crown to wear,
And fain would leave it to the lawful Heir.
In order to effect this grand Deſign,
And baffle all the *H——n* Line,
A Set of Miniſters ſhe lately choſe;
To Honour and their Country equal Foes:
Wretches, whoſe Indigence has made 'em bold,
And will betray their Native Land for Gold.
*Ox——d*'s the Chief of this abandon'd Clan,
Him you muſt court; for he's the only Man.
Give him but Gold enough, your Work is done,
He'll bribe the Se——te, and then all's your own.
*D——th* and *B——ke* are Friends to you,
Tho' 'tis not in their Power much Harm to do.
But *Ox——d* reigns Prime Miniſter of State,
Ruling the Nation at a mighty Rate;
And, like a Conjurer with his magick Wand,
Does both the P——t and Q——n command;
Keep but that wily Trickſter ſtill your Friend,
He'll crown your Wiſhes with a proſperous End.
Now is your Time to puſh for *B——n*'s Crown,
And fix K—g *J——s the Third* upon the Throne.
A powerful Fleet prepare, you need no more,
But only land him on his Native Shore;
They'll ſoon depoſe the preſent reigning Thing,
And in her Stead proclaim your Favourite King.
Thus ſpoke the gay Ambaſſadreſs; when ſtrait
Up roſe the Tyrant from his Chair of State;
With Love tranſported, and a joyous Air,
Within his trembling Arms he claſp'd the Fair;
That Night, as Fame reports, and ſome have heard,
A pompous Bed was inſtantly prepar'd,
In which the Monarch and Heroine lay,
And ſpent their Hours in Politicks and Play.
The Duke o'erjoy'd, that his *Italian* Dame
Could in ſo old a Heroe raiſe a Flame,
With an ambitious Pleaſure, as 'tis ſaid,
Led her himſelf unto the Royal Bed.

A Nar-

A Narrative of the wicked Plots carried on by Seignior *Gondamore*, for Advancing the *Popiſh* Religion and *Spaniſh* Faction. Heartily recommended to all *Proteſtants*, by *Richard Dugdale*, Gent.

*Have no Fellowſhip with the unfruitful Works of Darkneſs, but rather reprove them; for it is a Shame even to ſpeak of thoſe Things, which are done of them in ſecret.* Epheſ. v. 11, 12.

*London*, Printed 1679. *Folio*, containing ſixteen Pages.

## The PREFACE.

Courteous Reader,

*THIS following* Narrative *has run all the Hazards and Riſks of* Fortune; *it breathed for a long Time in the obſcure Shadow of a* Country *and* Loyal *Divine's* Study; *after the Death of that* worthy *and* eminent Perſon, *a* Relation *to the* Great Earl *of* Strafford, *it fell into the Hands of one of his* younger Sons, *who being a* Man *of* Buſineſs, *and a daily Frequenter of* Weſtminſter-Hall, *that* great Mart *and* Exchange *of* Law, *this lay bundled up, among ſome* Bundles *of* inſignificant *and* worthleſs Papers, *till it pleaſed God to confine this* Gentleman *to his* Chamber, *by a Diſtemper, which though it was ſo ſevere as to deny him to* act Abroad, *yet it did not ſo* at Home: *Under this* Impriſonment *(for* Reſtraint *is ſuch to* active Spirits) *he reviewed his long neglected Writings; and being unwilling, like the* Rabble *of the* Town, *to* condemn *and* execute *upon a bare* Preſumption *of* Guilt: *He calls all to a* ſingle Scrutiny *and* Examination: *The* Multitude *here, as in the* World, *proved* Traſh *and* Refuſe, *only this* Manuſcript, *like* Moſes *among the* Reeds, *was preſerved* alive, *becauſe it was of a very* fair *and* beautiful Countenance. Perils, *and* manifold Sorts *of* Death, *attend* Writings, *as well as their* Authors, *and* God's Providence *is as* legible *in the* extraordinary Preſervation *of* uſeful *and* profitable Books, *as in* raiſing up *and* protecting Perſons of invincible Reſolution *and* Courage, *to be the* publick Inſtruments *of the* Church's *and* Kingdom's Deliverance; *of this advantageous* Nature *and* Conſideration, *I take theſe following* Sheets *to be, for herein are evidently* diſcourſed *and* unriddled *the Deſigns of the* Spaniſh Match, *the* Stratagems *of the comprehenſive* Stateſman Gondamore, *and of his faithful Adherents the* Jeſuits, *for the Introduction of his Maſter's* Religion *and* Empire *into theſe Nations together. The* Negotiations *betwixt* Spain *and* Great-Britain *were, in King* James's *Reign, the* unaccountable State-Secrets *and* Myſteries; *theſe exerciſed and diſtreſſed the combined Heads and Wits of our* Great Council, *raiſed the Fears and Jealouſies of the* People, *and prepared them to entertain thoſe* groundleſs Suggeſtions, *which afterwards both gave Riſe and Support to our late* Civil Wars. *The Deſigns of the* Catholick Biſhop *and* Monarch, *in all theſe Treaties of Marriage,*

were

*were to enſlave us to a* falſe *and* foppiſh Religion, *and a* tyrannical Government; *and, though Pretences of* Commerce *and* Friendſhip *ſwam at the Top, yet theſe were the great Motives, which lay at the Bottom. To compaſs theſe, Perjuries, and the Violation of the Marriage-Oath with an* Heretical Prince, *would be a ſacred and meritorious Action; and if the* Antichriſtian Beaſt *could be drawn in, as the* Giant *did the Cattle into his Den, backward, and by the Tail, it is no Matter how much* Reaſon *and* Morality *is affronted; nay, his Holineſs, out of the* Plenitude *of his* Power, *will indulge his faithfulleſt Adherents to renounce even in* extremis, *at the very Point of Death, ſome eſſential and reproachful* Articles *of their* Faith *(as the Lawfulneſs of* depoſing * Kings *and* Sovereign Princes) *that the whole* Syſtem *may with the leſs Suſpicion be glibly ſwallowed down and entertained. The Dimenſions of* Hercules *were exactly calculated by the Meaſure of his Foot; and the Magnitude of a* Limb *may diſcover to the* Intelligent *the true Bulk of the* ſymmetrical *and well-built Body; and the horrid* Lyes *and* Immoralities, Rapines *and* Murders, Aſſaſſinations *and* Maſſacres, *approved of in this ſmall* Pamphlet, *for the Effecting of the* Romiſh Deſign, *may ſufficiently inſtruct ſuch (of the villainous and pernicious Nature of the Whole) as have caſt out the* two Devils *of* Prejudice *and of a* blind *and* implicit Faith *in that* Arch-Fanatick *of* Europe, *and* Divider *of* Kingdoms; *for he it is (and, for this* Leſſon, *I muſt acknowledge myſelf intirely indebted to this* Paper) *who ſows the* Tares *of* Diviſion *betwixt the* Gown-men *of this* Nation; *ſets the* Lawyer *to quarrel the* Divine; *the* two Temples *to deprecate the* Church, *and* Weſtminſter-Hall *to envy the princely and magnificent Structure of the* Abby. *Read this* Diſcovery *with Serioufneſs, and I am confident, it will prove very inſtructive in many important Particulars: It was its Misfortune to lie ſo long in* Obſcurity, *and ſo was it too to breathe firſt of all in* Air, *infected with the Stench of ſuch an* infinite Number *of* puny, inſect, *and* imperfect Libels: *Here is nothing in this but what is* maſculine, *the* Argument *is weighty, the* Stile *paſſant and expreſſive, the* Diſcovery *of the* Popiſh Deſigns *in that* Juncto *of* Affairs *clear and palpable, and that it may be* ſerviceable *in this to the* Publick-weal, *is the* only Deſign, *and* hearty Wiſh *of him, who is*

READER,

— A hearty Well-willer to the Welfare

and Proſperity of this NATION,

*RICHARD DUGDALE.*

HIS Catholick Majeſty having given Commandment, that, preſently upon the Return of Seignior *Gondamore*, the *Leiger* Ambaſſador from *England*, a ſpecial Meeting of the Principal States of *Spain*, who were of his Council, together with the Preſidents of the Council of *Caſtile*, of *Arragon*, of *Italy*, of *Portugal*, of the *Indies*, of the Treaſure of War, and eſpecially of the Holy Inquiſition, ſhould be held at *Monſon* in *Arragon*, the Duke of *Lerma* being appointed Preſi-

* *Vid. Concil. Lateran. magnum ſub* Innocentio III. *Can. 30. de Hæreticis*, where the Legality of the Pope's Power to depoſe Princes is aſſerted, and this Declaration thus Authoritively made (denied by the late dying Conſpirators, is a ſufficient Ground of Faith, except they will grant the Catholick Church, both Repreſentative and Vertual, to be Fallible, which Conceſſion would ſtab *Popery* in its Vitals, and kill it at a Blow.

dent,

dent, who ſhould make Declaration of his Majeſty's Pleaſure, take an Account of the Ambaſſador's Service, and conſult, touching the State and Religion reſpectively, to give Satisfaction to his Holineſs's *Nuncio*, who was deſired to make one in this Aſſembly, concerning Overtures of Peace and Amity with the *Engliſh*, and other Catholick Princes; which might ingender Suſpicion and Jealouſy betwixt the Pope and his Majeſty, if the Myſtery were not unfolded, and the Ground of thoſe Counſels diſcovered aforehand: This made all Men expect the Ambaſſador's Return with a Kind of Longing, that they might behold the Iſſue of this Meeting, and ſee what Good for the Catholick Cauſe the Ambaſſador's Employment had effected in *England*, anſwerable to the general Opinion, received of his Wiſdom, and what further Project would be ſet on Foot to become Matter for publick Diſcourſe.

At length he arrived, and had preſent Notice given him from his Majeſty, that, before he came to Court, he ſhould give up his Account to this Aſſembly; which Command he gladly received, as an Earneſt of his acceptable Service, and gave Thanks, that for his Honour he might publiſh himſelf in ſo judicious a Preſence.

He came firſt upon the Day appointed to the Council-Chamber; not long after all the Council of State and the Preſident met; there wanted only the Duke of *Lerma* and the Pope's *Nuncio*, who were the Head and Feet of all the Aſſembly. Theſe two ſtaid long away for divers Reſpects: The *Nuncio*, that he might expreſs the Greatneſs of his Maſter, and loſe the See of *Rome* no Reſpect by his Overſight, but that the Benches might be full at his Approach. The Duke of *Lerma*, to expreſs the Authority and Dignity of his own Perſon, and to ſhew how a Servant, put in Place of his Maſter, exacts more Service of his Fellow-Servants than the Maſter himſelf.

Theſe two ſtaid till all the reſt were weary of waiting; but at length the *Nuncio*, ſuppoſing all the Council ſat, launched forth and came to Road in the Council-Chamber, where, after mutual Diſcharge of Duty from the Company, and Bleſſing upon it from him, he ſat down in ſolemn Silence, grieving at his Overſight, when he ſaw the Duke of *Lerma* abſent, with whom he ſtrove as a Competitor for Pomp and Glory.

The Duke had ſent before, and underſtood of the *Nuncio*'s being there, and ſtaid ſomething the longer, that his Boldneſs might be obſerved, wherein he had his Deſire; for the *Nuncio*, having, a While, patiently driven away the Time, with ſeveral Compliments to ſeveral Perſons, had now almoſt run his Patience out of Breath; but the Duke of *Villa Hermoſa* (Preſident of the Council of *Arragon*) fed his Humour by the Diſcharge of his own Diſcontentment, upon the Occaſion of the Duke of *Lerma*'s Abſence, and beckoned Seignior *Gondamore* to him, uſing this Speech in the Hearing of the *Nuncio*, after a ſporting Manner: 'How unhappy are the People, where 'you have been: *Firſt*, for their Souls, be-'ing Hereticks; then for their Eſtates, where 'the Name of a Favourite is ſo familiar? 'How happy is our Eſtate, where the Keys 'of Life and Death are ſo eaſily come by '(pointing at the *Nuncio*) hanging at every re-'ligious Girdle, and where the Door of Juſ-'tice and Mercy ſtand equally open to all 'Men, without Reſpect of Perſons?' The Ambaſſador knew the Ironical Stroke to be intended as a By-blow to the *Nuncio*, but fully at the Duke of *Lerma* (whoſe Greatneſs, began now to wax heavy towards Declenſion) and therefore he returned this Anſwer: 'Your 'Excellency knoweth the State is happy, 'where wiſe Favourites govern Kings, if the 'Kings themſelves be fooliſh, or if the wiſer 'Sort will not yet be governed by them; the 'State of *England* (howſoever you hear of it 'in *Spain* or *Rome*) is ſo happy in the laſt 'Kind, that they need not care much what the 'Favourite be (though, for the moſt Part, he 'be ſuch as prevents all Suſpicion in that 'Kind, being rather choſe as a Scholar to be 'taught, than a Tutor to teach) of this they 'are ſure no Prince exceeds theirs in perſo-'nal Abilities, ſo that nothing could be ad-'ded to him in my Wiſh, but this one,' He were our Vaſſal and a Catholick.

With that the Noiſe without gave Notice of the Duke of *Lerma*'s Entrance, at whoſe firſt Approach the whole Houſe aroſe, though ſome later than others, as if ſome had hung Plummets on them, to keep them down; the *Nuncio* only ſat unremoved: The Duke received the Obeyſance of the reſt with a familiar Kind of Carriage too high for Courteſy, as one not neglecting ſuch Demeanors, but expecting it, and, after a filial Obſervance to the Pope's

*Nuncio*,

*Nuncio*, ſat down as Preſident under the Cloth of State, but ſomewhat lower; then, after a Space given for Admiration, Preparation, and Attention:

## *The Preſident's Speech, requiring the Ambaſſador to give an Account of his Plots and wicked Intrigues againſt* England, *and what Succeſs he met with.*

THE King my Maſter (holding it more honourable to do, than to diſcourſe, to take from you the Expectation of Oratory, uſed rather in Schools and Pulpits than in Councils) hath appointed me Preſident in this holy wiſe, learned, and noble Aſſembly; a Man naturally of a ſlow Speech, and not deſirous to quicken it by Art or Induſtry, as holding Action only proper to a *Spaniard*, as I am by Birth; to a Soldier, as I am by Profeſſion; to a King, as I am by Repreſentation; take this therefore briefly for a Declaration, both for the Cauſe of this Meeting, and my Maſter's further Pleaſure.

There hath been at all Times, from the World's Foundation, one Chief Commander, or Monarch upon the Earth; this needs no further Proof than a Back-looking into our own Memories and Hiſtories of the World; neither now is there any Queſtion (except with Infidels and Hereticks) of that one Chief Commander in Spirituals, in the Unity of whoſe Perſon, the Members of the viſible Church are included; but there is ſome Doubt of the Chief Commander in Temporals, who (as the Moon, to the Sun) might govern by Night, as this by Day, and by the Sword of Juſtice compel to come in, or cut off, ſuch as infringe the Authority of the Keys: This hath been ſo well underſtood long ſince, by the Infallible Chair, as that, thereby upon the Declenſion of the *Roman* Emperors, and the Increaſe of *Rome*'s ſpiritual Splendor, who thought it unnatural, that their Suns ſhould be ſublunary, our Nation was by the Biſhop of *Rome* ſelected, before other People, to conquer and rule other Nations with a Rod of Iron, and our Kings, to that End, adorned with the Stile of Catholick Kings, as a Name above all Names under the Sun, which is, under God's Vicar General himſelf, the Catholick Biſhop of Souls: To inſtance this Point, by Compariſon, look firſt upon the Grand Seignior, the great *Turk*, who hath a large Title, but not Univerſal, for, beſides that he is an Infidel, his Command is confined within his own Territories, and he is not ſtiled Emperor of the World, but of the *Turks*, and of their Vaſſals only; among *Chriſtians*, the Defender of the Faith, was a glorious Stile, whilſt the King, to whom it was given by his Holineſs, continued worthy of it, but he ſtood not in the Truth, neither yet thoſe that ſucceeded him; and beſides, it was no great Thing to be called, what every good Chriſtian ought to be, Defender of the Faith, no more than to be ſtiled, with *France*, the moſt Chriſtian King, wherein he hath the greateſt Part of his Title common with moſt Chriſtians. The Emperors of *Ruſſia*, *Rome*, and *Germany* extend not their Limits further than their Stiles, which are local; only my Maſter, the moſt Catholick King, is for the Dominion of Bodies, as the Univerſal Biſhop, for the Dominion of Souls, over all that Part of the World, which we call *America* (except where the *Engliſh* Intruders uſurp) and the greateſt Part of *Europe*, with ſome Part of *Aſia* and *Africa*, by actual Poſſeſſion, and over all the reſt, by real and indubitable Right, yet acknowledgeth his Right, to be derived from the free and fatherly Donation of his Holineſs, who, as the Sun to the Moon, beſtows Luſtre by Reflexion, to this Kingdom, to this King of Kings, my Maſter; what therefore he hath, howſoever gotten, he may keep and hold; what he can from any other King, or Commander, by any Stratagem of War, or Pretence of Peace, he may take, for it is theirs only by Uſurpation, except they hold of him, from whom all Civil Power is derived, as Eccleſiaſtical from his Holineſs; what the Ignorant call *Treaſon*, if it be on his Behalf, is Truth; if againſt him, it is Treaſon: And thus, all our Peace, our War, our Treaties, Marriages, or whatſoever Intendment elſe of ours, aims at this principal End, to get the whole Poſſeſſion of the World, and to reduce all to unite under our temporal Head, that our King may truly be, what he is ſtiled, the Catholick and Univerſal King: As Faith therefore is Univerſal, and the Truth Univerſal, yet ſo, as they be under our Head,

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the Pope, whoſe Seat is, and muſt neceſſarily be, at *Rome*, where St. *Peter* ſat; ſo muſt all Men be ſubject to our; and their Catholick King, whoſe particular Seat is here in *Spain*, he is Univerſal every where, and almoſt made Natural, ſo that by a Key of Gold, by Intelligence, or by Way of Confeſſion, my Maſter is able to unlock the Secrets of every Prince, and to withdraw their Subjects Allegiance, as if they knew themſelves more my Maſters Subjects in Truth, than theirs, whom their Birth hath taught to miſcall Sovereigns; we ſee this in *France*, and in *England*, and eſpecially, where all at once they learn to obey the Church of *Rome*, as their Mother; to acknowledge the Catholick King, as their Father; and to hate their own King, as an Heretick and Uſurper: So we ſee Religon and the State coupled together, laugh and weep, flouriſh and fade, and participate of either's Fortunes, as growing upon one Stock of Policy: I ſpeak this the more boldly in this Preſence; becauſe, I ſpeak here before none but Natives, Perſons who are Partakers, both in themſelves, and Iſſues of the Triumphs, above all thoſe of ancient *Rome*, and therefore, ſuch (as beſides their Oaths) it concerns to be ſecret; neither need we refrain this Freedom of Speech from the *Nuncio*'s Preſence, becauſe, beſides that he is a *Spaniard* by Birth, he is alſo a Jeſuit by Profeſſion, an Order raiſed by the Providence of God's Vicar, to accompliſh this Monarchy the better, all of them being appropriate thereunto, and as publick Agents and Privy-Counſellors to this End; wherein the Wiſdom of the State is to be beheld with Admiration, that as in temporal War, it employs, or at leaſt truſts none, but Natives in *Caſtile*, *Portugal*, and *Arragon*: So, in Spirituals, it employs none but Jeſuits, and ſo employs them, that they are generally reputed, how remote ſoever they are from us, how much ſoever obliged to others, ſtill to be ours, and ſtill to be of the *Spaniſh* Faction, though they be *Polonians*, *Engliſh*, *French*, and reſiding in the Countries or Courts: The Penitent therefore, and all with whom they deal and converſe in their Spiritual Traffick, muſt needs be ſo too; and ſo our Catholick King muſt needs have an inviſible Kingdom, and an unknown Number of Subjects in all Dominions, who will ſhew themſelves and their Faith, by their Works of Diſobedience, whenſoever we ſhall have Occaſion to uſe their Jeſuitical Virtue and Policy. This therefore, being the principal End of all our Counſels (according to thoſe Holy Directions of that late pious King, *Philip the Second*, to his Son ſucceeding) to advance the Catholick *Roman* Religion and the Catholick *Spaniſh* Dominion together: We are now met by his Majeſty's Command to take an Account of you Seignior *Gondamore)* who have been Ambaſſador for *England*, to ſee what Good you have effected there, towards the Advancement of this Work; and what further Projects ſhall be thought fit to be ſet on Foot to this End; and this briefly is the Occaſion of our Meeting.

*Then the Ambaſſador, who attended bare-headed all the Time, with a low Obeyſance, began thus:*

THIS laudable Cuſtom of our King, in bringing all Officers to ſuch an Account, where a Review is taken of good and bad Services, upon the Determination of their Employments, reſembles thoſe *Roman* Triumphs appointed for the Soldiers; and, as in them it provoked to Courage, ſo in us it ſtirs up to Diligence; our Maſter converſeth by his Agents with all the World, yet with none of more Regard than the *Engliſh*, where Matter of ſuch Diverſity is preſented, through the ſeveral Humours of the States, and thoſe of our Religion and Faction, that no Inſtruction can be ſufficient for ſuch Negotiations, but much muſt be left in Truſt to the Diſcretion, Judgment, and Diligence of the Incumbent; I ſpeak this, not for my own Glory, I having been reſtrained and therefore deſerved meanly; but to forewarn on the Behalf of others, that there may be more Scope allowed them to deal in, as Occaſion ſhall require; briefly this Rule, delivered by his Excellency, was the Card and Compaſs, by which I ſailed, to make Profit of all Humours, and by all Means to advance the State of the *Romiſh* Faith and *Spaniſh* Faction together, upon all Advantages of Oaths and the Breach of them; for this is an old Obſervation, and a true one, that, for Piety to *Rome*, his Holineſs did not only give, but bleſs us, in the Conqueſt of the new World,

and thus, in our pious Obſervance, we hope ſtill to be Conquerors of the Old; and, to this End, whereas his Excellency in his excellent Diſcourſe ſeems to extend our outward Forces and private Aims, only againſt Hereticks, and to reſtrain them with true Amity, with theſe of the *Romiſh* Religion; this I affirm, that, ſince there can be no Security, but ſuch Princes, though now *Romiſh* Catholicks, may turn Hereticks hereafter, my Aims have ever been to make Profit of all, and to make my Maſter Maſter of all, who is a faithful and conſtant Son of his Mother *Rome*; and to this End I beheld the Endeavours of our Kings of happy Memory, how they have atchieved Kingdoms and Conqueſts by this Policy, rather than by open Hoſtility, and that without Difference, as well from their Allies and Kinsfolks, Men of the ſame Religion and Profeſſion; ſuch as were thoſe of *Naples*, *France*, and *Navarre*, though I do not mention *Portugal*, now united to us, nor *Savoy*, that hardly flied from us, as of an Adverſe and Heretical Faith; neither is this Rule left off, as the preſent Kingdom of *France*, the State of *Venice*, the *Low-Countries*, and *Bohemia*, now all labouring for Life under our Plots, apparently manifeſt; this Way therefore I bent my Engines in *England*, as your Honours ſhall particularly hear; I ſhall not need to repeat a Catalogue of the Services I have here done, becauſe this State hath been acquainted with many of them heretofore, by Intercouſe of Letters and Meſſengers; theſe only I will ſpeak of that I have of late done, ſince the Return of the Lord *Roos* from hence, and may ſeem moſt directly to tend to thoſe Ends formerly propounded by his Excellency, that is, the Advancement of the *Spaniſh* State and *Romiſh* Religion together: *Firſt*, it is well obſerved by the Wiſdom of our State, that the King of *England*, who is otherwiſe one of the moſt accompliſhed Princes that ever reigned, extremely hunts after Peace, and ſo affects the true Name of a *Peace-maker*, as that for it he will do or ſuffer any Thing; and withal, they have beheld the general Bounty and Munificence of his Mind, and Neceſſity of the State ſo exhauſted, as it is unable to ſupply his Deſires, who ſeeks to have that he may give to others; upon theſe Advantages they have given out Directions and Inſtructions both to me and others, and I have obſerved them as far as I was able.

And, for this Purpoſe, whereas there was a Marriage propounded betwixt them and us; howſoever I ſuppoſe our State too devout to deal with Hereticks in this Kind in Earneſt, yet I made that a Cover for much Intelligence, and a Means to obtain what I deſired, whilſt the State of *England* longed after the Marriage, hoping thereby, though vainly, to ſettle Peace, and fill the *Exchequer*; here the Arch-Biſhop of *Toledo*, Inquiſitor-General, ſtepped up and interrupted *Gondamore*, ſaying, That Marriage was not to be thought on, *firſt*, for Religion's Sake, leſt they ſhould endanger the Soul of the young Lady, and the reſt of her Company might become Hereticks. *Secondly*, For the State, leſt, by giving ſo large a Portion to Hereticks, they ſhould inrich and enable themſelves for War, and impoveriſh and weaken the Catholicks.

To the *firſt* Objection the Pope's *Nuncio* anſwered, that his Holineſs, for the Catholick Cauſe, would diſpenſe with the Marriage; and urged theſe following Reaſons: *Firſt*, That there was a valuable Danger, in the Hazarding of one for the Gaining of many, perhaps of all. *Secondly*, That it was no Hazard ſince Women (eſpecially young ones) are too obſtinate to be removed from their Opinions, and abler to win *Solomon* to their Opinions, than *Solomon* to work them to his Faith. *Thirdly*, It was great Advantage to match with ſuch, from whom they might break at Pleaſure, having the Catholick Cauſe for a Colour; and beſides, if Need were, to be at Liberty in all Reſpects, ſince there was no Faith to be kept with Hereticks; and, if his Holineſs may diſpenſe with the Murder of ſuch, and diſpoſe of their Crowns, as what good Catholick doubts but he may; much more he may, and will he, in their Marriages, to prevent the Leproſy-Seed of Hereſy, and to ſettle Catholick Blood, in the Chair of State; to the *ſecond* Objection the Ambaſſador himſelf anſwered, ſaying, That, though the *Engliſh* generally loathed the Match, and would as he thought buy it off with Half their Eſtates, hating the Nation of *Spain*, and their Religion (as appears by an Uprore and Aſſault a Day or two before his Departure from *London*, by the Apprentices, being greedy to vent their own Spleen, in doing him, or any of his, a Miſchief) yet two Sorts of People unmeaſurably deſired the Match might proceed. *Firſt*, The begging and beggarly *Courtiers*, that they might have to furniſh their Wants. *Secondly*,

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The *Romiſh* Catholicks, who hoped thereby, at leaſt, for a Moderation of Fines, and Laws, perhaps a Toleration; and perhaps, a total Reſtoration of their Religion in *England*; in which Regard, quoth he, I have known ſome zealous Perſons proteſt, that if all their Friends, and Half their Eſtates, could procure the Service of our *Lady*, if ſhe came to be married with the Prince, they would uſe the Means faithfully to fight under her Colours, when they might ſafely do it; and, if it came to Portion, they would under-hand contribute largely of their Eſtates to the *Spaniſh* Collector, and make up Half the Portion of themſelves, perhaps more: So by this Marriage it might be ſo wrought, that the State ſhould be rather robbed and weakened (which is our Aim) than ſtrengthened, as the *Engliſh* vainly hope; beſides, in a ſmall Time they ſhould work ſo far in the Body of the State by buying Offices, and the like, either by Sea or Land, of Juſtice, Civil or Eccleſiaſtical, in Church or State (all being for Money expoſed to Sale) that with the Help of Jeſuits they would undermine with mere Wit (without Gunpowder) and leave the King but a few Subjects, whoſe Faith he might rely upon, while they were of a Faith adverſe to his: For what Catholick Body, that is ſound at the Heart, can abide a corrupt and heretical Head, or Ruler? With that the Duke *Medina des Rio Setto*, Preſident of the Council of War, and of the Council of State, roſe up and ſaid, His Predeceſſors had felt the Force and Wit of the *Engliſh*, in 88, and he had Cauſe to doubt the Catholicks themſelves that were *Engliſh*, and fully jeſuited, upon any foreign Nation, would rather take Part with their own King, though an Heretick, than with his Catholick Majeſty a Stranger.

The Ambaſſador deſired him to be of another Mind, ſince, firſt, for their Perſons, generally their Bodies, by long Diſuſe for Arms, were diſabled, and their Minds effeminated, by Peace and Luxury, far from what they were in 88, when they were fleſhed in our Blood, and made haughty in cuſtomary Conqueſts; and for the Affection of thoſe whom they call *Recuſants* (quoth he) I know the Bitterneſs of their inveterate Malice; and have ſeen ſo far into their Natures, as, I dare ſay, they will be for *Spain* againſt all the World; yea (quoth he) I aſſure your Honours, I could not imagine ſo baſely of their King and State, as I have heard them ſpeak; nay, their Rage hath ſo perverted their Judgments, that what I myſelf have ſeen and heard from their King beyond Admiration, even to Aſtoniſhment, they have ſlighted, miſreported, ſcorned, and perverted to his Diſgrace, and my Rejoicing, magnifying in the mean Time our Defect for Grace.

Here the Duke *Paſtrane*, Preſident of the Council for *Italy*, ſtepped up and ſaid, He had lately read a Book of one *Cambden*'s, called his *Annals*; wherein writing of a Treaty of a Marriage long ſince, between *Engliſh Eliſabeth*, and the *French* Duke of *Anjou*: He there obſerves, that the Marriage was not ſeriouſly intended on either Side, but politickly pretended by both States, counterchangeably, that each might effect their own Ends; there the *Engliſh* had the better; and I have ſome Cauſe to doubt, ſince they can diſſemble, as well as we, that they have their Aims underhand as well as we, and intend the Match as little as we do; and this (quoth he) I believe the rather, becauſe the King, as he is wiſe to conſult and conſider, ſo he is a conſtant Maſter of his Word, and hath written and given ſtrong Reaſons againſt Matches made with Perſons of contrary Religion; which Reaſons no other Man can anſwer: And therefore doubtleſs he will not go from, nor counſel his Son to forſake thoſe Rules laid down ſo deliberately.

Your Excellency miſtakes, quoth the Ambaſſador: The Advantage was then on the Side of the *Engliſh*, becauſe the *Frenchmen* ſought the Match; now it muſt be upon ours, becauſe the *Engliſh* ſeek it, who will grant any Thing, rather than break off: and beſides, they have no Patience to temporiſe and diſſemble, in this or any other Deſign, as the *French* long ſince have well obſerved; for their Neceſſities will give them neither Time nor Reſt, nor Hope elſwhere to be ſupplied. As for their King, I cannot ſearch into his Heart, I muſt believe others that preſume to know his Mind, hear his Words, and read his Writings, and theſe relate what I have delivered: But, for the reſt of the People, as the Number of thoſe, that are truly religious, are ever the leaſt, for the moſt Part, of leaſt Account; ſo is it there, where, if an equal Oppoſition be made betwixt their truly Religious and ours, the Remainder will be the greateſt Number, and will ſtand indifferent, and

fall to the greateſt Side, where there is moſt Hope of Gain and Glory; for thoſe two are the Gods of the Magnitude, and of the Multitude: Now theſe ſee apparently no certain Supplies for their Wants but from us.

Yes, quoth the Duke, for even now you ſaid the general State, loathing the Match, would redeem the Fear thereof, with Half their Eſtates: It is therefore but Calling a Parliament, and the Buſineſs were ſoon effected. A Parliament! quoth the Ambaſſador, nay, therein lies one of the principal Services I have done, in working ſuch a Diſlike between the King and the Lower-Houſe, by the Endeavours of that honourable Earl and admirable Engine, a ſure Servant to us, and the Cauſe, whilſt he lives, that the King will never endure a Parliament again, but rather ſuffer abſolute Want, than receive conditional Relief from his Subjects: The Matter was ſo curiouſly carried the laſt Parliament, that is, in the Powder-plot; the Fact effected ſhould have been imputed to the *Puritans*, the greateſt Zealots of the *Calvinian* Sect; ſo the Propoſitions, which dam up the Proceedings of this Parliament, howſoever they were invented by *Roman* Catholicks, and by them invented to diſturb that Seſſion, yet were propounded in Favour of the *Puritans*, as if they had been hammered in their Forge, which very Name and Shadow the King hates; it being a ſufficient Aſperſion to diſgrace any Perſon, to ſay he is ſuch, and a ſufficient Bar to ſtop any Suit, and utterly to croſs it, to ſay it ſmells of, or inclines to that Party: Moreover, there are ſo many about him which blow this Coal, fearing their own States. If a Parliament ſhould enquire into their Actions, they uſe all their Art and Induſtry to withſtand ſuch a Council; perſuading the King he may rule by his abſolute Perogative, without a Parliament, and thus furniſh himſelf by a Marriage with us, and by other Domeſtick Projects, without Subſidies, when Leaving off Subſidies and Taxes hath been the only Uſe Princes have made of ſuch: And whereas ſome free Minds among them, reſembling our Nobility, who prefer the Privilege of Subjects againſt ſovereign Invaſion, call for the Courſe of the Common Law, a Law proper to their Nation; there are other Time-ſervers cry the Laws down, and up the Perogative, whereby they prey upon the Subjects by their Suits and Exactions, mulct the State, and keep it poor; procure themſelves much Suſpicion amongſt the better and judicious Sort, and Hate amongſt the oppreſſed Commons. And yet, if there ſhould be a Parliament, ſuch a Courſe is taken, as they ſhall never chuſe their Shire Knights and Burgeſſes freely, who make the better Half of the Body thereof; for theſe, being to be elected by moſt Voices of the Free-holders, in the County where ſuch Elections are to be made, are carried which Way the great Perſons, who have Lands in theſe Countries, pleaſe; who, by their Letters, command their Tenants, Followers, and Friends to nominate ſuch as adhere to them, and, for the moſt of them, are our Faction, and reſpect their own Benefit and Gain, rather than their Country's Good; yea, the Country People themſelves will every one ſtand for the great Man, their Lord, or Neighbour, or Maſter, without Regard of his Honeſty, Wiſdom, and Religion. That which they aim at, as I am aſſured by faithful Intelligence, is to pleaſe their Landlords, and to renew their Leaſe; in which Regard they will betray their Country and Religion too, and elect any Man that may moſt profit their Particular; therefore it is unlikely there ſhould be a Parliament, and impoſſible the King's Debts ſhould be paid, his Wants ſufficiently repaired, and left himſelf full-handed by ſuch a Courſe; and indeed, as it is generally thought, by any other Courſe than with a Marriage with us; for which Cauſe, whatſoever Project, we liſt to attempt, enters ſafely at the Door, whilſt their Policy lies aſleep, and will not ſee the Danger. I have made Trial of theſe Particulars, and found few Exceptions in theſe general Rules; thereby I, and their own Wants together, have kept them from furniſhing their Navy, which, being the Wall of their Iſland, and once the ſtrongeſt in *Chriſtendom*, lies now at Road, unarmed, and fit for Ruin: If ever we doubted their Strength by Sea, now we need not; there are but few Ships or Men able to look abroad, or to live in a Storm, much leſs in a Sea-fight. This I effected by buzzing in their Ears, The furniſhing a Navy bred Suſpicion in my Maſter, and ſo would avert his Mind from this Match; the Hope of which, rather than they would loſe, they would almoſt loſe their Hope of Heaven.

*Secondly*. All their Voyages to the *Eaſt-Indies* I permitted, rather with a colourable Reſiſtance,

Reſiſtance, than a ſerious, becauſe I ſee them not helpful, but hurtful to the State in general; carrying out Gold and Silver, and bringing Home Spice, Silks, Feathers, and ſuch like Toys; an inſenſible waſting the Common Stock of Coin and Bullion, whilſt it fills the Cuſtom-Houſe, and ſome private Houſes, who thereby are unable to keep this Diſcommodity on Foot, by Bribes eſpecially, ſo many great Perſons being Venturers and Sharers in the Gain; beſides, this waſteth the Mariners, not one of ten returning, which I am glad to hear, for they are the Men we ſtand in Fear of: As for the *Weſt-Indian* Voyages, I withſtood them in Earneſt, becauſe they began to inhabit there, and to fortify themſelves, and may, in Time, there perhaps raiſe another *England* to withſtand a *New-Spain* in *America*; as this old *England* oppoſeth our State, and clouds the glorious Extent thereof in *Europe*: Beſides, there they trade for Commodities, without Waſte of their Treaſure, and often return Gold for Knives, Glaſſes, or the like Trifles, without ſuch Loſs of their Mariners as in other Places; therefore I croſſed whatſoever Intendments were projected for *Virginia* or *Bermudas*, becauſe they may be hereafter really helpful unto them, as now they ſerve for Drains to unload their popolous State, which elſe would overthrow its own Banks by a Continuance of Peace, and turn Head upon itſelf, or make a Body fit for any Rebellion: And ſo far I prevailed therein, as I cauſed moſt of the *Recuſants*, who were to go thither, to withdraw their Ventures, and diſcourage the Work; ſo that, beſides private Perſons, unable to effect much, nothing was done by the publick Purſe. And we know by Experience, ſuch Voyages and Plantations are not effected without great Means, to ſatisfy great Difficulties, and, with an unwearied Reſolution and Power, to meet all Hazards and Diſtaſtes, with ſtrong Help and continual Supplies, or elſe the Undertaking proves idle: By this Means alſo I kept the voluntary Forces from *Venice*, until it was almoſt too late to ſet out, and had hoped that Work ſhould have broken forth to Action, before theſe would have arrived to ſuccour them. I put hard for the Cautionary Towns, which our late *Philip*, of happy Memory, ſo much aimed at, accounting them the Keys of the *Low-Countries*, that they might be delivered to his Catholick Majeſty, as to the proper Owner, and had perhaps prevailed, but that the profeſſed Enemy to our State and Church, who died ſhortly after, gave Counſel to reſtore them to the rebellious States, as one that knew popular Commonwealths to be better Neighbours, ſafer Friends, and leſs dangerous than Monarchs; and ſo, by this Practice, wreſted from my Hands, and furniſhed the *Exchequer* from thence, for that Time. Neither was I much grieved, becauſe the Dependency they had before on the *Engliſh* ſeemed to be cut off, and the Intereſt that the *Engliſh* had in them to be taken away; which muſt now fully and finally be effected, before we can either hope to conquer them, or *England*, who, holding together, are too ſtrong for the World at Sea, and therefore muſt be diſunited, before they can be overcome. This Point of State is acknowledged by our experienced Penſioner and ſure Friend, Monſieur *Barnevelt*, whoſe ſucceeding Plots to this End ſhall bear Witneſs for the Depth of his Judgment.

But the laſt Service, I did in the State, was not the leaſt; when I underwrought that admirable Engine, *Raleigh*, and was the Cauſe his Voyage (threatening much Danger to us) was overthrown, and himſelf returning in Diſgrace. I purſued him almoſt to Death; neither, I hope, need I ſay almoſt, if all Things hit right, and all Things hold; but the Determination of my Commiſſion would not permit me longer to ſtay to follow him to Execution; which I deſired the rather, that by Confeſſion I might have wrung, from the inconſiderable *Engliſh*, an Acknowledgment of my Maſter's Right in thoſe Places, puniſhing him for Attempting there, though he might preſcribe for the firſt Foot: And this I did to ſtop their Mouths hereafter, and becauſe I would quench the Heat and Valour of that Nation, that none ſhould dare hereafter to undertake the like, or be ſo hardy to look out at Sea, or breathe upon our Coaſt.

And, *laſtly*, becauſe I would bring to an ignominious Death that old Pirate, who is one of the laſt now living, bred under that deceaſed *Engliſh Virago*, and, by her, fleſhed in our Ruin. To do this, I had many Agents:

*Firſt*, Divers Courtiers, who were hungry, and gaped wide for *Spaniſh* Gold.

*Secondly*, Some that bare him a Grudge at Heart for inveterate Quarrels.

*Thirdly*,

*Thirdly*, Some Foreigners, who, having in vain ſought the Elixir hitherto, hoped to find it in his Head.

*Fourthly*, All Men of the *Romiſh* Faith, who are of the *Spaniſh* Faction, and would have been my Blood-hounds to hunt him or any ſuch to Death willingly, as Perſons hating the Proſperity of their Country, and the Valour, Worth, and Wit of their own Nation, in Reſpect of us and our Catholick Cauſe.

*Laſtly*, I left behind me ſuch an Inſtrument, compoſed artificially of a ſecular Underſtanding and a religious Profeſſion, as he is every Way adapted to ſcrew himſelf into the Cloſet of the Heart, and to work upon feminine Lenity, who, in that Country, have maſculine Spirits to command and purſue their Plots unto Death. This, therefore, I count as done, and rejoice in it, knowing it to be very profitable to us, grateful to our Faction there; and, for the reſt, What though it be a Croſs to the People, or that Clergy? We, that only negotiate for our own Gain, and treat about this Marriage for our own Ends, can conclude, or break off, when we ſee our own Time, without Reſpect of ſuch as can neither profit us, nor hurt us. For I have certain Knowledge, that the Commons generally are ſo effeminate and cowardly, that, at their Muſters (which are ſeldom, or ſleight, only for the Benefit of their Muſter-maſters) of a thouſand Soldiers ſcarce an hundred dare diſcharge a Muſquet; and, of that hundred, ſcarce one can uſe it like a Soldier: And, as for their Arms, they are ſo ill provided, that one Corſlet ſerves many Men; when ſuch, as uſe their Arms upon a Day in one Place, lend them to their Friends in other Places, to ſhew them, when they have Uſe; and this, if it be ſpied, is only puniſhed with a Mulct in the Purſe, which is the Officer's Aim; who, for his Advantage, winketh at the reſt, and is glad to find and cheriſh by Connivance profitable Faults, which increaſe his Revenue. Thus ſtands the State of that poor miſerable Country, which had never more People, and fewer Men; ſo that, if my Maſter would reſolve upon an Invaſion, the Time never fits as at this preſent, Security of this Marriage, and Diſuſe of Arms, having caſt them into a deep Sleep; a ſtrong and weakening Faction being ever amongſt them, ready to aſſiſt us; and they being unprovided of Ships and Arms, or Hearts to fight, an univerſal Diſcontentment filling all Men. This have I from their Muſter-maſters and Captains, who are, many of them, of our Religion, or of none, and ſo ours, ready to be bought and ſold, and deſirous to be my Maſter's Servants in Fee. Thus much for the State particularly; wherein I have bent myſelf to weaken them, and ſtrengthen us, and in all theſe have advanced the Catholick Cauſe, but eſpecially in procuring Favours for all ſuch as favour that Side, and croſſing the other by all Means: And this I practiſed myſelf, and give out to be generally practiſed by all others, that, whatſoever Succeſs I find, I ſtill boaſt of Victory: Which I do to diſhearten the Hereticks, and to make them ſuſpicious one of another, eſpecially of their Prince and of their beſt Stateſmen; and to keep our own in Courage, who by this Means increaſe, but would otherwiſe be in Danger to decay.

Now, for Religion, and for ſuch Deſigns as fetch their Pretence from thence, I beheld the Policy of that late Biſhop of theirs *(Bancroft)* who ſtood up and maintained dangerous Schiſm between our Secular Prieſts and Jeſuits; whereby he diſcovered much Weakneſs, to the Diſhonour of our Clergy, and Prejudice to our Cauſe. This taught me, as it did *(Barnevelt)* in the *Low-Countries*, to work ſecretly and inſenſibly between the Conformiſt and Nonconformiſt; and to caſt an Eye as far as the *Orcades*, knowing that Buſineſs might be ſtirred up there, that might hinder Proceedings in *England*, and ſo to prevent their Conqueſt. The Effect you have partly ſeen in the Earl of *Argyle*, who ſometime was Captain for the King and Church, againſt the Marquis *Huntley*, and now fights under our Banner at *Bruſſels*, leaving the Croſſes of St. *George* and St. *Andrew* for the Staff of St. *James*.

Neither do our Hopes end here; for we daily expect more Revolters, at leaſt ſuch a Diſunion, as will never admit ſolid Reconcilement, but will ſend ſome to us, and ſome to *Amſterdam*. For the King, a wiſe and vigilant Prince, labouring for a perfect Union betwixt both the Kingdoms, which he ſeeth cannot be effected, where the leaſt Ceremony of Religion is continued, divers ſharp and bitter Brawls from thence ariſing; whilſt ſome, ſtriving for Honour more than for Truth, prefer their own Way and Will before the general Peace of the Church, and the Edification of

Soul.

Souls: He, I ſay, ſeeks to work an Uniformity betwixt both Churches, and to this End made a Journey into *Scotland*, but with no ſuch Succeſs as he expected; for divers of ours attended the Train, and ſtirred up Humours and Factions, and caſt in Scruples and Doubts, to hinder and croſs the Proceeding: Yea, thoſe that ſeem moſt averſe to us, and averſe to our Opinions, by their Diſobedience and Example, helped forward our Plots; and theſe are encouraged by a Faction and heady Multitude, by a falſe and irreſolute Clergy (many falſe Brethren being amongſt the Biſhops) and by the prodigal Nobility, who maintain theſe Stirs in the Church, that thereby they may keep the Church-livings in their Hands, which they have moſt ſacrilegiouſly ſeized upon, in the Time of the firſt Deformation *, and which, they fear, would be returned by the Clergy, if they could be brought to Peace and Agreement: For, if they have ſeen the King very bountiful in this Kind, having lately increaſed their Penſions, and ſettled on the Clergy a competent Maintenance; and, beſides, out of his own Means, which, in that Kingdom, is none of the greateſt, having brought in and reſtored whole Biſhopricks to the Church, which were before in Laymen's Hands, a great Part of the Nobility's Eſtates conſiſting of ſpiritual Lands; which makes them cheriſh the *Puritanical* Faction, who will be content to be trencher-fed with Scraps, and Crumbs, and Contributions, and arbitrary Benevolences from the Lairds †, and Lords, and Ladies, and their Adherents and Followers.

But, quoth the Inquiſitor-General, now if this Act of the King, wherein he is moſt earneſt and conſtant, ſhould ſo prevail, as it ſhould effect a perfect Union, both in Church and Commonweal: I tell you, it would, in my Conceit, be a great Blow to us, if, by a general Meeting, a General Peace ſhould be concluded, and all their Forces, bent againſt *Rome*; and we ſee their politick King aims at this.

True, quoth *Gondamore*, but he takes his Mark amiſs; howſoever, he underſtands the People, and their Inclination, better than any Man, and better knows how to temper their Paſſions and Affections, for (beſides that he is hindered there in *Scotland*, underhand, by ſome, for the Reaſons before recited, and by other great ones of ours, who are in great Places and Authority amongſt them) he is likewiſe deluded in this Point by his own Clergy at Home in *England*, who pretend to be moſt in the Cauſe, for they conſidering, if a general Uniformity were wrought, what an Inundation would follow, whilſt all, or moſt of theirs, as they fear, would flock hither for Preferment, as Men preſſing to the Sun for Light and Heat, and ſo their own ſhould be unprovided; theſe, therefore, I ſay, howſoever they bear the King in Hand, or underhand againſt it, and ſtand for all Ceremonies to be obtruded with a Kind of abſolute Neceſſity upon them, when the other will not be almoſt drawn to receive any, when, if an Abatement were made, doubtleſs, they might be drawn to inſert in the midſt; but there is no Hopes of this with them, where neither Part deals ſeriouſly, but only for the Preſent to ſatisfy the King; and ſo there is no Fear on our Side, that Affections and Opinions ſo divers will ever be reconciled and made one. The Biſhop of St. *Andrews* ſtands almoſt alone in the Cauſe, and pulls upon himſelf the Labour, the Loſs, and the Envy of all, with little Proficiency; whilſt the adverſe Faction have as ſure Friends, and as good Intelligence about the King as he hath, and the ſame Poſt, that perhaps brings a Packet from the King to him, brings another from their Abettors to them, acquainting them with the whole Proceedings and Counſels, and preparing them aforehand for Oppoſition: This I know for Truth, and this I rejoice in, as concerning much the *Catholick* Good. But, quoth the *Nuncio*, are there none of the *Heretical* Preachers buſy about this Match? Methinks their Fingers ſhould itch to be writing, and their Tongues burn to be prating of this Buſineſs, eſpecially the *Puritanical* Sort, howſoever the moſt Temperate and Indifferent carry themſelves. The Truth is, my Lord, quoth the Ambaſſador, that, privately what they can, and publickly what they dare, both in *England* and *Scotland*, all, for the moſt Part, except ſuch as are of our Faith, oppoſe this Match to the utmoſt, by Prayers, Counſels, Speeches, and Wiſhes; but, if one be found longer-tongued than his Fellows, we have ſtill Means to charm their Saucineſs, to ſilence them, and expel them the Court, to diſgrace them, and croſs their Preferment with the Imputation of

* Meaning the Reformation of the Church of *England*, under King *Henry the Eighth* and King *Edward the Sixth*. † Gentlemen of Eſtates.

pragma-

pragmatick *Puritaniſm:* For Inſtance, I will relate this one Particular; a Doctor of theirs, and a Chaplain in Ordinary to the King, gave many Reaſons in a Letter, againſt this Marriage, and propounded a Way, how to ſupply the King's Wants otherways; which I underſtanding, ſo wrought underhand, that the Doctor was committed, and hardly eſcaped the Danger of his preſumptuous Admonition, tho' the State knew his Intent honeſt, and his Reaſons good; whereas we, on the other Side, both here, and with the Archduke, have Books penned, and Pictures printed, directly againſt their King and State, for the which their Ambaſſadors have ſought Satisfaction of us in vain, not being able to ſtay the Print, or ſo much as to touch the Hem of the Author's Garment: But we have an Evaſion, which *Hereticks* miſs, our Clergy being freed from the Temporal Sword, and ſo not included in our Treaties and Conditions of Peace, but at Liberty to give any *Heretical* Prince the Slip, when they liſt, whereas theirs are liable to Account and Hazard; and are muzzled for Barking, when ours may both bark and bite too; the Council-Table and the *Star-Chamber* do ſo terrify them, as they dare not riot, but run at the Stirrop with excellent Command, and come in at the leaſt Rebuke. They call their Preaching in many Places *Standing up*, but they crouch, and dare not ſtand up, behaving themſelves like Sitters ſilent; creeping upon their Bellies, lick the Duſt, which our Prieſts ſhake from their beautiful Feet. Now, quoth the Duke of *Lerma*, ſatisfy me about our own Clergy, how they fare, for there were here Petitions made to the King in the Name of the diſtreſſed, afflicted, perſecuted, and impriſoned Prieſts, that his Majeſty would intercede for them, to free them from the intolerable Burdens they groaned under, and to procure them their Liberties, and Letters were directed from us to that End, that you would negotiate that Demand with all Speed and Diligence.

Moſt excellent Prince, replied *Gondamore*, I did your Command with a Kind of Command myſelf, not thinking it fit to make it a Suit in your Name, or my Maſter's; I obtained them Liberty to walk freely up and down, to face and outface their Accuſers, judge Magiſtrates, Biſhops, and to exerciſe their Function, almoſt as freely, altogether as ſafely, as at *Rome*.

Here the *Nuncio* replied, that he did not well in his Judgment, in procuring their Liberty, ſince they might do more Good in Priſon than Abroad, becauſe in Priſon they ſeemed to be under Perſecution, and ſo were pitied of others, and Pity of the Perſon prepares the Affection further; beſides, then they were careful over their own Lives to give none Offence, but Abroad they might be ſcandalous in their Lives, as they uſe to be in *Rome* and *Spain*, and other Catholick Countries, and ſo the Opinion of their Holineſs, which upholds their Credit and Cauſe againſt the married Clergy, would ſoon decay.

But the Ambaſſador anſwered, he conſidered thoſe Inconveniencies; but beſides, a ſuperior Advantage aroſe from the Profit of Liberty, more than Reſtraint, for now they might freely confer, and were ever practiſing, and would doubtleſs produce ſome Work of Wonder; and beſides, by Reaſon of their Authority, and Means to change Places, did apply themſelves to many Perſons, whereas in Priſon they could only deal with ſuch as came to be taught, and were their own before; and this (quoth he) add as a Secret, that as before they were maintained by private Contributions to denounce Catholicks even to Acceſs; ſo much more now ſhall they be able to gather great Sums to weaken the State, and furniſh them for ſome high Attempt, by the Example of Cardinal *Woolſey*, barreling up Gold for *Rome*; and this they may eaſily do, ſince all Catholicks rob the Heretical Prieſts, and hold Tithes from them by Fraud and Force, to give to theirs of their own, to whom it is properly due; and, if this be ſpied, it is an eaſy Matter to lay all upon the *Hollander*, and ſay, *He carrieth the Coin out of the Land* (who are forward indeed in ſuch Practices) and ſo ours ſhall not only be excuſed, but a Flaw made betwixt them, to weaken their Amities, and to get Suſpicion betwixt them of each other's Love.

But amongſt all theſe Prieſts (quoth the Inquiſitor-General) did you remember, that old Reverend Father *Baldwin*? who had a Finger in that admirable Attempt made on our Behalf againſt the Parliament-Houſe? Such as he, deſerving ſo rightly, adventuring their Lives ſo reſolutely for the Catholick Cauſe, muſt not be neglected, but extraordinarily regarded, thereby, to encourage others to the like Undertaking.

Holy

Holy Father (quoth *Gondamore*) my principal Care was of him, whoſe Life and Liberty when I had with much Difficulty obtained of the King, I ſolemnly went in Perſon, attended with my Train, and divers other Well-wiſers, to fetch him out of the *Tower*, where he was in Durance. As ſoon as I came into his Sight, I behaved myſelf after ſo lowly and humble a Manner, that our Adverſaries ſtood amazed to ſee the Reverence we gave to our ghoſtly Fathers; and this I did to confound them and their contemptuous Clergy, to beget an extraordinary Opinion of Holineſs in the Perſon, and Piety in us, and alſo to provoke the *Engliſh* Catholicks to the like devout Obedience; that thereby, at any Time, their Jeſuits (whoſe Authority was ſomewhat weakened ſince the Schiſm betwixt them and the Seculars, and the ſucceeding Powder-Plot) may work them to our Ends, as Maſters their Servants, Tutors their Scholars, Fathers their Children, Kings their Subjects; and, that they may do this the more boldly and ſecurely, I have ſomewhat daſhed the Authority of their High-Commiſſion; upon which whereas there are divers Purſuivants (Men of the worſt Kind and Condition, reſembling our *Flies* and *Familiars* * attending upon the Inquiſition) whoſe Office and Employment is to diſturb the Catholicks, ſearching their Houſes for Prieſts, holy Veſtments, Books, Beads, Crucifixes, and the like religious Appurtenances. I have cauſed the Execution of their Offices to be ſlackened, that ſo an open Way may be given to our ſpiritual Inſtruments, for the free Exerciſe of their Faculties. And yet, when theſe Purſuivants were in greateſt Authority, a ſmall Bribe in the Country would blind their Eyes, or a little greater at Court, or in the *Exchequer*, fruſtrate and croſs all their Actions; for that their Malice went off like Squibs, made a great Crack to fright Children and new-born Babes, but hurt no old Men of Catholick Spirits: And this is the Effect of all other their Courſes of Proceedings in this Kind, in all their Judicial Courts; whether known Catholicks committed, as they ſtile them, or often ſummoned and cited, threatened and bound over; but the Danger is paſt, ſo ſoon as the Officer hath his Fee paid him; then the Execution goeth no further: Nay, upon my Conſcience, they are as glad, when there are Offenders in that Kind, becauſe they are bountiful; and the Officers do their beſt to favour them, that they may increaſe, and ſo their Revenue and Gain come in freely. And, if they ſhould be ſent to Priſon, even that Place, for the moſt Part, is made a Sanctuary to them; as the old *Romans* were wont to ſhut up ſuch, by Ways of Reſtraint, as they meant to preſerve from the People's Fury; for they live ſafe in Priſon, till we have Time to work their Liberty, and aſſure their Lives; and, in the mean Time, their Place of Reſtraint is, as it were, a Study to them, where they may have Opportunity to confer together, as in a College, and to arm themſelves in Unity againſt the ſingle Adverſary Abroad.

But, quoth the Inquiſitor-General, How do they for Books, when they have Occaſion either to write, or to diſpute?

My Lord, replied *Gondamore*, all the Libraries belonging to the *Roman* Catholicks, through the Land, are at their Command; from whence they have all ſuch Collections, as they can require, gathered to their Hands, as well from thence, as from all the Libraries of both Univerſities, and even the Books themſelves, if it be requiſite. Beſides, I have made it a principal Part of my Employment to buy all the Manuſcripts, and other rare and ancient Authors, out of the Hands of the Hereticks; ſo that there is no great Scholar dies in the Land, but my Agents are dealing with his Books; inſomuch as even their learned *Iſaac Caſaubon*'s Library was in Election to be ours, had not their vigilant King, who foreſeeth all Dangers, and hath his Eye buſy in every Place, prevented my Plot. For, after the Death of that great Scholar, I ſent to requeſt a Catalogue of his Books, with the Price, intending not to be outvied by any Man, if Money would have fetched them. Becauſe, beſide the Damage, that Side ſhould have received by the leſs Proſecuting the Cauſe againſt Cardinal *Baronius*, we might have made a good Advantage of his Notes, Collections, Caſtigations, Cenſures, and Criticiſms for our Party, and framed and put out others under his Name, at our Pleaſure: But this was foreſeen by their *Prometheus*, who ſent that Torturer of ours, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, to ſearch and ſort the Papers, and to ſeal up the Study, giving a large and a princely Allowance to the Relict of *Caſaubon*, with a bountiful Penſion and Pro-

* Theſe are two of the meaneſt Officers in the Inquiſition.

viſion for her and her's. But this Plot, failing at that Time, hath not ever done ſo. Nor had the Univerſity of *Oxford* ſo triumphed in their many Manuſcripts, given by that famous Knight, Sir *Thomas Bodley*, if either I had been then employed, or this Courſe of mine then thought upon; for I would labour, what I might, this Way, or any other Way, to diſarm them, or either to tranſlate their beſt Authors hither, or, at leaſt, to leave none, but in the Hands of *Roman* Catholicks, who are aſſuredly ours; and, to this End, a ſpecial Eye would be had upon the Library of one Sir *Robert Cotton* (an Ingroſſer of Antiquities) the moſt choice and ſingular Pieces might be gleaned, and gathered up by a Catholick Hand. Neither let any Man think, that Deſcending thus low to petty Particulars is unworthy an Ambaſſador, or a ſmall Avail for the Ends we aim at; ſince we ſee every Mountain conſiſts of ſeveral Sands, and there is no more profitable Converſing for Statesmen, than amongſt Scholars; eſpecially the King, for whom we watch, is the King of Scholars, and loves to live altogether almoſt in their Element. Beſides, if we can by any Means continue Differences in their Church, or make them wider, or get Diſtaſte betwixt their Clergy and common Lawyers, who are Men of greateſt Power in the Land, the Benefit will be ours, and the Conſequent great, opening Way for us to come between; for perſonal Quarrels produce real Queſtions. As he was proſecuting this Diſcourſe, one of the Secretaries, who waited without the Chamber, deſired Entrance; and, being admitted, delivered Letters, which he had newly received from the Poſt, directed to the Preſident, and the reſt of the Council, from his Catholick Majeſty; the Contents whereof were to this Effect:

"Right truſty and well beloved Couſins and "Counſellors, we greet you well: Whereas, "we had a Hope, by our Agents in *England* and "*Germany*, to effect that great Work of the "Weſtern Empire; and likewiſe, on the o-"ther Side, to ſuppreſs *Europe*, at one In-"ſtant, and, infolding it in our Arms, make "the eaſier Road upon the *Turks* in *Aſia*, "and, at length, reduce all the World to "our Catholick Command: And, whereas, "to this End, we had ſecret and ſure Plots "and Projects on Foot in all thoſe Places, "and good Intelligence in all Courts; know "now, that we have received late and ſad "News of the Apprehenſion of our truſty and "able Penſioner *Barnevelt*, and of the Diſ-"covery of other our Intendments; ſo that "our Hopes are at preſent adjourned, till "ſome other more convenient and more au-"ſpicious Time; we therefore will you pre-"ſently, upon the Sight hereof, to break up "your Conſultations, and repair ſtraight to "our Preſence, there to take further Di-"rections, and proceed as Neceſſity of Time "and Cauſe ſhall require.

With that his Excellency, and the whole Houſe, ſtruck with Amazement, croſſed their Foreheads, roſe up in a ſad Silence, and brake up this Treaty abruptly; and, without Tarriance, took Horſe, and poſted to Court, from whence expect News, the next fair Wind.

In the mean Time, let not thoſe be ſecure, whom it concerns to be rouſed up, knowing that this aſpiring *Nebuchadnezzar* will not loſe the Glory of his Greatneſs, who continueth ſtill to magnify himſelf in his great *Babylon*, until it be ſpoken, *The Kingdom is departed from thee*, Daniel iv.

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A true and juſt Relation of Major-General Sir *Thomas Morgan*'s Progreſs in *France* and *Flanders*, with the ſix-thouſand *Engliſh*, in the Years 1657 and 1658, at the Taking of *Dunkirk*, and other important Places; as it was delivered by the General himſelf. *London*, 1699. *Quarto*, containing ſixteen Pages.

Cromwell,

Cromwell, *being confirmed in his Protectorſhip by the Parliament, concludes a League offenſive and defenſive with the King of* France, *conditionally, that the Protector ſhould aſſiſt the* French *with ſix-thouſand Men, and that they ſhould be put into Poſſeſſion of* Mardyke *and* Dunkirk, *when taken. But* Cromwell's *great Aim, in this League, was, to deſtroy the Children of* Charles the Firſt, *and their Adherents. So,*

*In Conſequence of this Treaty,* James *Duke of* York, *and all others that adhered to the Fortune of the* Stuarts, *had Notice to leave* France; *and* Cromwell *ſent his ſix-thouſand Soldiers, who, as it plainly appears from all, but eſpecially from the following Account, wrought Wonders in that Expedition, not under the Command of* Reynolds *and* Lockhart, *two ſucceſſive Ambaſſadors at the Court of* France, *as* Rapin *and moſt Hiſtorians have erroneouſly recorded, but under that brave Soldier, Sir* Thomas Morgan; *as this intrepid General has avouched under his own Hand.*

*I ſhall ſay no more of the Value of this Piece of Hiſtory, without which the Memoirs of thoſe Times are imperfect, but conclude this Introduction with the Publiſher's* Advertiſement.

*Sir* Thomas Morgan, *ſays he, drew up the following Relation at a Friend's Deſire, who was unwilling that Poſterity ſhould want an authentick Account of the Actions of the ſix-thouſand* Engliſh, *whom* Cromwell *ſent to aſſiſt the* French *againſt the* Spaniards, *and thought the Right they did their Country, by their Behaviour, might make ſome Amends for the Occaſion of their being in that Service. It had been printed in the laſt Reign *, if the Authority of it had not interpoſed, becauſe there was not ſo much ſaid of ſome †, who were* then *in the* Spaniſh *Army, as they expected; and is publiſhed now, to let the World ſee, that more was owing to our Countrymen, at the Battle of* Dunkirk, *than either ‡ Monſieur* Buſſy Rabutin, *or ‖* Ludlow, *in their Memoirs, do allow. The former, by his Manner of Expreſſion, ſeems contented with an Opportunity to leſſen their Merit; and, being in the right Wing of the* French, *while this paſſed in the left, comes under the juſt Reflexion, he himſelf makes § a little after, upon the Deſcribers of Fights, who are particular in what they did not ſee; and, whether the Latter was miſinformed, or ſwayed, by his Prejudice, ** to thoſe that were engaged to ſupport the new-erected Tyranny, is left to the Reader to judge. It may not be improper to add, That theſe Papers came to the Publiſher's Hand, from the Gentleman, at whoſe Requeſt they were wrote, and to whom Sir* Thomas Morgan *confirmed every Paragraph of them, as they were read over, at the Time he delivered them to him: Which, beſides the unaffected Plainneſs of the Stile, may be urged for the Credit of the Narrative, ſince Sir* Thomas *was intitled to ſo much true Reputation, that he had no Need to graſp at any that was falſe.*

Jan. 24, 1698.

THE *French* King, and his Eminence the Cardinal *Mazarine*, came to view the ſix-thouſand *Engliſh* near *Charleroy*; and ordered Major-General *Morgan*, with the ſaid ſix-thouſand *Engliſh*, to march and make Conjunction with Marſhal *Turenne*'s Army, who, ſoon after the Conjunction, beleaguered a Town, called *St. Venant*, on the Borders of *Flanders*. Marſhal *Turenne* having inveſted the Town on the Eaſt-ſide, and Major-general *Morgan*, with his ſix-thouſand *Engliſh*, and a Brigade of *French* Horſe on the Weſt, the Army incamped betwixt Marſhal *Turenne*'s Approaches and Major-general *Morgan*'s; and, being to relieve Count *Schomberg*,

* Of K. *James* II. † The Duke of *York*, the Earl of *Briſtol*, &c. ‡ Part II. p. 135.
‖ Part II. p. 561. § Part II. p. 139. ** Part II. p. 456.

out of the Approaches of the Weſt-ſide of the Town, Major-general *Morgan* marched into the Approaches, with eight-hundred *Engliſh*. The *Engliſh*, at that Time, being Strangers in Approaches, Major-general *Morgan* inſtructed the Officers and Soldiers to take their Places by Fifties, that thereby they might relieve the Point to carry on the Approaches, every Hour. In the mean Time, whilſt we beſieged the Town, the Enemy had beleaguered a Town, called *Ardres*, within five Miles of *Calais*. In the Evening, Count *Schomberg*, with ſix Noblemen, came upon the Point, to ſee how Major-general *Morgan* carried on his Approaches; but there happened a little Confuſion, by the Soldiers Intermingling themſelves in the Approaches, ſo as there was never an intire Fifty to be called to the Point. Count *Schomberg* and his Noblemen taking Notice thereof, Major-general *Morgan* was much troubled, leaped upon the Point, and called out Fifty to take up the Spades, Pick-axes, and Faſcines, and follow him: But ſo it happened, that all in the Approaches leaped out after him, the Enemy, in the mean Time, firing as faſt as they could. Major-general *Morgan*, conceiving his Loſs, in bringing them again to their Approaches, would be greater, than in carrying them forward, paſſed over a Channel of Water, on which there was a Bridge and a Turn-pike; and, the Soldiers crying out, 'Fall on, fall 'on,' he fell upon the Counterſcarp, beat the Enemy from it, and three Redoubts; which cauſed them to capitulate, and, the next Morning, to ſurrender the Town, and receive a *French* Gariſon; ſo as the ſudden Reduction thereof gave Marſhal *Turenne* an Opportunity afterwards to march and relieve *Ardres*.

The next Place Marſhal *Turenne* beſieged was *Mardyke*, taken, in twice eight and forty Hours, by the *Engliſh* and *French*. After the Taking whereof, Major-general *Morgan* was ſettled there, by Order of the *French* King and *Oliver*, with two-thouſand *Engliſh*, and one-thouſand *French*, in Order to the Beleaguering *Dunkirk*, the next Spring.

The reſt of the *Engliſh* were quartered in *Borborch*. For the Space of four Months, there was hardly a Week, wherein Major-general *Morgan* had not two or three Alarms by the *Spaniſh* Army: He anſwered them all, and never went out of his Clothes all the Winter, except to change his Shirt.

The next Spring, Marſhal *Turenne* beleaguered *Dunkirk* on the *Newport*-ſide, and Major-general *Morgan* on the *Mardyke*-ſide, with his ſix-thouſand *Engliſh*, and a Brigade of *French* Horſe: He made a Bridge over the Canal, betwixt that and *Bergon*, that there might be Communication betwixt Marſhal *Turenne*'s Camp and his. When *Dunkirk* was cloſe inveſted, Marſhal *Turenne* ſent a Summons to the Governor, the Marquis *de Leda*, a great Captain, and brave Defender of a Siege; but, the Summons being anſwered with Defiance, Marſhal *Turenne* immediately broke Ground, and carried on the Approaches on his Side, whilſt the *Engliſh* did the ſame on their's; and, it is obſervable, the *Engliſh* had two Miles to march every Day, upon relieving their Approaches. In this Manner the Approaches were carried on, both by the *French* and *Engliſh*, for the Space of twelve Nights; when the Marſhal *Turenne* had Intelligence, that the Prince of *Conde*, the Duke of *York*, Don *John* of *Auſtria*, and the Prince *de Ligny* were at the Head of thirty-thouſand Horſe and Foot, with Reſolution to relieve *Dunkirk*.

Immediately upon this Intelligence, Marſhal *Turenne* and ſeveral Noblemen of *France* went to the King and Cardinal at *Mardyke*, and acquainted his Eminence therewith; and deſired his Majeſty, and his Eminence the Cardinal, to withdraw their Perſons into Safety, and leave their Orders: His Majeſty anſwered, That he knew no better Place of Safety, than at the Head of his Army; but ſaid it was convenient the Cardinal ſhould withdraw to *Calais*. Then Marſhal *Turenne* and the Noblemen made Anſwer, They could not be ſatisfied, except his Majeſty withdrew himſelf into Safety; which was aſſented to; and the King and Cardinal, marching to *Calais*, left open Orders with Marſhal *Turenne*, That, if the Enemy came on, he ſhould give Battle, or raiſe the Siege, as he ſhould be adviſed by a Council of War.

The Enemy came to *Bruges*, and then Marſhal *Turenne* thought it high Time to call a Council of War, which conſiſted of eight Noblemen, eight Lieutenant-generals, and ſix Marſhals *du Camp*; but never ſent to Ambaſſador *Lockhart*, or Major-general *Morgan*. The whole Senſe of the Council of War was, That it was great Danger to the Crown of *France*, to hazard a Battle in that ſtreight Country,

Country, full of Canals and Ditches of Water; and, ſeveral Reaſons being ſhewn to that Purpoſe, it ran through the Council of War, to raiſe the Siege, if the Enemy came on. Within Half an Hour after the Council of War was riſen, Major-general *Morgan* had the Reſult of it in his Camp, and went immediately to Ambaſſador *Lockhart* *, to know if he heard any Thing of it: He ſaid he heard nothing of it; and complained, that he was much afflicted with the Stone, Gravel, and ſome other Impediments. Major-general *Morgan* aſked him to go with him the next Morning to the Head-quarters: He ſaid he would, if he were able.

Next Morning, Marſhal *Turenne* ſent a Nobleman to Ambaſſador *Lockhart* and Major-general *Morgan*, to deſire them to come to a ſecond Council of War. Immediately, therefore, Ambaſſador *Lockhart* and Major-general *Morgan* went with the Nobleman to Marſhal *Turenne*'s Camp; and, by that Time they came there, the Council of War was ready to ſit down in Marſhal *Turenne*'s Tent.

Marſhal *Turenne* ſatisfied the Council of War, that he had forgot to ſend for Ambaſſador *Lockhart* and Major-general *Morgan* to the firſt Council of War, and therefore thought fit to call this, that they might be ſatisfied; and then put the Queſtion: Whether, if the Enemy come on, he ſhould make good the Siege on the *Newport*-ſide, and give them Battle; or raiſe the Siege? And required they ſhould give their Reaſons for either. The Marſhals *du Camp* ran away with it clearly to raiſe the Siege, alledging what Danger it was to the Crown of *France*, to hazard a Battle within ſo ſtreight a Country, full of Canals and Ditches of Water; farther alledging, that, if the Enemy came upon the Rock, they would cut between Marſhal *Turenne*'s and Major-general *Morgan*'s Camps, and prevent their Conjunction. Two of the Lieutenant-generals ran along with the Marſhals *du Camp*, and ſhewed the ſame Reaſons: But Major-general *Morgan*, finding it was high Time to ſpeak, and that otherwiſe it would go round the Board, roſe up, and deſired, though out of Courſe, that he might declare his Mind, in Oppoſition to what the Marſhals *du Camp* and the two Lieutenant-generals had declared. Marſhal *Turenne* told him he ſhould have Freedom to ſpeak his Thoughts. Then Major-general *Morgan* ſpake, and ſaid, That the Reaſons, the Marſhals *du Camp* and the two Lieutenant-generals had given for Raiſing the Siege, were no Reaſons; for the Streightneſs of the Country was as good for the *French* and *Engliſh*, as for the Enemy: And, whereas they alledged, That, if the Enemy came on the Bank between *Furnes* and *Dunkirk*, they would cut between Marſhal *Turenne*'s and Major-general *Morgan*'s Camps; Major-general *Morgan* replied, It was impoſſible, for they could not march upon the Bank above eight a-breaſt; and farther he alledged, That Marſhal *Turenne*'s Artillery and ſmall Shot would cut them off at Pleaſure: He added, That that was not the Way the Enemy could relieve *Dunkirk*, but that they would make a Bridge of Boats over the Channel, in an Hour and Half, and croſs their Army upon the Sands of *Dunkirk*, to offer Marſhal *Turenne* Battle.

Farther, Major-general *Morgan* did alledge, What a Diſhonour it would be to the Crown of *France* to have ſummoned the City of *Dunkirk*, and broke Ground before it, and then raiſe the Siege, and run away; and he deſired the Council of War would conſider, that, if they raiſed the Siege, the Alliance with *England* would be broken, the ſame Hour.

Marſhal *Turenne* anſwered, 'That, if he 'thought the Enemy would offer that fair 'Game, he would maintain the Siege on *New-* '*port*-ſide; and Major-general *Morgan* ſhould 'march, and make Conjunction with the '*French* Army, and leave *Mardyke*-ſide open." Upon Marſhal *Turenne*'s Reply, Major-general *Morgan* did riſe from the Board, and, upon his Knees, begged a Battle, and ſaid, That he would venture the ſix-thouſand *Engliſh*, every Soul. Upon which, Marſhal *Turenne* conſulted the Noblemen that ſat next him, and it was deſired, that Major-general *Morgan* might walk a Turn or two without the Tent, and he ſhould be called immediately. After he had walked two Turns, he was called in; as ſoon as he came in, Marſhal *Turenne* ſaid, 'That he had conſidered his 'Reaſons, and that himſelf and the Council 'of War reſolved to give Battle to the Ene- 'my, if they came on; and to maintain the 'Siege on *Newport*-ſide; and that Major-ge-

* This Man had married *Cromwell*'s Niece.

'neral

'neral *Morgan* was to make Conjunction 'with the *French* Army.' Major-general *Morgan* then ſaid, That, with God's Aſſiſtance, we ſhould be able to deal with them.

The very next Day, at Four in the Afternoon, the *Spaniſh* Army had made a Bridge of Boats, croſſed their Army on the Sands of *Dunkirk*, and drew up into Battalia, within two Miles of Marſhal *Turenne*'s Lines, before he knew any Thing of them. Immediately, all the *French* Horſe drew out to face the Enemy at a Mile's Diſtance; and Marſhal *Turenne* ſent immediate Orders to Major-general *Morgan*, to march into his Camp, with the ſix-thouſand *Engliſh*, and the *French* Brigade of Horſe; which was done accordingly.

The next Day, about Eight of the Clock, Marſhal *Turenne* gave Orders to break Avenues on both the Lines, that the Army might march out in Battalia. Major-general *Morgan* ſet his Soldiers to break Avenues for their Marching out in Battalia likewiſe. Several Officers being with him, as he was looking on his Soldiers at Work, Ambaſſador *Lockhart* comes up, with a white Cap on his Head, and ſaid to Major-general *Morgan*, 'You ſee 'what a Condition I am in, I am not able to 'give you any Aſſiſtance this Day; you are 'the older Soldier, and the greateſt Part of 'the Work of this Day muſt lie upon your 'Soldiers.' Upon which the Officers ſmiled; and ſo he bid *God be with* us, and went away with the Lieutenant-general of the Horſe, that was upon our left Wing; from which Time we never ſaw him, till we were in Purſuit of the Enemy. When the Avenues were cleared, both the *French* and *Engliſh* Army marched out of the Lines towards the Enemy. We were forced to march up in four Lines (for we had not Room enough to wing, for the Canal between *Furnes* and *Dunkirk*, and the Sea) till we had marched above Half a Mile; then we came to a Halt on riſing Hills of Sand, and, having more Room, took in two of our Lines.

Major-general *Morgan*, ſeeing the Enemy plain in Battalia, ſaid, before the Head of the Army, 'See! Yonder are the Gentlemen 'you have to trade withal.' Upon which the whole Brigade of *Engliſh* gave a Shout of Rejoicing, that made a roaring Ecchо betwixt the Sea and the Canal. Thereupon, the Marſhal *Turenne* came up, with above an hundred Noblemen, to know what was the Matter and Reaſon of that great Shout. Major-general *Morgan* told him, It was an uſual Cuſtom of the Red-coats, when they ſaw the Enemy, to rejoice.

Marſhal *Turenne* anſwered, 'They were 'Men of brave Reſolution and Courage.' After which, Marſhal *Turenne* returning to the Head of his Army, we put on to our March again. At the ſecond Halt, the whole Brigade of *Engliſh* gave a Shout, and caſt up their Caps into the Air, ſaying, 'They would have bet-'ter Hats before Night.' Marſhal *Turenne*, upon that Shout, came up again, with ſeveral Noblemen and Officers of the Army, admiring the Reſolution of the *Engliſh*, at which Time we were within three Quarters of a Mile of the Enemy in Battalia. Marſhal *Turenne* deſired Major-general *Morgan*, that, at the next Halt, he would keep even Front with the *French*, for, ſays he, 'I do intend to halt at ſome Diſtance, 'that we may ſee how the Enemy is drawn 'up, and take our Advantage accordingly.' Major-general *Morgan* demanded of his Excellency, 'Whether he would ſhock the whole 'Army at one Daſh, or try one Wing firſt?' Marſhal *Turenne*'s Reply was, 'That, as to 'that Queſtion, he could not reſolve him yet, 'till he came nearer the Enemy.' Major-general *Morgan* deſired the Marſhal, not to let him languiſh for Orders, ſaying, 'That of-'tentimes Opportunities are loſt, for Want 'of Orders in due Time.' Marſhal *Turenne* ſaid, he would either come himſelf and give Orders, or ſend a Lieutenant-general; and ſo Marſhal *Turenne* parted, and went to the Head of his Army. In the mean Time, Major-general *Morgan* gave Orders to the Colonels and Leading Officers, to have a ſpecial Care, that, when the *French* came to a Halt, they keep even Front with them; and farther told them, if they could not obſerve the *French*, they ſhould take Notice when he lifted up his Hat (for he marched ſtill above threeſcore before the Center of the Bodies): But, when the *French* came to halt, it ſo happened, that the *Engliſh* preſſed upon their Leading-officers, ſo that they came up under the Shot of the Enemy: But, when they ſaw that Major-general *Morgan* was in a Paſſion, they put themſelves to a Stand. Major-general *Morgan* could ſoon have remedied their Forwardneſs, but he was reſolved he would not loſe one Foot of Ground he had advanced, but would hold it as long as he could. We were ſo near the Enemy, the Soldiers fell into great Friendſhip, one aſking,

Is ſuch an Officer in your Army; another, Is ſuch a Soldier in yours; and this paſſed on both Sides. Major-general *Morgan* endured this Friendſhip for a little while, and then came up to the Center of the Bodies, and demanded, How long that Friendſhip would continue; and told them further, that, for any Thing they knew, they would be cutting one another's Throats, within a Minute of an Hour. The whole Brigade anſwered, Their Friendſhip ſhould continue no longer than he pleaſed. Then Major-general *Morgan* bid them tell the Enemy, No more Friendſhip: Prepare your Buff-coats and Scarfs, for we will be with you ſooner than you expect us. Immediately after the Friendſhip was broke, the Enemy poured a Volley of Shot into one of our Battalions, wounded three or four, and one dropped. The Major-general immediately ſent the Adjutant-general to Marſhal *Turenne* for Orders, Whether he ſhould charge the Enemy's right Wing, or whether Marſhal *Turenne* would engage the Enemy's left Wing, and adviſed the Adjutant-general not to ſtay, but to acquaint Marſhal *Turenne*, that we were under the Enemy's Shot, and had received ſome Prejudice already; but there was no Return of the Adjutant-general, nor Orders. By and by the Enemy poured in another Volley of Shot, into another of our Battalions, and wounded two or three. Major-general *Morgan*, obſerving the Enemy mending Faults, and opening the Intervals of the Foot, to bring Horſe in, which would have made our Work more difficult, called all the Colonels and Officers of the Field together, before the Center of the Bodies, and told them, he had ſent the Adjutant-general for Orders, but, when he ſaw there was no Hope of Orders, he told them, If they would concur with him, he would immediately charge the Enemy's right Wing: Their Anſwer was, 'They were ready whenever he gave Orders.' He told them, He would try the right Wing with the Blue Regiment, and the four-hundred Firelocks, which were in the Interval of the *French* Horſe; and wiſhed all the Field-officers to be ready at their ſeveral Poſts. Major-general *Morgan* gave Orders, that the other five Regiments ſhould not move from their Ground, except they ſaw the Blue Regiment, the White, and the four-hundred Firelocks ſhocked the Enemy's right Wing off of their Ground, and, farther, ſhewed the ſeveral Colonels what Colours they were to charge, and told them moreover, 'That, if he was not knocked on 'the Head, he would come to them.' In like Manner, as faſt as he could, he admoniſhed the whole Brigade, and told them, They were to look in the Face of an Enemy who had violated, and endeavoured to take away their Reputation, and that they had no other Way, but to fight it out to the laſt Man, or to be killed, taken Priſoners, or drowned; and farther, that the Honour of *England* did depend much upon their Gallantry and Reſolution that Day.

The Enemy's Wing was poſted on a ſandy Hill, and had caſt the Sand Breaſt-high before them: Then Major-general *Morgan* did order the Blue Regiment, and the four-hundred Firelocks, to advance to the Charge. In the mean Time Major-general *Morgan*, knowing the Enemy would all bend upon them that did advance, removed the White Regiment more to the Right, that it might be in the Flank of them, by that Time the Blue Regiment was got within Puſh of Pike.

His Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, with a ſelect Party of Horſe, had got into the Blue Regiment, by that Time the White came in, and expoſed his Perſon to great Danger: But we knew no body at that Time. Immediately the Enemy were clear ſhocked off of their Ground, and the *Engliſh* Colours flying over their Heads, the ſtrongeſt Officers and Soldiers clubbing them down. Major-general *Morgan*, when he ſaw this Opportunty, ſtepped to the other five Regiments, which were within ſix Score of him, and ordered them to advance, and charge immediately: But, when they came within ten Pikes Length, the Enemy, perceiving they were not able to endure our Charge, ſhaked their Hats, held up their Handkerchiefs, and called for Quarter; but the Red-coats cried aloud, They had no Leiſure for Quarter. Whereupon the Enemy faced about, and would not endure our Charge, but fell to run, having the *Engliſh* Colours over their Heads, and the ſtrongeſt Soldiers and Officers clubbing them down, ſo that the ſix-thouſand *Engliſh* carried ten or twelve thouſand Horſe and Foot before them. The *French* Army was about Muſquet-ſhot in the Rear of us, where they came to halt, and never moved off of their Ground. The reſt of the *Spaniſh* Army, ſeeing the right Wing carried away, and the *Engliſh* Colours flying over their Heads, wheeled about in as good Order as they could, ſo that we had the whole *Spaniſh* Army before us;

us; and Major-general *Morgan* called out to the Colonels, To the Right as much as you can, that ſo we might have all the Enemy's Army under the *Engliſh* Colours. The ſix-thouſand *Engliſh* carried all the *Spaniſh* Army, as far as *Weſtminſter-abby* to *Paul's Church-yard*, before ever a *Frenchman* came in, on either Wing of us; but then at laſt we could perceive the *French* Horſe come pouring on each Wing, with much Gallantry; but they never ſtruck one Stroke, only carried Priſoners back to the Camp. Neither did we ever ſee the Ambaſſador *Lockhart*, till we were in Purſuit of the Enemy; and then we could ſee him amongſt us very briſk, without his white Cap on his Head, and neither troubled with Gravel or Stone. When we were at the End of the Purſuit, Marſhal *Turenne* and above a hundred Officers of the Army came up to us, quitted their Horſes, embraced the Officers, and ſaid, They never ſaw a more glorious Action in their Lives, and that they were ſo tranſported with the Sight of it, that they had no Power to move, or do any Thing. And this high Compliment we had for our Pains. In a Word, the *French* Army did not ſtrike one Stroke in the Battle of *Dunkirk*, only the ſix-thouſand *Engliſh*. After we had done purſuing the Enemy, Major-general *Morgan* rallied his Forces, and marched over the Sands where he had ſhocked them at firſt, to ſee what Slaughter there was made. But Ambaſſador *Lockhart* went into the Camp as faſt as he could, to write his Letters for *England*, of what great Service he had done, which was juſt nothing. Marſhal *Turenne* and Major-general *Morgan* brought the Armies cloſe to inveſt *Dunkirk* again, and to carry on the Approaches. The Marquis *de Leda* happened to be in the Counterſcarp, and received an accidental Shot, whereof he died; and the whole Gariſon, being diſcouraged at his Death, came to capitulate in few Days; ſo the Town was ſurrendered, and Ambaſſador *Lockhart* marched into it with two Regiments of *Engliſh* for a Gariſon; but Major-general *Morgan* kept the Field, with Marſhal *Turenne*, with his other four Regiments of *Engliſh*.

The next Siege was *Bergen St. Winock*, ſix Miles from *Dunkirk*, which Marſhal *Turenne* beleaguered with the *French* Army, and the four Regiments of *Engliſh*; and, in four or five Days Siege, *Bergen St. Winock* was taken upon Capitulation. Marſhal *Turenne* did reſt the Army for two Days after, and then reſolved to march through the Heart of *Flanders*, and take what Towns he could, that Campaign.

The next Town we took was *Furnes*, the next *Menin*, after that *Oudenard*; and, in a Word, eight Towns, beſides *Dunkirk* and *Ypres*; for, ſo ſoon as the Red-coats came near the Counterſcarp, there was nothing but a Capitulation, and a Surrender preſently: All the Towns we took were Towns of Strength.

The laſt Siege we made was before the City of *Ypres*, where the Prince *de Ligny* had caſt himſelf in before, for the Defence of that City, with two-thouſand five-hundred Horſe and Dragoons: Beſides, there were in the City four-thouſand Burghers, all proper young Men, under their Arms, ſo that the Gariſon did conſiſt of ſix-thouſand five hundred Men. Marſhal *Turenne* ſent in a Summons, which was anſwered with a Defiance: Then Marſhal *Turenne* broke Ground, and carried on two Approaches towards the Counterſcarp: Major-general *Morgan* went into the Approaches every Night, for Fear of any Miſcarriage by the *Engliſh*, and came out of the Approaches at Sun-riſing to take his Reſt, for then the Soldiers had done Working. The fourth Morning, Major-general *Morgan* went to take his Reſt in his Tent, but, within half an Hour afterwards, Marſhal *Turenne* ſent a Nobleman to him, to deſire him to come to ſpeak with him; when the Major-general came, there were above a hundred Noblemen and Officers of the Army walking about his Tent. And his Gentlemen had decked a Room for his Excellency with his Sumpter-cloaths, in which homely Place there were about twenty Officers of the Army with him; but, as ſoon as Major-general *Morgan* came, Marſhal *Turenne* deſired all of them to retire, for he had ſomething to communicate to the Major-general. The Room was immediately cleared, and Marſhal *Turenne* turned the Gentlemen of his Chamber out, and ſhut the Door himſelf. When this was done, he deſired the Major-general to ſit down by him, and the firſt News that he ſpake of, was, that he had certain Intelligence, that the Prince of *Conde* and Don *John* of *Auſtria* were at the Head of eleven-thouſand Horſe, and four-thouſand Foot, within three Leagues of his Camp, and reſolved to break through one of our Quarters, to relieve the City of *Ypres*; and therefore he deſired Major-general *Morgan*, to have all the *Engliſh* under their Arms every Night at Sun-ſet, and the *French* Army ſhould

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be ſo likewiſe. Major-general *Morgan* replied, and ſaid, 'That the Prince of *Conde* and Don 'John of *Auſtria* were great Captains, and 'that they might dodge with Marſhal *Turenne* 'to fatigue his Army.' The Major-general farther ſaid, 'That, if he did keep the 'Army three Nights to that hard Shift, they 'would not care who did knock them on the 'Head.' Marſhal *Turenne* replied, 'We muſt 'do it, and ſurmount all Difficulty.' The Major-general deſired to know of his Excellency, Whether he was certain the Enemy was ſo near him; he anſwered, He had two Spies came juſt from them. Then Major-general *Morgan* told him, His Condition was ſomewhat deſperate, and ſaid, That a deſperate Diſeaſe muſt have a deſperate Cure. His Excellency aſked, What he meant? Major-general *Morgan* did offer him, to attempt the Counterſcarp upon an Aſſault, and ſo put all Things out of Doubt with Expedition. The Major-general had no ſooner ſaid this, but Marſhal *Turenne* joined his Hands, and looked up thro' the Boards towards the Heavens, and ſaid, 'Did ever my Maſter, the King of *France*, 'or the King of *Spain*, attempt a Counter-'ſcarp upon an Aſſault, where there were three 'Half-moons covered with Cannon, and the 'Ramparts of the Town playing point-blank 'into the Counterſcarp:' Farther he ſaid, 'What will the King my Maſter think of me, 'if I expoſe his Army to theſe Hazards?' And he roſe up, and fell into a Paſſion, ſtamping with his Feet, and ſhaking his Locks, and grinning with his Teeth; he ſaid, Major-general *Morgan* had made him mad. But, by Degrees, he cooled, and aſked the Major-general, Whether he would ſtay to Dinner with him: But the Major-general begged his Pardon, for he had appointed ſome of the Officers to eat a Piece of Beef at his Tent that Day. His Excellency aſked him, If he would meet him at Two of the Clock, at the Opening of the Approaches? The Major-general ſaid, He would be punctual; but deſired he would bring none of his Train with him (for it was uſually a hundred Noblemen with their Feathers and Ribbands) becauſe, if he did, he would have no Opportunity, to take a View of the Counterſcarp; for the Enemy would diſcover them, and fire inceſſantly. His Excellency ſaid, He would bring none, but two or three of the Lieutenant generals. Major-general *Morgan* was at the Place appointed a Quarter of an Hour before his Excellency, and then his Excellency came, with eight Noblemen, and three Lieutenant-generals, and took a Place to view the Counterſcarp: After he had looked a conſiderable Time upon it, he turned about, and looked upon the Noblemen and Lieutenant-generals, and ſaid, 'I do not know what to 'ſay to you, here is Major-general *Morgan* 'has put me out of my Wits, for he would 'have me attempt yonder Counterſcarp upon 'an Aſſault.' None of the Noblemen or Lieutenants made any Reply to him, but Count *Schomberg*, ſaying, 'My Lord, I think 'Major-general *Morgan* would offer nothing 'to your Lordſhip but what he thinks feaſible, 'and he knows he has good fighting Men.' Upon this, Marſhal *Turenne* aſked Major-general *Morgan*, How many *Engliſh* he would venture? The Major-general ſaid, That he would venture ſix-hundred common Men, beſides Officers, and fifty Pioneers. Marſhal *Turenne* ſaid, That ſix-hundred of Monſieur *la Ferte*'s Army, and fifty Pioneers, and ſix-hundred of his own Army, and fifty Pioneers more, would make better than two-thouſand Men: Major-general *Morgan* replied, 'They 'were abundance to carry it, with God's 'Aſſiſtance.' Then his Excellency ſaid, he would acquaint the King and his Eminence, That Major-general *Morgan* had put him upon that deſperate Deſign; Major-general *Morgan* deſired his Pardon, for it was in his Power to attempt it, or not to attempt it: But, in the Cloſe, Marſhal *Turenne* ſaid to the Major-general, That he muſt fall into Monſieur *la Ferte*'s Approaches, and that he ſhould take the one Half of Monſieur *la Ferte*'s Men, and that he would take the other Half into his own Approaches. Major-general *Morgan* begged his Pardon, and ſaid, He deſired to fall on with the *Engliſh* intire by themſelves, without intermingling them. Marſhal *Turenne* replied, He muſt fall on, and cut off one of the Approaches: The Major-general replied, That he would fall on in the Plain between both Approaches. His Excellency ſaid, That he would never be able to endure their Firing, but that they would kill half his Men, before he could come to the Counterſcarp; the Major-general ſaid, That he had an Invention, that the Enemy ſhould not perceive him, till he had his Hands upon the Stockadoes. Next, his Excellency ſaid, for the Signal, there ſhall be a Captain of Monſieur *la Ferte*'s, with twenty

Firelocks, ſhall leap upon the Point, and cry, *Sa ſa vive le Roy de France*; and, upon that Noiſe, all were to fall on together. But Major-general *Morgan* oppoſed that Signal, ſaying, The Enemy would thereby be alarmed, and then he ſhould hardly endure their Firing. His Excellency replied then, That he would give no Signal at all, but the Major general ſhould give it, and he would not be perſuaded otherwiſe. Then the Major-general deſired his Excellency, that he would give Orders to them in the Approaches, to keep themſelves in Readineſs againſt Sun-ſet, for, at the Shutting of the Night, he would fall on: He likewiſe deſired his Excellency, That he would order a Major out of his own Approaches, and another out of Monſieur *la Ferte*'s Approaches, to ſtand by him; and, when he ſhould be ready to fall on, he would diſpatch the two Majors into each of the Approaches, that they might be ready to leap out, when the Major-general paſſed between the two Approaches, with the commanded *Engliſh*. Juſt at Sun-ſet, Marſhal *Turenne* came himſelf, and told the Major-general, He might fall on when he ſaw his own Time. The Major-general replied, He would fall on juſt at the Setting of the Night, and when the Duſk of the Evening came on. The Major-general made the *Engliſh* ſtand to their Arms, and divided them into Bodies; a Captain at the Head of the Pioneers, and the Major-general and a Colonel, at the Head of the two Battalions; he ordered the two Battalions, and the Pioneers, each Man to take up a long Faſcine upon their Muſquets and Pikes, and then they were three ſmall Groves of Wood. Immediately the Major-general commanded the two Majors to go to their Approaches, and that they ſhould leap out, ſo ſoon as they ſhould ſee the Major-general march between their Approaches. The Major-general did order the two Battalions, when they came within threeſcore of the Stockadoes, to ſlip their Faſcines, and fall on. But ſo it happened, that the *French* never moved out of their Approaches, till ſuch Time as Major-general *Morgan* had overpowered the Enemy. When the Pioneers came within Sight of the Stockadoes, they ſlipped the Faſcines down, and fell on; the Major-general and the other two Battalions were cloſe to them, and, when the Soldiers began to lay their Hands on the Stockadoes, they tore them down for the Length of ſix Score, and leaped pell-mell into the Counterſcarp amongſt the Enemy; abundance of the Enemy were drowned in the Moat, and many taken Priſoners, with two *German* Princes, and the Counterſcarp cleared; the *French* were in their Approaches all this Time; then the *Engliſh* fell on upon the Half-moons, and immediately the Red-coats were on the Top of them, throwing the Enemy into the Moat, and turning the Cannon upon the Town; thus the two Half-moons were ſpeedily taken: After the Manning of the Half-moons, he did rally all the *Engliſh*, with Intention to lodge them upon the Counterſcarp, that he might be free of the Enemy's Shot the next Morning; and they left the other Half-moon for Marſhal *Turenne*'s Party, which was even before their Approaches.

Then the *French* fell on upon the other Half-moon, but were beaten off. The Major-general conſidered, that that Half-moon would gall him in the Day-time, and therefore did ſpeak to the Officers and Soldiers, that it was beſt to give them a little Help; the Red-coats cried, 'Shall we fall on in Order, or Happy-go-lucky?' The Major-general ſaid, 'In the Name of God, at it Happy-go-lucky; and immediately the Redcoats fell on, and were on the Top of it, knocking the Enemy down, and caſting them into the Moat. When this Work was done, the Major-general lodged the *Engliſh* on the Counterſcarp; they were no ſooner lodged, but Marſhal *Turenne* ſcrambled over the Ditches, to find out the Major-general; and, when he met with him, he was much troubled the *French* did no better, for indeed they did juſt nothing: Then his Excellency aſked the Major-general, to go to his Approaches to refreſh himſelf; but the Major-general begged his Pardon, and ſaid, He would not ſtir from his Poſt, till he heard a Drum beat a Parley, and ſaw a white Flag over the Walls. Upon that, Marſhal *Turenne* laughed and ſmiled, and ſaid, They would not be at that Paſs in ſix Days, and then went to his Approaches, and ſent the Major-general three or four dozen Bottles of rare Wine, with ſeveral Diſhes of cold Meats and Sweet-meets. Within two Hours after Sun-riſing, a Drum beat a Parley, and a white Flag was ſeen over the Walls. The Major-general ordered a Lieutenant with a File of Muſquetiers, to go and receive the Drummer, and to blindfold him, and carry him ſtrait to Marſhal *Turenne* in his Approaches. Marſhal *Turenne* came

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immediately with the Drummer's Meſſage to the Major-general, and was much troubled he would not receive the Meſſage before it came to him. The Major-general replied, That that was very improper, his Excellency being upon the Place. The Meſſage was to this Effect, 'That, whereas his Excellency had 'offered them honourable Terms in his Sum-'mons, they were now willing to accept of 'them, provided they might have their Charter, 'and the Privileges of the City preſerved: 'That they had appointed four of their Com-'miſſioners, to treat farther with four Com-'miſſioners from his Excellency.' Marſhal *Turenne* was pleaſed to aſk the Major-general, whether he would be one of the Commiſſioners; but the Major-general begged his Pardon, and deſired that he might abide at his Poſt, till ſuch Time as the City was ſurrendered up. Immediately then his Excellency ſent for Count *Schomberg*, and three other Commiſſioners, and gave them Inſtructions how to treat with the four Commiſſioners from the Enemy. Juſt as Marſhal *Turenne* was giving the Commiſſioners Inſtructions, Major-general *Morgan* ſaid, That the Enemy were hungry, ſo that they would eat any Meat they could have; whereupon his Excellency ſmiled, and ſhortened their Inſtructions, and ſent them away. Within half an Hour, the Commiſſioners had concluded, That they ſhould have their City Charter preſerved, and that they were to receive a *French* Gariſon in, and the Prince *de Ligny* was to march out with all his Forces next Morning, at Nine of the Clock, with one Piece of Cannon, Colours flying, Bullet in Mouth, and a Match lighted at both Ends, and to have a Convoy to conduct him into his own Territories. Marſhal *Turenne* was, in the Morning betimes, with ſeveral Noblemen and Officers of the Army, and Major-general *Morgan* attending near the Gate for the Prince *de Ligny*'s Coming out. The Prince, having Notice that Marſhal *Turenne* was there, came out of his Coach. Marſhal *Turenne*, being alighted off from his Horſe, and the Major-general *Morgan*, at both their Meeting there was a great Acclamation, and Embracing one another. After a little Time, Marſhal *Turenne* told the Prince, He very much admired, that he would expoſe his Perſon to a Gariſon before a Conquering Army: The Prince *de Ligny* replied, That, if Marſhal *Turenne* had left his *Engliſh* in *England*, he durſt have expoſed his Perſon into the weakeſt Gariſon the King of *Spain* had in *Flanders*; and ſo they parted, and his Excellency marched into the Town with a *French* Gariſon, and the Major-general with him. So ſoon as the Gariſon was ſettled, Marſhal *Turenne* writ his Letters to the *French* King, and his Eminence the Cardinal, how that the City of *Ypres* was reduced to the Obedience of his Majeſty, and that he was poſſeſſed of it; and that Major-general *Morgan* was inſtrumental in that Service, and that the *Engliſh* did Wonders; and ſent the Intendant of the Army with his Letters to the King and Cardinal. Monſieur *Tallon*, the Intendant, returned back from the King and Cardinal to the Army within eight Days, and brought a Compliment to Major-general *Morgan*, that the King and his Eminence the Cardinal did expect to ſee him at *Paris*, when he came to his Winter Quarters, where there would be a Cupboard of Plate to attend him. Major-general *Morgan*, inſtead of going for his Cupboard of Plate, went for *England*, and his Majeſty of *France* had never the Kindneſs to ſend him his Cupboard of Plate: So that this is the Reward that Major-general *Morgan* hath had from the *French* King for all his Service in *France* and *Flanders*.

*Killed at the Battle of* Dunkirk,

Lieutenant-Colonel *Fenwick*, two Captains, one Lieutenant, two Enſigns, two Serjeants, thirty-two Soldiers; and about twenty wounded.

*Killed at the Storming of* Ypres,

One Captain, one Serjeant, eight private Soldiers, about twenty-five Officers of thirty-five; and about ſix Soldiers ſlightly wounded, after they were lodged upon the Counterſcarp; Sir *Thomas Morgan* himſelf ſlightly hurt, by a Shot in the Calf of his Leg.

# An Account of the Original of Writing and Paper, out of a Book, intitled, *La Libraria Vaticana*, written by *Mutio Panſa*, Keeper of the ſaid Library. Printed at *Rome*. *Quarto*, containing thirty Pages.

## 1ſt, *Of the Uſe of Books, and Invention of Letters.*

## DISCOURSE I.

THAT the Uſe of Books and Libraries is very ancient, appears by many Authors, both *Chriſtian* and *Heathen*, from whom it may in ſome Meaſure be gathered, that they have been in Uſe ever ſince the World began; for we read, that *Jude* the Apoſtle, in one of his Epiſtles, quotes the Book of *Enoch*, which was before the Flood. (The Words of the Epiſtle are: *And* Enoch *alſo, the Seventh from* Adam, *propheſied of theſe*, &c. So that here is a Prophecy, but nothing expreſly of a Book of his Writing, whence a Debate may ariſe, whether this Prophecy was not left by oral Tradition, without more poſitive Proof; but to return to our Author.) And tho' Authors differ very much concerning the Invention of Letters, of which afterwards Books were compoſed; yet we take it for granted, that they were invented by *Adam*, his Sons, and Grandſons, in the firſt Age of the World, before the Flood, and were after preſerved by *Noah* and his Progeny, till they came to *Abraham*, and ſo to *Moſes*; and of this Opinion was St. *Auguſtin*, *lib.* xv. *de Civitate Dei*, and *Joſephus*, a *Jewiſh* Writer of great Credit, who, in the firſt Book of his Antiquities, writes, That *Adam*'s Grandſons, the Sons of *Seth*, erected two Pillars, the one of Stone and the other of Brick, on which they left written, and engraved, all the Arts diſcovered by them, and he affirms he ſaw one of theſe Pillars in *Syria*; from the which, I am of Opinion, the *Egyptians* afterwards learnt the Way of Writing, and expreſſing their Myſteries with thoſe Characters called *Hieroglyphicks*, on ſeveral Obeliſks, wherein *Egypt* formerly ſo much abounded, that ſome of them are ſtill to be ſeen in *Rome*, whither they were tranſported by the firſt Emperors. This is the more credible, becauſe we read, that *Adam* was by God created in ſo great a State of Perfection, of Knowledge, and of Wiſdom, that he gave Names to all Things, according to their Nature and Qualities; and that none ever ſo well underſtood the Revolutions of the Heavens, the Motions of the Stars and Planets, and ſo thoroughly knew the Nature of Herbs, Plants, Animals, and all other Things in the World, as he did. It is therefore to be believed, that he found out the Method for preſerving the Memory hereof to Poſterity. *Pliny*, in his Nat. Hiſt. *lib.* vii. *Cap. ult.* confirms this Opinion; for there, after delivering the Sentiments of many concerning the Invention of Letters, as that ſome pretend they were invented in *Syria* by the *Aſſyrians*, and others in *Egypt* by *Mercury*; that they were brought into *Italy* by the *Pelaſgi*, and into *Greece* by the *Phœnicians*, and *Cadmus* their Leader; that *Palamedes*, during the *Trojan* War, added four more; he concludes, it is his Opinion, that Letters were eternal, which is almoſt the ſame, as to ſay they began with the World. Hence it follows, that their Opinion is vain, who ſay the *Egyptians* were the Inventors of Letters and Arts, as *Diodorus Siculus* holds *Lib.* i. where he ſays, that *Mercury* found them out in *Egypt*; though, in his fourth Book, he writes, that others think the *Æthiopians* had Letters before, and the *Egyptians* from them. Hence we may further infer, that *Moſes* was not the firſt Inventor of Letters, as ſome *Jews* and *Chriſtians*

*Chriſtians* affirm, becauſe he was ancienter than any one of thoſe by whom they are ſaid to have been firſt found; as *Cadmus*, who lived in the Days when *Othoniel* governed *Iſrael*, which was forty-ſeven Years after the written Law was given to *Moſes*; and therefore the *Egyptians* learnt the Letters of him, and they communicated them to the *Phœnicians*, whence *Cadmus* carried them into *Greece*. True it is, that *Attabanus* and *Eupolemus*, *Heathen* Authors, ſay, that *Moſes* was by the *Egyptians* called *Mercury*, and the ſame that taught them Letters. Thus, we ſee, the Invention of Letters was ancienter than *Philo* the *Jew* believes it, who ſays, that *Abraham* firſt found them; for, as has been ſaid, they were in Being even in the Days of *Adam* and his Children, and afterwards preſerved by *Noah*, who was a Man of Learning and Letters, and it is to be believed that he ſaved them with him in the Ark; though, after the Confuſion of Tongues at the Tower of *Babel*, moſt Nations might loſe the Letters, and the Knowledge of them might only remain in the Family of *Heber*, from whom the *Hebrews* afterwards deſcended, who loſt not their firſt Language, as St. *Auguſtin*, *Euſebius*, and moſt learned Men of our Time affirm. *Philo*, and the reſt, who thought that *Moſes* had been the Inventor of Letters, were the more eaſily deceived, becauſe it is manifeſt, that the Books and Hiſtory writ by *Moſes* are the ancienteſt in the World, or than the Wiſdom of the *Egyptians*, or the Philoſophy of the *Greeks*, as is made out by St. *Auguſtin* and *Joſephus* writing againſt *Appion* the Grammarian, as alſo by *Euſebius* and *Juſtin* Martyr: And that there were Letters before *Moſes* is viſible, becauſe we find it written, that he learnt in *Egypt* unto *Pharaoh* the Arts and Wiſdom of the *Egyptians*; nor do I know how this could be, unleſs they had Letters before, though, it is true, we know they had ſome Characters called *Hieroglyphicks*, by which they taught moſt of their Sciences. Howſoever it was, the Invention of Letters is certainly Divine, as being thoſe that preſerve and ſecure all other Invention, for without them none can ſubſiſt; and they are of ſuch Worth, that they make Men immortal, rendering thoſe Things preſent which happened a thouſand Years ago, and joining thoſe which are diſtant, communicating them, as if they were not aſunder. By them are known and learnt all Sorts of Sciences, teaching thoſe in Being all that paſt Ages knew, and preſerving for Poſterity all that thoſe now living found out. In ſhort, the Benefit of them is almoſt infinite and inexpreſſible, and therefore their Invention may deſervedly be called rather *Divine* than *Human*. What Order was obſerved in the Characters of ancient Times, methinks is not to be ſought after, as depending on the Will and Pleaſure of the Inventor; as we daily ſee is done by thoſe who frame Cyphers or Characters, and other Sorts of common Letters, who obſerve no Order. It is true they were, in Proceſs of Time, for the more Diſtinction, put into that Order we now ſee them: And, becauſe many afterwards ſucceſſively added other Letters, or made new Characters, therefore many were thought the Inventors of them; of whom we ſhall ſpeak to Purpoſe hereafter, when we come to diſcourſe of the Pictures in the *Vatican* Library, among which are thoſe, of all ſuch as were famous in the World for the Invention of Letters, or for adding any to them.

## *Of the Paper of the Ancients, of the* Papyrus *of the* Romans, *of the ſeveral Sorts of it, and of the Paper of our Times.*

## DISCOURSE II.

HAving hitherto diſcourſed of the Letters, it will now be convenient to ſay ſomething of Paper, as the Matter on which they are made; and, to ſpeak the Truth, it is no ſmall Difficulty to decide what they writ on in former Ages, becauſe we have no Account in Hiſtory what they did write on before the Flood, but what we ſaid before, that *Adam*'s Grandchildren, the Sons of *Seth*, writ an Account of Arts on thoſe two Pillars abovementioned. After the Flood, all Authors agree, that Men had no Paper, but writ on the Leaves of *Palm* Trees, whence, to this Day, thoſe of Books are called Leaves. Next they writ on the fine Bark of Trees, and particularly on that Sort which ſlips off eaſieſt; ſuch

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as the *Elder*, the *Plane*, the *Aſh*, and the *Elm*; and theſe were the inward Films, which grow between the Bark and the Wood, which, being curiouſly taken off, were joined together, and Books made of them; and, becauſe this Film in *Latin* is called *Liber*, thence the ſame Name was given to a Book, though now they are not made of that Subſtance. The Wit of Man, which ſtill improved, after this found out a Way of writing on the thinneſt Sheets of Lead, of which private People made Books and Pillars. Next, the Ancients found the Way of writing on Linnen-Cloths ſlicked and waxed, on which they writ, not with a Pen, but with a ſmall Cane or Reed, as ſome write to this Day. And, as *Pliny* tells us, we find in *Homer*, that theſe waxed Cloths were uſed before the Time of the *Trojans*; and *Mutianus*, who, as he writes himſelf, was thrice Conſul, that, when he was Preſident in *Lycia*, he read there, in a Temple, a Letter writ on one of theſe Cloths by *Sarpedon*, King of *Lycia*, then at *Troy*, where he aſſiſted *Priam* in his War againſt the *Greeks*, and was at laſt killed by *Patroclus*. In Proceſs of Time, the Method was found out of writing on Parchment made of Sheep-Skins, mentioned by *Herodotus Lib.* vii. the Invention whereof *Varro* aſſigns to the People of *Pergamus*, a City in *Aſia*, on the Banks of the River *Caicus*, whereof *Eumenes* was King, and from that City it was called *Pergamenum*, which we have corrupted to Parchment. *Pliny* ſays, this *Eumenes* firſt ſent it to *Rome*; but *Elianus* ſays it was *Attalus*, King of the ſame Country, who firſt ſent it. *Joſephus*, the *Jew*, makes the Writing on Parchment ancienter, and ſays, the Books of the *Jews*, ſo much ancienter than *Eumenes*, and the reſt of that Sort, were writ upon Skins; and relates, that when *Eleazer*, the High Prieſt, ſent the Books of the Holy Scripture to *Ptolemy* by the Septuagint, to be tranſlated out of *Hebrew* into *Greek*, King *Ptolemy Philadelphus* was much amazed at the Fineneſs of thoſe Skins or Parchment; ſo that Writing on them was eaſier and more laſting than the ancienter Uſe of Barks and Leaves of Trees; and it is to be believed, this Invention was not yet in *Egypt*, ſince *Ptolemy* wondered at it. After this, there was found a Sort of Paper made of a Ruſh, or Plant, called *Papyrus*, growing in the Marſhes, about the River *Nile*, though *Pliny* ſays there are ſome of them in *Syria*, near the River *Euphrates*. Theſe Ruſhes bear ſmall Leaves betwixt the outward Rhind and the Pith, which, being neatly opened with the Point of a Needle, and then prepared with fine Flour and other Ingredients, ſerved to write on and made Paper, the innermoſt Part making the Fineſt, and according to the ſeveral Sorts it had ſeveral Names, and was put to ſundry Uſes; being from this Ruſh called *Papyrus*, which Name has continued to our Days, and is given to our Paper, though made of Rags, becauſe this ſerves for the ſame Uſes as that did. I ſaw one of theſe Ruſhes at *Rome*, which was ſhewed me by that worthy Gentleman *Caſtor Durante*, of happy Memory, my Maſter in the College, who told me it came from *Egypt*; and he had it from *Padua*, ſent him by *Signior Cortuſo*, a Man excellently learned in Simples, of whom he had got other more ſtrange and rare Things, as I have ſeveral Times ſeen myſelf, and particularly a Sheet of this *Papyrus*, or Paper, made of that Ruſh.

The firſt Invention of making Paper of this Ruſh, *Varro* affirms, was in the Days of *Alexander the Great*, when *Alexandria* was founded; but *Pliny* proves it was ancienter, by the Books which *Gn. Tarentinus* found in his Vineyard in a Marble Cheſt on the Hill *Janiculus*, in which were alſo the Bones of *Numa Pompilius*. Theſe Books were of the *Papyrus*, and it is certain that *Numa Pompilius* was long before *Alexander*. The *Romans* had ſeveral Sorts of this Paper; one of them was called *Hieratica*, as *Pliny* writes, and only dedicated to religious Books, which afterwards, through Flattery, took *Auguſtus*'s Name, and was called *Auguſtana*, as the ſecond Sort from his Wife *Livia* was called *Liviana*, as among us there is now Imperial and Royal Paper. There was another Sort called *Amphitheatrica*, from the Place where it was made, being about the Amphitheatre; and the firſt that began to make this Paper in *Rome* was one *Fannius*, who brought it to ſuch Fineneſs, that, whereas before it was for common Uſe, it became equal with the Beſt and took his Name, being called *Fanniana*, whereas that, which was not ſo curiouſly prepared, kept its old Name of *Amphitheatrica*; and theſe were the beſt Sorts of Paper in thoſe Days. Afterwards came the *Saitica*, ſo named from a City where it was made, where there was great Abundance of the *Papyrus*, and this was made

made of the worſt Part of it. There was ſtill another Sort made of the outward Part next the Rhind, and called *Teniotica*, from the Place where it was made, which was ſold rather by Weight than by Choice. *Laſtly*, there was the *Emporetica*, anſwerable to our Brown or Wrapping-paper, unfit for Writing, and only uſed to make Covers for the other Paper, and to wrap up Goods, therefore called Shop-Paper. All theſe Sorts of Paper were very different from one another, for the Beſt was thirteen Inches broad, the *Hieratica* two Inches leſs, the *Fanniana* of ten, and the *Amphitheatrica* two narrower; the *Saitica* ſtill leſs, and the coarſe *Emporetica* not above ſix. Beſides, *Auguſtus*'s Paper was in great Eſteem for its Whiteneſs, as well as its Smoothneſs, but was ſo thin, it would ſcarce bear the Pen; beſides that, it ſunk, and the Letters appeared through it; and therefore, in the Reign of *Claudius Cæſar*, it loſt the firſt Place, and another Sort was made, from him called *Claudia*, which was preferred before all the others, and the *Auguſta* was reſerved for writing of Imperial Letters. The *Livian* Paper kept its Rank, having nothing of the firſt, but, in all Reſpects, like the ſecond. This Sort of Paper, made of *Papyrus*, the *Romans* uſed a long Time, on which many Books were writ; and, as *Pliny* informs us, there were, in his Times, abundance of Volumes of *Caius*, and *Tiberius Gracchus*, of *Cicero*, of *Auguſtus*, and of *Virgil*.

That this Paper was good and laſting, appears by what was ſaid above of *Numa*'s Books, found in the Conſulſhip of *P. Cornelius*, *L. F. Cethegus*, *M. Balbius*, and *Q. F. Pamphilius*; and, from the Reign of *Numa* till their Time, we find there paſſed five-hundred and thirty-five Years, it being wonderful they ſhould laſt ſo long without rotting, eſpecially having been all that While buried under Ground. Authors differ very much about the Number of theſe Books, for ſome, as *Livy*, ſay, they were two, and found by *Lucius Petilius*; of which Opinion are *Lactantius* and *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Numa*. Others ſay they were fourteen, ſeven of the Pontifical Laws, and the other ſeven of the Precepts of *Pythagorean* Philoſophy; others ſay they were twelve, as *Varro* in his Book of Antiquities. *Tuditanus*, *Lib.* ii. writes, they were thirteen of *Numa*'s Decretals, yet *Antia* affirms, there were two *Latin*, one of the Pontifical Rites, and as many *Greek* of *Pythagorean* Philoſophy, and were therefore burnt by *Q. Petulius* the Prætor. Certain it is, that the Invention of Paper, made of the Ruſh *Papyrus*, continued long among the *Romans*, and very many Books were writ on it by ſeveral Authors, as has been ſaid above.

In the laſt Place was found out the Paper of our Days, a moſt noble Invention, which has afforded the Opportunity of writing and publiſhing a vaſt Quantity of Books. It is made of Linnen Rags beaten to Atoms; and it is wonderful that ſo mean a Thing ſhould perpetuate and immortaliſe the memorable Actions of Men. It is made in all Parts of the World, and of ſeveral Sorts great and ſmall, and ſo white and curious, that nothing can exceed it. On this, as the moſt Perfect, are printed ſo many Volumes as are daily ſeen, laying aſide the *Papyrus*, the Parchment, and all others, which gave Occaſion to the Finding out of this in our Forefathers Days.

## *Political Remarks on the Life and Reign of King* William III. Firſt, *From his Birth to the Abdication of King* James II. Secondly, *From his Acceſſion to the Crown of* England *to his Death.*

*Firſt.* THOUGH Fortune might ſeem a Step-mother to this Prince, by depriving him of a Father, before ſcarce a human Soul had been breathed into the Infant, yet ſhe abundantly made Amends for that Unkindneſs, by the Prudence and Indulgency of his Mother, eldeſt Daughter of King *Charles the Firſt*, who, by Means of the Blood from whence ſhe ſprung, not only conveyed to him a Proſpect of attaining to three Kingdoms, but alſo, by the Care ſhe took of his Education, ſhe formed his Soul worthy of the Crowns he was deſtined by Providence to wear.

We read a Story of *Sempronius*, that he caught two Snakes ingendering, and that, being ſurpriſed at the Novelty, he conſulted the Oracle what the unlucky Omen meant: The Prieſts

returned

returned an Anſwer, that either himſelf or his Wife muſt die; and that it was at his Election, whether he would ſubmit to Death himſelf, or doom the Partner of his Bed to that Misfortune: That, upon his Killing the male Snake, it was his Turn to die; and that, upon the Death of the Female, his Wife muſt undergo the ſame Deſtiny. This generous *Roman*, unterrified with the Apprehenſions of another World, cauſed the Snake to die, whoſe Fate was twiſted with his, confiding in the known Piety and Prudence of his Lady, and believing her Life more neceſſary to the common Good of his Family than his own. The Oracle and his uxurious Confidence were juſt; he died according to the Prediction of the Firſt, and his Family, by the Conduct of his Widow, found themſelves little prejudiced in the Loſs of ſo eminent an Example of Tenderneſs.

I ſhall not inſiſt upon the Truth of this Story, we have ſome good Authors to vouch it; but certainly, if the Prince of *Orange*, Father to the late King *William*, had been permitted ſuch an unhappy Choice, he might, without a Blemiſh to his Character, have followed the Steps of that illuſtrious *Roman*, and ſpared his Lady, whoſe Wiſdom, Courage, and Civility laid the firſt Foundation of that Grandeur, which her warlike Son, in ſucceeding Ages, attained to.

The States of the Seven Provinces ſtood his Godfathers; nor did his Mother, though ſo nearly allied to the Crown of *England*, think it beneath her Quality to implore the Protection of Perſons meanly born, in Compariſon of her illuſtrious Offspring, nor were the Methods ſhe undertook unagreeable to ſound Policy. The Princely Widow underſtood her Intereſt very well, and the Godſon of thoſe High and Mighty Potentates received, both in his own Perſon, and in the Reſpect was paid his Mother, the greateſt Arguments of their ſincere Friendſhip and Eſteem.

No blaſing Star preceded his Birth, and, with its prophetick Beams, preſaged his future Grandeur. The *Dutch* Aſtrologers could not ſee ſo clearly as the *Engliſh*, who affirmed, that a Star of ſuch a Nature was ſeen juſt before the Nativity of King *Charles the Second*. In this his Country-men acted unhandſomely, in depriving his Birth of ſo glorious and remarkable an Accident.

And it muſt be acknowledged, as more reaſonable in itſelf, if thoſe Celeſtial Luminaries attend our Actions here below, that the Brighteſt of them ſhould rather have waited on the Nativity of King *William*, who reſtored the Glory of the *Engliſh*, than upon King *Charles the Second*, who, by the Supineneſs of his Conduct, had near loſt the Reputation of his Country, and the Balance of *Europe*.

This Humility of the Princeſs of *Orange* was as much commended by ſome as cenſured by others; but whoever weighs it, muſt acknowledge it a Piece of refined Policy, and that her Conſideration was both juſt and rational: By this Step, and others of the like Nature, ſhe intirely rooted out thoſe Ideas, and that Umbrage, the States had conceived at the Greatneſs of the Houſe of *Orange*, and ſhewed herſelf rather a Grand-daughter of King *James the Firſt*, than a Siſter of King *James the Second*.

His Education was conſiſtent with the Manners of the Country where he was educated; the Methods, preſcribed him by thoſe that had the Honour of his Tuition, were ſolid and ſevere; nothing gay or glittering was ſeen in his Court, or the Converſation of thoſe Perſons who were intruſted with the Management of his tender Years: His Mind adjuſted itſelf to the Admonitions of his Tutors, and produced a Temper ſerious and thoughtful, quite averſe from the uſual Gallantries practiſed in the more refined and polite Courts, as they ſtiled themſelves, of *Europe*.

He was never a mighty Scholar himſelf, nor did he much affect Learning, or the Charms of a witty Converſation; ſuch, as were Maſters of thoſe happy Qualities, were ſeldom employed by him, unleſs ſome of the firſt in the Affairs of the Church; and if ever he made Uſe of Perſons, ſo diſtinguiſhed, in his ſecular Concerns, it was rather to pleaſe others than himſelf, and to acquire a Reputation to his Councils, more than for any Pleaſure he took in their Harangues or Converſation; and this may be truly ſaid of him, without Injuſtice to his Memory, That he was a much greater King, but nothing ſo fine a Gentleman as his Uncle.

Though he was no great Friend to polite Learning, yet he took Care to acquire the *French* and *Engliſh* Languages, which, afterwards, were of the higheſt Importance to his Management of ſeveral Treaties of the laſt Conſequence to himſelf and his Allies.

He never had many Favourites, and it was well

well for *England* that he had no more than two; the firſt of theſe was Monſieur *Bentinck*, now Earl of *Portland*, who obtained his Eſteem and Friendſhip by one of the moſt generous Actions imaginable. This young Gentleman was Page to the Prince of *Orange*, and much of the ſame Age with his Maſter. It happened that the Prince was taken ill of the Small-Pox, which not riſing kindly upon him, his Phyſicians judged it neceſſary that ſome young Perſon ſhould lie in the ſame Bed with the Prince, imagining, that the natural Heat of another would drive out the Diſeaſe, and expel it from the nobler Parts: No-body of Quality could be found in all the Court to make this Experiment; at laſt, Monſieur *Bentinck*, though he had never had the Small-Pox, reſolved to run the Riſque; he did ſo, the Prince recovered, his Page fell ill, and, in a little Time, had the Happineſs to find himſelf in a healthy Condition, and as well as his Maſter. Ever after this Action of Monſieur *Bentinck*'s, which was truly great and noble, the Prince had an intire Affection for ſo faithful a Servant, and particularly truſted him in Affairs of the higheſt Conſequence. It was my Lord *Portland* that tranſacted the Peace of *Reſwick*, and the ſame Nobleman managed the Negotiations that were ſet on Foot betwixt the then Prince of *Orange* and the *Engliſh* Nobility, who had Recourſe to his Highneſs before his Acceſſion to theſe Realms. If the Favours of the King had ſtopped here, and his faithful Miniſter had received no other Arguments of his Maſter's Eſteem, than reaſonable Gifts and Honours, perchance the Character of the deceaſed Monarch might have been ſomething greater; but Things were puſhed too far, and, when the Parliament put a Stop to ſome Conceſſions intended for my Lord, it was a plain Diſcovery of a Weakneſs which had been better omitted.

Though his Highneſs commanded the Army of the States, very young, when he was ſcarcely Seventeen, an Age when ſome Noblemen are hardly exempt from the Tuition of a Pedant, yet he behaved himſelf with greater Vigilance, Prudence, and Conduct, than could be reaſonably expected of him, at that Time of Day.

But though his Conduct was ſurpriſing, when he entered upon thoſe high Employments of Stadt-holder and General, yet he ſeems rather indebted to Chance and the Miſeries of his Country for thoſe Poſts, than to any perſonal Merit of his own, or the Atchievements of his Anceſtors.

The *French* had near over-run all *Holland*, their Armies had poſſeſſed themſelves of *Utrecht*, and moſt of the reſt of the Frontier Towns belonging to the States had ſubmitted themſelves to that invincible Deluge, which their Troops could not reſiſt, nor their Prudence or Negotiations avoid. The Faction of *Barnevelt*, well known by that Name in the *Low-Countries*, were then at the Helm, and the two Brothers, the *De Wits*, were looked upon as Chiefs of a Party who oppoſed the Grandeur of the Houſe of *Orange*. One of theſe was Penſionary, which is Principal Secretary of State, and was either, in reality, a Traytor to his Country, or eſteemed as ſuch by the Boors and common People, whoſe Misfortunes ſowred their Humours, and made them ripe for Tumults and Rebellions. Upon the conſtant Series of their ill Succeſs, the Populace aroſe, tore in Pieces the two unhappy Brothers, and wreſted the Government from the Hands of thoſe who were averſe to the Houſe of *Orange*. They continued their Reſentments, and obliged the States to reſtore his Highneſs to all the ancient Honours of his Family. Yet, though this young Gentleman was made General by a Tumult, yet, once poſſeſſed of that high Command, he behaved himſelf not like a tumultuary General; he ſoon repulſed the *French* out of their new Conqueſts, with a greater Chain of Succeſs than ever afterwards attended his military Actions.

Though ſevere and reſerved in the Cabinet, yet, in the Camp, he was fiery to a Fault, and often expoſed himſelf, and the Cauſe he defended, with a Raſhneſs blameable in an Officer of his Dignity.

Yet one Thing is very obſervable in his Conduct, though he had the Spirit and Gallantry of a Hero, yet he wanted the Paſſion of Love to make that Character compleat; neither before, at the Time of his Marriage, or afterwards, was he ever noted for any extraordinary Tenderneſs; nor could the Beauty of his Queen, nor the Addreſs of any other Lady, raiſe in him extraordinary Tranſports; his Soul was free from theſe Weakneſſes, or he had the Art to conceal them.

But notwithſtanding his whole Life was an Inſtance of his Prudence in Affairs of this

Nature (one Caſe only excepted) yet he never ſhewed ſo great a Reſervedneſs, nor, indeed, a greater Piece of Wiſdom, than upon his Marriage with the Lady *Mary*, eldeſt Daughter of the late King *James*: She was a Princeſs, who, for her Beauty, good Humour, Senſe, and Piety, had no Equal in *Europe*: Her Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion was ſurpriſing in a Lady of her Youth, and what did not a little add to her ſhining Qualities, was her being preſumptive Heireſs to three Kingdoms. The People of *England* were infinitely deſirous this Match ſhould take Effect, and King *Charles* perſuaded the World he had the ſame Inclinations, but privately inſinuated to the Prince, that his making a Peace with *France*, and his inducing the *Spaniards* to do the ſame, upon ſuch Terms as his *Britannick* Majeſty propoſed (which Terms, in Truth, were too favourable to the *French*) were the only Means his Highneſs had to obtain the Lady. Here was Love and Glory in Oppoſition to one another; but the Prince, under theſe extraordinary Circumſtances, ſhewed an unchangeable Temper, and a Mind impregnable againſt the ſtrongeſt Aſſaults. He aſſured the Crown of *England*, that, although he had the higheſt Veneration for the Princeſs *Mary*, yet nothing could make him recede from the Intereſt of the Allies, and he ſhould always prefer his Honour to all other Conſiderations whatſoever. Fortune was juſt to his Virtue; he gained his Point both Ways, and obtained the beſt of Princeſſes for himſelf, and thoſe Articles of Peace he inſiſted upon for his Confederates.

It ſeems a Wonder if King *Charles* was a *Roman* Catholick, or, in reality, inclinable to that Intereſt, he ſhould permit the Princeſſes to be educated in the Proteſtant Faith: Yet there ſeem ſo many Arguments for this Opinion, that I believe few Perſons ſtand in Doubt of it; but, if ſo, it is plain he preferred the Eaſineſs of a Crown to his future Conſiderations.

If the Prince was fond of any Thing to a Degree, it was of Hunting and the Diverſions of the Field; he paid his Servants well that took Care of his Pleaſures this Way, and gave them all reaſonable Encouragement. Perchance ſome of theſe might receive their ſuperfluous Penſions, when the Army abroad wanted their neceſſary Subſiſtance.

Some Perſons are of Opinion, that the Prince held Predeſtination; that it was his Judgment all Balls were commiſſioned, and had their Bounds ſet them, further than which they were not able to go. It is true, at the Fight of *Seneff*, and the Battle of the *Boyne*, he fought with ſuch a Spirit, as generally poſſeſſes thoſe who have firmly imbibed a Belief of this Nature; but, whether his Judgment induced him to be of this Opinion or not, he countenanced the Thought, which he was ſatisfied made his Soldiers regardleſs of Danger, and contributed to their Courage and Reſolution.

During his being at the Helm of the *Dutch* Government in *Holland*, he was ſparing of his own Money, but yet not tenacious to that Degree, but he concluded ſeveral Alliances with the Proteſtant Powers of *Germany*, for which he paid dear enough; and it is even ſaid, that the Holy Father himſelf entered into an Engagement with him againſt the King of *France*, that Diſturber of Mankind. Certain it is, he knew how to ſpare, and how to lay out, his Money to a good Advantage; and, if he could have commanded the Purſe of *England*, when he was only Prince of *Orange*, as he did afterwards, when he was King of *England*, in all Probability, he had never permitted the Growth of a Power which grew, in Time, to be ſo formidable to all *Europe*.

It is no ſtrange Thing that the Pope oppoſed the King of *France*, Intereſt cements the cloſeſt Friendſhip; the Head of the moſt Holy Church and St. *Peter*'s Succeſſor, as he ſtiles himſelf, joins with a Prince of a different Faith, in order to protect their common Liberties: His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty acts the ſame Part, and confederates with his good Friends the *Muſſelmen*. The one leagues with a Proteſtant, the other with an Infidel, each for their ſeparate Advantage; and, in this Affair, the Pope's Dealings muſt be owned the juſter of the two: His Reaſon for the Union was Self-defence; and what obliged the King of *France* to his Confederacy, was no other than the diſhoneſt Motives of Tyranny and Ambition.

The Prince of *Orange*, landing in the Weſt of *England*, marched from thence to *Exeter*, of which City he made himſelf Maſter, and went forward with the Succeſs that we all know of. Yet his Preparations for this Deſcent were not carried ſo privately, but the Count *de Vaux*, Ambaſſador for his moſt Chriſtian

Chriſtian Majeſty at the *Hague*, diſcovered the whole Affair, and gave Notice of it to his Maſter, and to the Envoy of King *James the Second*. The King of *France* immediately cauſed a Memorial to be preſented to the States of *Holland* on this Subject, who very fairly denied the Matter, and turned the Blame of the whole Affair on the Prince of *Orange*. The King of *France* was ſatisfied with this Anſwer, and certainly the Genius of that Empire was then aſleep, or ſo employed about the War going to be made againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, that it could not be at Leiſure to reſpect the Affairs of the *Low-Countries*. If the Troops of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty had fell down into the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, inſtead of marching into *Germany*, the *Dutch* had been obliged to have kept that warlike Prince at Home, to defend their own Territories; *England* might have juſtly deſpaired of a Revolution, and *Europe* of its Liberties: But Providence had ordered Things otherwiſe, the Court of *France* committed this unalterable Blunder, and the great *Lewis*, upon this Occaſion, failed to exert that Judgment which he ſo often convinced the World he was Maſter of, both before and afterwards.

The Battle of *Mons* was an Action in which the Prince of *Orange* acquired a great deal of Glory: He beat the Duke of *Luxemburgh*, who lay incamped before that Town, out of his Intrenchments, and forced his Army to a precipitate Flight. This Relation, without other Circumſtances, is indeed extremely honourable to the Memory of that Monarch; but, if it be alſo true, which Tradition acquaints us with, concerning that Battle, the Prince deſerved no Laurels. It is moſt certain, that, a few Hours before the Fight, a Peace was concluded betwixt his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty and the States of *Holland*; but, whether the Prince had any Notice of this Pacification, I cannot tell; but, if ſo, to fight with the Articles of Peace in his Pocket, proves him vain-glorious and revengeful.

His Enterpriſe upon *England* muſt be allowed very juſt; that Step towards the Revolution, there are but few which cavil at; it is true, ſome Perſons would have been contented that he had proceeded but little further, and only tied up the Hands of his unfortunate Predeceſſor. But theſe Gentlemen argue very little like Politicians, King *James* would have been King *James* ſtill, and ſoon, by the Violation of the People's Liberties, returned to that Courſe from whence the Succeſs of the Prince's Arms had obliged him to deviate; and, admitting King *James* to have kept within the Bounds of Reaſon and Moderation, yet ſtill the Proteſtant Religion, and the Liberties of all *Europe*, muſt have been betrayed to the Ambition of *France*, by the bare Neutrality of *England*, our Iſland being the only Balance to that incredible Power which the *French* has lately aſſumed; ſo that King *William*'s taking upon him the Regency of this Nation, ſeems rather to have been an Act of Neceſſity than Ambition. Happy is that Prince who finds ſuch an Opportunity of mounting a Throne, where Fate or Providence puſh upon him that Grandeur, which it is the Nature of all Mankind to be deſirous of.

The Securing thoſe Lords, by the Prince of *Orange*, which were ſent to him on the Part of King *James*, when he fixed his victorious Standards at *Windſor*, carried with it an Air of ill Nature and Hardſhip, and looked like a Violence upon the Law of Nations; but they were ſoon diſcharged, and were only ſecured from receiving Injuries themſelves, and Injuring others by their ill-timed Errand.

The Meſſage which the Son-in-Law ſent to his Royal Father, a little before the Blue Guards took their Poſt before *Whitehall*, was looked upon, in theſe Times, by ſuch who had an Inclination to their old Maſter, as bitter, undutiful, and wicked; but, certainly, the Prince never ſhewed his Clemency, or indeed his Tenderneſs, for King *James*, more than upon that Occaſion. The Prince was under an unavoidable Neceſſity of entering *London*, the Heart and Capital of this Realm, in order to bring thoſe great Deſigns to a Concluſion, on Account of which he had run ſo many Hazards. The Troops that he commanded, and would, in all Likelihood, have took Poſſeſſion of *Whitehall*, were Foreigners, of a different Language and Religion than King *James*, and ſuch who might have offered Violence to the Perſon of that Monarch, notwithſtanding their Orders to the Contrary: But allowing that King *William* had detached for that Service the *Scotch* and *Engliſh*, which bore his Colours, ſtill the Hazards of King *James* would have been the greater; ſeveral of the Officers, belonging to thoſe Regiments, had ſerved in *Ireland* under King *James*, and had been broke of their Commiſſions, purely

for being Proteſtants; others had voluntarily quitted *England* or *Ireland*, to find a Liberty of their Religion abroad, and which they conceived was in Danger at Home. In the Number of theſe were Major General *Mackay*, and ſeveral others: Another Party were perſonally diſguſted by the late King *James*; ſuch were Lieutenant-General *Talmaſh*, my Lord *Cutts*, and many more of Quality and Diſtinction: To have commanded, therefore, theſe to guard their old Maſter, againſt whom they had, or pretended to have, ſo many Cauſes of Diſſatisfaction, would have been Madneſs in any Perſon, who intended or deſigned that Monarch ſhould live, till cut off by the Courſe of Nature; which was the viſible Deſign of King *William* in Reſpect to the late King *James*, as appears by this, and will be made yet further apparent by the ſubſequent Obſervations. It is true, the Honour of General *Talmaſh* and my Lord *Cutts* would have guarded the late King from Violence and Injuries to their Power: But who could anſwer for the Caprice and Whimſies of the private Sentinels? or, Who can ſay to their Humours, Thus far ſhall thou go, and no further.

Thus, we frequently ſee the Beſt of Accounts miſinterpreted; we turn the great or little End of Perſpective ſuitable to our own Inclination or Fancy, and the Fact bears no Colour from itſelf, but from the falſe and prejudiced Gloſs we put upon it.

The Church of *England* was as forward in ſolliciting King *William* to invade *England* as the Diſſenters; the Reaſon of this was evident, becauſe King *James* invaded the Church, aſſumed a Power to new-model the Univerſities, ſilenced Dr. *Sharpe*, then Miniſter of St. *Giles*'s *in the Fields*, ſet up an Eccleſiaſtical Court, ſuperior to that of *Doctors Commons*, and impriſoned the Biſhops in the *Tower*. Yet this very Church of *England*, I mean ſome of the Clergy, the Repreſentatives of the Church, refuſed to take the Oaths to King *William*, equally diſſatisfied with their elective and hereditary King; they forgot the Memorials delivered, on their Behalf, to the Prince of *Orange*, their Honour, and their Misfortunes; but the Reaſon of this Uneaſineſs appeared moſt plainly; King *William* had not Diſhes enough to ſatisfy all the Longings and Expectations of his Gueſts, he could not cut out the whole State into Deaneries and Biſhopricks; and, indeed, King *William*, as politick a Prince as he was, had not yet Craft enough to humour the Clergy, neither, perchance, at that Time of Day did he think it his Intereſt ſo to do; believing that, here in *England*, the Tribe of *Levi*, and their Doctrines, always depended on the Government, as in *Holland*.

Sir *Charles Sidley*, in a Speech made to the Houſe of Commons, took the Liberty to ſay, That King *William*, though a Prince in Years, was but a young King; inſinuating, that Monarch, though a very wiſe Man, was not, by Reaſon of the Shortneſs of his Reign, at that Time acquainted with ſeveral Syſtems of Government, neceſſary to be known by *Engliſh* Princes; and, ſure, one of the Miſtakes of that Reign appeared, in not managing the various Factions of the Clergy at firſt; which if the King had done with Addreſs, they had perfectly forgot the Notions * of *Sherlock*, *Sibthorp*, or *Manwaring*.

The Prince made a Bridge of Gold for King *James*; he was taken by his own Subjects, and, in a Sort of Confinement, brought back to *London*. That Sun, which was dreaded in the Weſt as bad as Death itſelf, ſets in a ſmall Town, the Scorn and Mockery of the Rabble; but the unhappy King, however barbarous his Subjects were to him, would have had no great Cauſe of Complaint, had his Government been equal. The King of Kings was deſpiſed by his Friends and Relations, and that Monarch, like the ſuffering *Jeſus*, met with ill Uſage from thoſe Creatures he had made.

Yet the Permiſſion allowed King *James* to retire where he would, was a plain Indication that the Prince had no Manner of Deſign of injuring his Perſon, nor harboured any Sentiments of Revenge againſt a Father, whom he conceived endeavoured, by Ungentleman-like Methods, to deprive him of a Throne, and his Right, by the Birth and Merits of his Lady, a Princeſs of inimitable Piety and Virtue.

It was an unaccountable Miſtake in Policy, and an Error ill agreeing with the Prudence of King *William*, in not ſecuring and bringing to Juſtice thoſe Traytors, who, by their flagitious Councils, had near ruined the Church

* of Paſſive Obedience.

and

and State; I mean thoſe who once diſgraced the Bench, and from that Seat of Juſtice, forgetting the Duty they owed their God, their King and their Country, and as little mindful of their own Honour and the publick Liberty, gave their Opinion, That the King might diſpenſe with the Penal Laws and the Teſt, thoſe Bulwarks of the *Engliſh* Franchiſes: A juſt Severity upon theſe People, and a Retroſpection into their Actions, would have given their Succeſſors ſufficient Warning to make them honeſt; and, though our modern Judges have behaved themſelves with all the Worth and Probity imaginable, yet their Impartiality muſt not be eſteemed the Effects of any Terror that was ſtruck into them by a juſt Puniſhment of their Predeceſſors, but rather ſpringing from their own internal Goodneſs and Virtue.

As thoſe Gentlemen, which were falſe to their Country, might have eaſily felt the Reſentments of the Convention, juſt before the Prince's Acceſſion to theſe Realms; ſo he had an extraordinary Opportunity of doing himſelf and the Nation Juſtice, upon ſuch infamous Perſons, as betrayed both, without expoſing himſelf in the Quarrel: An *Old Bailey* Jury would certainly have meaſured to them the ſame Mercy, as other ſuppoſed Criminals had found from their bloody Hands; for, by the Way, moſt Juries are for the ſtrongeſt Side, and few Perſons, as I ever head or read of, when indicted for Treaſon, had the good Fortune to eſcape ſafe and ſound from their fiery Trial; and all this might have been done without Reflexion upon the Prince, or calling his Nature or Mercy into Queſtion; if any Odium had happened, it would have been charged upon the Ferment of the Nation.

A Scrutiny of this Nature, though it had let ſome ill Perſons Blood, it might have been yet very neceſſary for the Health of the Republick; and I believe few Perſons would have been angry, if the Blood of *Ruſſel*, *Sidney*, and *Corniſh* had been ſufficiently expiated.

My Lord Chief Juſtice *Herbert*, who exerciſed that Office in thoſe Times, perchance a Man more innocent than ſome of his Contemporaries, and not inferior to any of his Succeſſors in Learning, foreſaw ſuch a Storm a Coming, and very fairly got away into *France*, beyond the Reach of it: But his Proſpect was erroneous, and he baniſhed himſelf to no Purpoſe; yet his Flight plainly evinced, what he thought would be the Fate, or was the Merit of his Aſſociates, and, whether the *Engliſh* would have pardoned him or not, it is plain he did not pardon himſelf.

No Wonder then our Navy, our Councils, and our Army were betrayed; no Wonder our Ships wanted Men, and our Men Victuals; nor is it ſurpriſing that our Army had no Pay, whilſt Pay-Maſters, Agents, and Clothiers, ſucked the Blood of the Subject, and hamſtringed the Sinews of War. All theſe Miſfortunes were owing to this Piece of Indulgence, and it may be juſtly affirmed, that he who neglects to puniſh one known Traitor makes a Hundred more.

Thus the Prince of *Orange*, through a thouſand Difficulties, mounted the Imperial Throne of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, by a Parliamentary Title, rather than by any other: It is true, his Lady was next in Blood, ſuppoſing the pretended Prince of *Wales* illegitimate. But he never inſiſted upon that Title, ſo much as upon the Election of the People by their Repreſentatives convened in the moſt ſolemn Manner: Yet ſuch is the Wickedneſs of Mankind, and the Baſeneſs of their Nature, that even when he had enjoyed theſe Realms with the general Conſent of his People, and they had quietly enough ſubmitted to the Government they had made; yet theſe *Pontifens* muſt needs be giving him a new Right, which forſooth was that of Conqueſt. The *Dutch* at firſt were well enough pleaſed with the Fancy, and the Court itſelf ſhewed not much Averſion to the ill grounded *Chimera*: But the Parliament ſoon took up the Quarrel, and ſhewed the Vanity of theſe Pretenſions, and gave the World to underſtand, that *England* never ſubmitted but once (if it did ſo) in the Reign of *William the Conqueror*. And thus I conclude my Obſervations on the Life of the Prince of *Orange*, now called to the Throne of *England*, on the Abdication of King *James the Second*. So that it remains to remark on the latter Part of his Life and Reign, as was at firſt propoſed. And;

*Secondly*, I have choſen to divide theſe Political Remarks on the Life and Actions of our late Monarch, into two Diviſions, becauſe there ſeems to be a vaſt Variety in the Fortune of that Prince, in theſe ſeveral Periods of his Life.

The firſt Part of his Life he ſtruggled with all the Difficulties of a craſy State, at a Time when his Youth and frequent Indiſpoſitions

gave thoſe, who were really in the Intereſt of their Country, little Hopes from him of bettering their melancholy Circumſtances; but he equally deceived the Expectations of his Friends and Enemies, aſſerted the Honour and Happineſs of his Country, vindicated its Liberties, raiſed himſelf and thoſe Provinces, which gave him Birth, to a Degree of Grandeur, which neither the Houſe of *Orange*, nor the United States of the *Netherlands*, had before that Time been acquainted with.

The Faction of *Barnevelt*, when this Prince firſt took the Helm of the *Belgick* Provinces into his Protection, had ingroſſed all the chief Employments of the State under the ſpecious Pretence of Liberty; they had deluded the better and wealthier Part of the Commonwealth, to take Part with them, and be at their Devotion. The Military Commands were in their Hands, the Treaſure and all Things elſe in Diſorder at Home, and the King of *France*'s Armies at their Gates; yet from all theſe Misfortunes the Prince reſcued the Commonwealth, and by its Miſeries made himſelf the happier.

The ſecond Part of his Life was yet more glorious; he obliged King *James* to do him Juſtice, aſſerted his Right to the Imperial Crowns of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, conquered the laſt, reſtored the Reformed Religion to its former Vigour in theſe Kingdoms, and ſuppreſſed the Enemies of himſelf and the Nation he ruled over; he was triumphant at the *Boyne* and *Athlone*, gave Peace to *Scotland*, and ſaw himſelf Maſter, as far as agrees with our Conſtitution, of a bold and daring People.

But the Remainder of his Life was nothing ſo glorious to the State, or Fortunate to himſelf; he loſt the memorable Battles of *Steinkirk* and *Landen*, and though he took *Namur*, after an obſtinate Defence, made by the Beſieged, yet he threw away more Reputation by that patched up Peace at *Reſwick*, than he gained Honour by the Acquiſition of that important Fortreſs.

King *William*, upon his taking upon him the Government of theſe Realms, found *England* inclinable to his Wiſhes; ſome few indeed of the Clergy and Laity forgot their recent Obligations to him, and the late Danger of their Country; but he ſoon reconciled their jarring Spirits to his Government, or made them uncapable of injuring him.

Thus far his Adminiſtration ſailed with a ſucceſsful Wind, but his Affairs in *Scotland* ſoon took another Face; the Scene was changed there; a few of the Noblemen indeed adhered to his Intereſt, the reſt in general were diſſatisfied, and the worſt of it was, that the Epiſcopal Clergy, for the moſt Part, ſtruck in with the Intereſt of the late King *James*. This obliged the Kirk of *Scotland*, which now by the Conceſſions of King *William* might be called the Church of *Scotland*, to ſtand upon their Guard; and indeed, fairly ſpeaking, they uſed the Non-Conformiſts to the new Model of Religious Worſhip a little hardly: From hence ſprung the Rebellion of my Lord *Dundee*, and of ſeveral of the *Highland* Clans, many of whom followed his Lordſhip's Fortune for Affection or Plunder, and ſome, very few, on the Score of Religion.

It is moſt certain, that my Lord *Dundee* did not originally deſign to break with King *William*; he had ſerved under his late Majeſty in *Flanders*, was a Proteſtant, and it is generally believed had no great Inclination to King *James*; but he was forced upon what he did, by the haughty Carriage of a fine Gentleman, and a very good Officer *, who afterwards loſt his Life in the Quarrel †, and who by his own Death, and the Diſſervice he did the Government, may teach us, that, if it is dangerous to drive a Coward, it is much more ſo, to puſh a brave Man on Extremities.

Yet, however cloudy this Affair was at the Beginning, it ended fortunately enough for King *William*: My Lord *Dundee* was killed at the Battle of *Killicranky*, at a Time when Victory ſat upon his Helmet, who, had he lived, might have puſhed our late Monarch, as far as the ſame Shores on which he landed.

But Heaven had decreed it otherwiſe; that Lord received a Shot under his Arm, or, as ſome will have it, a Thruſt by a Halbert thro' his Armour, convincing us, that there is no Defence againſt Fate, and that Providence regarded more our Happineſs than the Council of *Scotland*.

Soon after the Deceaſe of this Gentleman, the Laird of *Glencow*, with ſeveral of his Followers and Dependants, were put to the

* Mr. *Cleeland*, Lieutenant-Colonel to my Lord *Angus*.

† At the Battle of *Killicranky*.

Sword

Sword in their Beds, after they had embraced a Pardon, which the Government condeſcended to offer. If King *William* was truly acquainted thoroughly with the Matter, and they ſuffered after their Submiſſion by his expreſs Order, it was an Action contrary to all Juſtice, below the Majeſty of a King, and beneath the Character of his Courage, which he had acquired at the Peril of his Life, in ſeveral bloody Rencounters.

By viewing this King at the Battle of *Seneff*, at the Battle of the *Boyne*, and the Fight of *Landen*, a Man would not eaſily conjecture, that his Soul could entertain Thoughts of ſo infamous a Nature; but what ſtartles our Imagination, and makes us doubtful in this Argument is, the Authority produced by thoſe who committed theſe Homicides in their own Vindication; but what Arguments induced the Grant of theſe Powers is uncertain, Heaven pardon the Authors of ſo bloody an Enterpriſe.

The Siege of *London-Derry* gave a greater Turn to King *William*'s Affairs than could be expected, and plainly demonſtrates to the unthinking Part of Mankind, that there is no ſuch Thing as Certainty in Human Affairs. King *James* ſent thither the Duke of *Berwick*, ſeveral *French* Generals, and the beſt of his Militia, rather to obtain Glory and Plunder, according to their ſeveral Capacities, than to hazard themſelves and his Army, before a Town he conceived naked and defenceleſs; but what was his Succeſs? All his fine Troops were ruined or killed, that City and *Iniſkillin* changed the Complexion of his Conqueſts, and he never ſucceeded in one ſingle Attempt he made afterwards.

Had this Town ſurrendered to the Catholick Forces, the late King *James* had intirely made himſelf Maſter of *Ireland*, and been at Leiſure to have poured in a numerous Army upon *Scotland*; which he might eaſily have done, the Paſſage from one Kingdom to another being not above four Hours Sail; and what would have been the Conſequence it is not hard to judge, when my Lord *Dundee* was in Arms at the ſame Time, and had, if he had lived, over-run all *Scotland*, and endangered the Loſs of *England* into the Bargain.

What Rewards then were ſuitable to the Merit of thoſe Gentlemen, who ſtopped a Deluge, which might have proved fatal to theſe Kingdoms, more than at firſt Bluſh can be imagined? But, let their Deſerts be what they will, they ſtarved as my Lord *Haverſham* expreſſes himſelf, with Teſtimonials of their Service in their Pockets.

The Battle of *Bantrey Bay*, in which the late Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel* exerted a moſt remarkable Courage, taught King *William*, as wiſe a Prince as he was, a Secret which he was a Stranger to, and that was, that the *French* were no deſpiſable Enemies by Sea; and, if he was not thoroughly convinced of this Truth, in a little Time afterwards he knew it by a dear Experience.

All that were Witneſſes to *Cloudeſly*'s Conduct and Bravery, upon the Occaſion I have juſt mentioned, thought it a Piece of extraordinary Merit; but our Monarch was obliged to him in a higher Degree ſoon after, for that Admiral, in the Sight of King *James*, and in the Preſence of his Guards, who were drawn up to their Relief, burnt or took a Man of War in *Dublin* Bay, and two or three other Ships. The extraordinary Merit of the Service lay here; a great many Officers of the Fleet, at the ſame Time, were not ſufficiently hearty to the Government, and this Action was a Precedent to the reſt, and quite diſpirited ſeveral Perſons who were in the Intereſt of the abdicated King.

The King had a great Opinion of Duke *Schomberg*, and indeed that Gentleman deſerved it; but I am fully perſuaded, that there was an *Engliſh* Officer, in his Dominions, every jot as fit for the high Command of Captain-General, and Time has abundantly declared it.

The Camp of *Dundalk* was fatal to the *Engliſh*; we loſt a great many brave Men there, amongſt whom were Colonel *Wharton*, Colonel *Deering*, and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality; and it is thought, that, if his Grace the Duke of *Schomberg* had fought the *Iriſh* with all their boaſted Odds, he would hardly, though beaten, been a greater Loſer.

But, whether King *William* approved the Duke of *Schomberg*'s managing the Army or not, it is plain he acted contrary to his Grace; for no ſooner could he reach the *Boyne* with his Troops, but he gave the Enemy Battle, humouring or approving of the Inclinations of the *Engliſh*, whoſe Cuſtom it has been, always to engage at Sight, without counting Numbers.

What made the King ſo fiery at the *Boyne* is uncertain; ſome attribute it to the Raſhneſs of

his Temper, others, with more Juſtice, believe the Precipitation, he then ſhewed, was occaſioned by the ill News he had received from *England*, that my Lord *Torrington* had engaged the *French* Fleet off *Beachy head*, and was worſted in the Combate; he loſt the *Anne*, commanded by Captain *Tyrrel*, and the *Dutch* ſuffered extremely in the Engagement; ſee here the Vanity of the *Engliſh*, and the Induſtry of our Enemies. We proudly imagined, that a ſingle Squadron of ours was a ſuperior Match for all the Naval Power of *France*, and now we find, that our united Fleets give Way to the Admirals of *France*.

My Lord *Torrington*'s Conduct was mightily blamed, with what Reaſon I ſhall not determine; at the Inſtance of the *Dutch* Captains he was tried at a Court Martial, and acquitted immediately; thereupon he laid down his Commiſſion, and it is yet uncertain, whether we did not ſacrifice a brave Man, who deſerved a better Fate, to the Ferment of the People, and the Fury of their Reſentments; and it is equally ſtrange, that in ſuch publick Actions, where ſo many Thouſands were Witneſſes of the Fact, the Common-wealth ſhould not be capable of knowing whether an Officer did his Duty, or omitted it.

Had the *French* ſtaid much longer on our Coaſts, it is reported King *William* deſigned to have commanded his Fleet himſelf, and to have given them Battle; but, as the World is malicious, ſo this Monarch found this Deſign of his ridiculed by ſome pretended Politicians, who imagined, that the Command of an Army at Land is very different from the Management of a Fleet at Sea; never conſidering, that the *Dutch* had an *Opdam*, and the *Engliſh* a *Monk*, and an *Oſſory*, who, though they were no Marine Officers, yet behaved themſelves with as much Honour, Prudence, and Courage, as any who ever ploughed the Surface of the Ocean.

The Reduction of *Ireland*, ſome two or three Towns excepted, was the Conſequence of the Battle of the *Boyne*, and King *James* himſelf took Shipping at *Waterford*, deſerting now this Realm, as he had lately done that of *England* ſome Time before; and indeed, by ſo precipitate a Flight, he made himſelf unworthy of any other Fate than that which he ſuſtained.

King *William* found himſelf repulſed at the firſt Siege of *Limerick*, more by the Inclemency of the Air, and the Badneſs of the Seaſon, than by the Valour of the Gariſon, though the Town was commanded by three Officers of great Experience, and ſheltered the Remains of the whole *Iriſh* Army: But there's no fighting againſt the Elements, they were appointed and commanded by a greater King than *William the Third*; and *Canutus*, the *Daniſh* Monarch, might have inſtructed our Royal General in the Truth of this Maxim, if the latter had given himſelf the Trouble of conſulting the *Engliſh* Hiſtory.

The King quitted *Ireland* the latter End of this Campaign, and left Monſieur *Ginkle*, afterwards Earl of *Athlone*, to reduce that Part of the Kingdom which continued in the Intereſt of King *James*. It is true, that Lord, by the Inſtances of the *Engliſh* Commanders, and by the Valour of their Troops, ventured to fight, and won the Battle of *Aghrim*, and obliged all the Enemies of his Maſter to ſubmit themſelves to his Obedience; yet it is the Opinion of our Officers, if a General of our own Nation had commanded our Troops, the Matter would as ſoon have been effected.

Thus far King *William* had all the Succeſs he could in Reaſon deſire; but Fortune was not always indulgent to his Wiſhes, and the reſt of her Conduct towards that Monarch ſhewed, that Kings as well as Peaſants are often mortified by her Caprices.

The Battle of *Steinkirk* was glorious to the *Engliſh*, though they ſmarted ſeverely by the Numbers, and continual Fire of the *French*. My Lord *Cutts* was wounded in the Action, the Generals *Lanier* and *Mackay* killed, and Troops of our braveſt Officers attended them to the Regions of Futurity.

The *Engliſh* were exaſperated at the Cowardice or Ill-nature of ſome *Dutch* Officers, who refuſed to ſuſtain our Battalions, and ſeemed to make a Jeſt of their Ruin. Our Soldiers took all Opportunities of Quarrelling with the Officers and Soldiers belonging to the States, and the Umbrage, we had received from the Misfortunes of that Skirmiſh, had like to have been of the worſt Conſequence to both Nations.

But the Prudence of King *William*, or, to ſpeak plainly, the Influence he had over the ſuperior Officers, allayed the Ferment our Soldiers were in, which, perchance, had he not been King of *England*, and *Stadtholder* of the *United Provinces*, he had never effected.

But Vengeance ſeldom ſleeps, and, if Count *Soames*, by his omitting to ſuccour the *Engliſh*, occaſioned the Death of ſeveral brave Men, he himſelf

himſelf died ſoon after, being ſtruck with a Cannon-ball; and that General, in the Hour of his Death, ſo far forgot his Honour, as to call to the Soldiers to ſhoot him, in order to be freed from the violent Pains he was tormented with.

If our Loſs at *Steinkirk* was conſiderable, it was much more ſo at *Landen*; ſeveral Reaſons were given out to colour the Shame of our Defeat, but nothing could be alledged to vindicate our Diſgrace, or extenuate the Glory of the *French*.

The Intelligence, which the Duke of *Bavaria*'s Secretary held with the *French*, was generally aſſigned to be the Cauſe of the Loſs of this Battle; whether the Correſpondence he managed was by the Order of his Maſter, is uncertain, but the Servant was hanged very fairly, and tried afterwards.

The Elector of *Bavaria* is reckoned a ſuperſtitious Prince, brave enough, and very much devoted to his Religion; but the Execution of this Gentleman in ſo odd a Manner, without any Examination, Tryal or Conviction, convinces us of the late Elector's Policy, but gave us no great Proofs of his Piety.

Our Horſe, excepting two or three Regiments, behaved themſelves but indifferently, and they declared openly, that they fought as they were paid; but our Foot did good Service, if not to the *Engliſh* Nation, yet to the reſt of the Confederates, for they ſtood very firmly, and maintained their Ground with all the Courage imaginable, and by this Means gave the Allies an Opportunity of running away.

General *Talmāſh* and Sir *Henry Bellaſis* continued laſt upon the Field of Battle, and one of theſe had won immortal Reputation, if the Memory of *Vigo* and *Port St. Mary*'s did not cancel the Glory he acquired in *Flanders*.

But he ſurvives, and *Talmaſh* lies as low as Envy or Jealouſy could deſire him; though it is impoſſible to imagine he was ſacrificed to the Reſentment of a Court Party, yet it is eaſy to believe ſome in the Miniſtry heartily wiſhed his Ruin.

He was too brave and too publick a ſpirited Man, either to let himſelf, the Parliament, or Nation be impoſed on; he loved a Soldier, and, as he was the readieſt to lead his Men to Battle, ſo he took the greateſt Care to ſee them rewarded after the Combate. His Principles of Honour and his Senſe were too good to be bribed or amuſed, and his perſonal Courage and Integrity too great to be forced or threatened into an unworthy Silence.

Such Qualifications as theſe were, without Diſpute, made him obnoxious to ſuch as hated the Intereſt of *England*; and, at laſt, they prevailed ſo far as to have him employed in an Attempt, where he muſt of Neceſſity loſe his Honour or his Life.

But theſe were not the only Loſſes that afflicted King *William*; he had the Misfortune to ſee his Queen fall ill of the Small-Pox, and a few Days robbed the *Engliſh* of a Princeſs, a better than whom never mounted a Throne, or gave Laws to a willing People.

She died as unconcerned as his Majeſty her Huſband fought, and braved the King of Terrors with as great a Reſolution on her Bed of Sickneſs, as he did in the Field of Battle; and certainly that Lady's Piety or Courage was the greater, ſince, as ſhe ſaid herſelf to my Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſhe was always prepared to die, and her Royal Spouſe very often took the Sacrament before a Battle.

King *William*, as it is reported, was very much concerned at her Death; and, if he had expreſſed a more viſible Sorrow, the Nation would have reſented it ſtill more kindly, who ſincerely mourned the Loſs of that Princeſs, and ſtill do upon her Memory.

But, though the Loſs of ſo good a Princeſs afflicted King *William* very much, yet the Peace of *Reſwick* mortified him much more; he was obliged at laſt, by the murmuring Temper of his Subjects, to acquieſce in Terms very diſhonourable to *Europe*, and not over glorious to his Majeſty. By this Treaty of Pacification, the *French* were to retain *Luxemburgh* and *Straſburgh*, thoſe Bulwarks of *Flanders* and the Empire, who inſtead of them were only to have an Equivalent, which, in Fact, was far from the intrinſick Value of thoſe Provinces; but, notwithſtanding the Inequality of theſe and other Articles, the Conduct of the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Neutrality in *Italy*, powerfully perſuaded the Allies to put an End to the War.

Soon after the Peace, the Partition Treaty followed, and, by too much Precaution, the Government involved the Nation in a dreadful War, which, to their beſt Thinking, they endeavoured to avoid. The *Spaniards*, who are a haughty People, ſo much reſented the intended Diviſion of their Monarchy, that their Grandees

Grandees made a Will, or influenced their Monarch ſo to do; by which he deviſed all his Dominions in *Italy*, *Spain*, and the *Weſt Indies*, to the Houſe of *Bourbon*, in the Perſon of the Duke of *Anjou*, who, notwithſtanding the moſt dreadful Imprecations of his Grandfather to the contrary, took Poſſeſſion of thoſe States and Provinces, by the Aſſiſtance of that Monarch, who, to prefer his Family, deſpiſed all Sanctions, both Divine and Human.

It is frequently obſervable in Politicks, that Men often loſe the Subſtance, by an Inquiſition after the Shadow; old *Æſop* told us this a great many Years ago, and we ſee it every Day's Experience, that, greedily deſiring the Whole, we even loſe that Part of which we might have ſecurely poſſeſſed ourſelves. But it fell out quite otherwiſe, in relation to this Partition Treaty; for the Houſe of *Auſtria*, not being contented with a Part of the *Spaniſh* Provinces, loſt them the Whole, and the Balance of *Europe* was turned to the Part of *France*, which they thought would have been at the Diſcretion of the Confederates.

When the Peace of *Reſwick* was brought to a Concluſion, the Parliament of *England* thought it high Time to diſband ſome of their National Regiments, and all the Foreigners in their Service. Amongſt theſe laſt were the *Dutch* Blue Guards, and my Lord *Portland*'s Regiment of *Dutch* Horſe, who attended his Majeſty in all his Expeditions, long before and after his Acceſſion to the Throne of *England*. His Majeſty was much diſſatisfied at the Proceedings, and made all the Intereſt he poſſibly could in the Houſe, to diſannul the Injunctions of his Supreme Council; but all to *no* Effect; he uſed Intreaties to the Parliament, but to no Purpoſe; and upon this Occaſion behaved himſelf much different from the haughty Character he had all along maintained.

He laid the Scheme of the preſent War we are engaged in againſt *France* and *Spain*, and made all the Proviſion the Grandeur of ſuch a Deſign required. After the unfortune Accident of breaking his Collar-bone, he fell into a Fever, which quickly put an End to his Reign and Glory.

During his Sickneſs, he behaved himſelf with that great Greatneſs of Soul, which he had often ſhewed in the Field, and died with the ſame Bravery as he had expreſſed in the Heat of Action.

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## Advice to a young Clergyman, how to conduct himſelf in the common Offices of Life, in a Letter from a late Right Reverend Prelate. *Octavo*, containing twenty-five Pages.

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### The PREFACE.

*THIS Letter of Advice to a young Clergyman was written by a very eminent Prelate, ſome Years ago, and has remained in private Hands ever ſince.*

*Though the Rules laid down therein were preſcribed for private Uſe, probably without any Intent to be made publick; yet they ſeem to be ſo ſingularly ſerviceable as to challenge univerſal Attention and Regard, ſince there are ſcarce any to whom they may not be advantageous.*

*Though the great Name and Reputation of the Author would be a ſufficient Recommendation, if it were judged proper to communicate it; yet I am perſuaded it will make its Way without it, as all young Clergymen will find, the Obſervance of theſe Maxims, which were drawn from Experience, will highly conduce to the Promotion of their Spiritual Intereſts. With this View only it is made publick, nor will it be the Publiſher's Fault, if it does not anſwer the End propoſed.*

Dear

Dear SIR,

I Received your very obliging and reſpectful Letter; by which you inform me, That you are lately entered into Holy Orders: I am very glad of it; and I pray God to bleſs you in all Things, both in Temporal and Eternal Happineſs.

The Reſpect which I bear to your Father's Memory, and for whom I had, while living, the moſt intire Friendſhip, accompanied with my beſt Wiſhes for the Welfare of all who ſtand in any Degree of Relation towards him, have determined me to give you, what, if rightly accepted and obſerved, will be, I am fully ſatisfied, the beſt Preſent I can poſſibly make you; I mean, a little good Advice for the due Regulation of your future Conduct in Life; not that I think you ſtand remarkably in Need of it, or that I am over-fond of exerciſing that Authority which my Office may peculiarly claim, or that Privilege which old Age doth often uſurp of documenting our Juniors, but only that I may, in the moſt proper Manner I can think of, teſtify my Affection to a Son of Dr. *N*——, and, in ſome Sort, repay my Obligations to my dear departed Friend; and, in ſo doing, I ſhall not touch upon any of the Fundamentals of our Faith, or of Morality; for in all theſe, I am well perſuaded, your Father's Example, your religious Education, and your own Learning, and good Abilities, will be ſufficient at all Times to direct you; but my Cautions ſhall at preſent only regard ſome ſmaller Incidents, which, tho' of the greateſt Importance, ſeem to be ſo trivial, that many young Men never think of them, till they find themſelves entangled in thoſe very Circumſtances, and, for Want of a timely Reflexion, are greatly embarraſſed and perplexed how to proceed; and, for Want of proper Direction, often act wrong: As to which Points, if I can give you a previous Admonition, I ſhall, I believe, do you, what I intended, a real Service.

And, *Firſt*, Let me beg you to be very timid and circumſpect, never to contract too ſtrict an Intimacy with any of thoſe Perſons who are of the ſame Vocation whereunto we alſo are called: For although we ought moſt intimately, and moſt ſincerely, to affect and regard each the other, and to be cloſely united, not only on a religious Principle, as we are all of us Servants of one Maſter, but alſo on a prudential Account; becauſe, if we were Friends one to another, with ſomething more than a profeſſed Sincerity (of which Kind only there is no Lack) we might, in that Caſe, the better be enabled to make a Stand againſt the common Enemies of us and our Religion; yet, ſo unhappy is the State of Things among us at preſent, and, I much fear me, it will continue ſo, that we are become our own greateſt Enemies; and not only the Laity ſeparates and divides itſelf from among us, but we alſo, thus weakened, grow weaker, by Subdiviſions and unchriſtian Diſputings, among ourſelves; reducing every Affection into Self-love, and turning the Breath of Charity into the Blaſt of Envy.

Another Reaſon which may juſtly be offered in Support of this Reſervedneſs of Behaviour is, that it will be a Means to forward your Preferment; though it is generally conceived to be a Means of fruſtrating it; the Error of which Opinion will manifeſtly appear, if you will but conſider, that a Friendſhip with a young Clergyman will oft-times, if not always, betray you:— He has the ſame Views, the ſame Expectations and Purſuits with yourſelf; a Rivalſhip cancels every Obligation. But he is your Friend, you will ſay? As he is ſuch, then he beſt knows your Intereſt, can ſooneſt trace the Spring it flows from, and eaſieſt direct it into his own Channel. Thus your Friend, only by being too much ſo, becomes your Competitor; and, if he ſucceeds, ſo far will he be from making you Amends, or remembering the Means of his Succeſs, the Worldling muſt of Neceſſity avoid you, that the Sight of you may not upbraid him.——It is better far to fear this to be true, than to find it ſo.

For theſe Reaſons, therefore (and more Reaſons might be given) although I would deſire you ſhould be courteous and affable to all, I would not have you plunge yourſelf too deeply into Engagements with any; for a Friendſhip with the Brotherhood will cauſe you many Diſappointments in expecting their Aſſiſtance, and many Difficulties in affording them yours. To be prudent therefore, and to avoid both theſe Inconveniencies, keep them under a proper Reſerve, and at a due Diſtance, for your own Sake.

But it is not thus that you are to proceed with regard to the Laity; maintain but Innocency in your Life, and Decency in your Conduct, you cannot be too open, too unreſerved,

too

too chearful, amongſt them. There is a moſt grievous Fault, which almoſt all Perſons, who have had a Univerſity Education, fall more or leſs into, which is, Pedantry. The young Man who has plunged into *Greek*, and, perhaps, paddled in *Hebrew*, cannot bear common Names for common Things. Sublime Expreſſions, which travel hard towards Nonſenſe, are ſure always to delight him; and, when he diſcovers, that thoſe whom his Vanity calls the lower Claſſes of Mankind (ſuch as Mechanicks, and Perſons bred to Trade, who have, perhaps, much more general Knowledge, and are at leaſt ten Times more uſeful, than himſelf) do not underſtand him, and, of Conſequence, do not admire him (for the World is become in theſe latter Ages ſo refractorily wiſe, they will not pay an implicit Admiration to any Thing) he begins to deſpiſe them for what is really no Fault at all, or moſt certainly no Fault of theirs, ſhuns their Company, which he ought to ſeek, and loſes their Intereſt, which he ought to preſerve.

But, Is not the Diſlike mutual? Is not the vain Contempt returned? And let us examine fairly, which has the moſt Juſtification on its Side. If a Pedant, with an Air of Pride and Superiority (for Pride eternally mixes itſelf with Pedantry) comes into Company with Tradeſmen, who are talking nothing better than good Senſe, and in no better Style or Language than plain *Engliſh*, when it comes to his Turn to ſpeak, or perhaps before, for it is great Odds his Learning will not be checked by good Breeding, he pours forth a Torrent of rough Sounds, which none but himſelf (nor perhaps himſelf) underſtands, ſuch as my weak Head would not be able to bear, which aches but to think of him; and all this Violence is committed only to make them gape wide with Admiration of his Learning. But, let the Subject be changed, let Trade, Navigation, Commerce, Agriculture, Mechaniſm or Manufacture, become the Topick, this Man of Letters is ſtruck dumb, can give no Opinion when he is conſulted, no ſatisfactory Anſwer to any Queſtion propoſed, knows not the Situation, Climate, Produce or Practice of any foreign Countries, nor can judge, with any tolerable Exactneſs, of the true Intereſts of his own: So learned he is, he knows not how he came by his own Gown and Caſſock, other than that he paid for it, and wears it; ſo wiſe he is, that he is totally at a Loſs in all the ordinary Occurrences of Life, and finds that his *Greek* and *Hebrew* would have been of much greater Uſe three thouſand Years ago, but that he cannot now tell how beſt to make his Way in the World he is to travel through. Yet this is the Man who claims a Right to have all the Diſcourſe to himſelf, and, with a lazy Pride, contemns unlearned Induſtry.——Yet, which of theſe appears to the moſt Advantage, you ſhall determine; for I have done with him.

Perhaps you will think me a little too ſevere in my Cenſure, and ſay, Is Learning then of no Uſe? Learning is undoubtedly and abundantly uſeful, but it ſhould be properly and cautiouſly applied, not merely to draw Applauſe from the Ignorant, but rather to convey uſeful Inſtruction.——Now, the Misfortune is, that when we launch out into Life, and come from the Univerſity with the Reputation of being well read, we are too apt to entertain a miſtaken Notion, that our Studies are quite finiſhed; whereas, on the contrary, we have yet our greateſt Exerciſe to go through, the Study of Mankind, which Speculation cannot ever arrive at, and which is attainable only by aſſociating with, and mixing among them. Now this I take to be ſo far from being blameable, that it is, in my Opinion, our indiſpenſable Duty; for I have always thought, that our good Conduct, and ſober and pious Behaviour in Life, is of more real Service to Religion, than all wordy Exhortations to Virtue whatever, and that innocent Complacency is highly preferable to a monaſtick Auſterity. We do well, when we allure Men to the Practice of their Duty, by making it appear in the moſt deſirable Light; but far otherwiſe do we act, when we baniſh the Practice of Religion by maſking it with Terror. It is not our Buſineſs to retire from the World, but to live well in it, and labour by Example, not by Precept only, to reform it. And it is always, without Exception, our own Fault, if we are not agreeably received by the Laity;——our Company and Converſation courted and deſired, and our Perſons and Characters reſpected and regarded: And, believe me, by cultivating a ſincere Friendſhip with them, you ſhall be overpaid for all the Learning they may ſteal from you, beſides temporal Advantages.

I hope what I have ſaid, on theſe Subjects, will be ſufficient to convince you, how neceſſary it is to act in the Manner, in which I have

have taken the Freedom to adviſe you, with reſpect to the Clergy and Laity; I know, for my own Part, I have long been convinced of it.

The next Point in which I think I ought to caution you more particularly is, with reſpect to the general Choice of your Subjects in your Diſcourſes from the Pulpit; and, in all your Sermons, let me requeſt you, at all Times, ſtrictly to avoid all Manner of political Reflexions. Do not torture ſcriptural Hiſtory, as the Faſhion is, for modern Application. Draw no Obſervations upon Government, not even in Defence of the Adminiſtration; and, for the following Reaſons: It is not Part of your Duty to do it, and therefore it is your Duty not to do it; for you are to keep to the Practice of your Duty. *Secondly*, All Diſcourſes of ſuch a Nature tend to irritate and inflame, whereas our whole Study is to be employed in uniting each to the other in Chriſtian Charity. *Thirdly*, It is wrong with regard to your own private Intereſt; for, whichſoever Side you chooſe, you would do well to remember there is another Side, who will call you Servile or Seditious: And a *fourth* Reaſon may be offered, which is, That although you ſhould employ your Eloquence on that Side which is, in the uſual Phraſe, called the *Safeſt* (I mean, the now prevailing Party) yet you know not of a Certainty, that you ſhall get into good Preferment thereby (which I take to be the only Motive of all who engage in State-controverſy, and muſt be your Motive, ſhould you alſo engage in it;) and, ſhould you fail therein while their Power holds, and the Tables turn, which, from the perpetual Fluctuation of human Affairs, it is highly probable will happen before you arrive at my Time of Life, you will then remain for ever obnoxious to the Party which may chance to become uppermoſt, and that too, perhaps, without any real Diſlike, either of their Principles or Practices. Thus it is a great Hazard, whether you can rave yourſelf into good Preferment under one Adminiſtration; and, if you do obtain it for a While, you will be inevitably ſhip-wrecked in the firſt Storm; ſuch a terrible Self-ſplitter is full-blown Zeal.

Another Thing, which is peculiarly requiſite for your Conduct from the Pulpit, is the framing and adapting your Diſcourſes in ſuch Manner as may beſt ſuit with your Audience. Meaſure, as much as may be, the Line of their Underſtandings. Do not any more go out of their Depth, than beyond your own. Preach not on Myſteries to Metaphyſicians, nor preach Metaphyſicks to Farmers. Nothing has done more real Diſſervice to Religion, than an incautious Choice of our Subjects from the Pulpit, and an inaccurate Manner of treating them; inſomuch that it remains a Queſtion, Whether Perſecution has ever done half ſo much Injury to it, as all the various wrong Methods made Uſe of to defend it.

But, above all Things, let me deter you from too curious an Examination of thoſe ſacred Myſteries which are the Objects of our Faith, but are not within the narrow Limits of our Underſtanding. I have trembled to hear a young Preacher, with too much Warmth in his Head, as well as in his Heart, ſtate all the Objections which Infidelity has ever been able, with all its wicked Induſtry, to make againſt our Religion, only to ſhew his own Ingenuity in anſwering them. But, how grievous is his Offence, if any of his Auditors, who had never heard, till that Hour, any one of theſe Objections made, and, probably, never might have had their Peace diſturbed by hearing them made, ſhould not think his Anſwers full and ſatisfactory! Beware, therefore, I beſeech you, in quiet Minds, never to raiſe Doubts, nor ſtart Difficulties, merely for the Merit of ſolving them. Religion can ſupport itſelf; be you careful not to injure it.

Nor need you be at any great Loſs to find out proper Heads of Diſcourſe to enlarge upon, while there are the extenſive and important Volumes of Morality lying at all Times open before you. Theſe are the beſt Subjects you can poſſibly make Choice of upon many Accounts: They are proper at all Times, are well received in all Places, are readily underſtood by all Perſons, and eaſily compoſed by you; ſo that, by conſtantly purſuing this Method, you will receive more Approbation with leſs Pains. The exceſſive Applauſes which the moſt famous Preachers of the laſt Century have, from Time to Time, been rewarded with, have often, if not always, flowed more from a rhetorical Diſplay of Moral Virtue, than from their Labours to eſtabliſh the Evidences of our Belief. The moſt admired and moſt celebrated Preacher, now living, owed his Riſe intirely to a happy and perſuaſive Manner of inforcing our practical Duty; for, although he is now arrived at almoſt the higheſt Degree of Dignity in the Church, yet he

he ſcarcely ever been remembered to have choſen a Subject which was not wholly employed on our moral Obligations to each other. Theſe he has always inſiſted on as the moſt certain Rule of diſcharging our Duty to God. Want of Charity, has, indeed, imputed to him a Doubt or Disbelief of the great Myſteries of our Faith; but I will not ever harbour in my Breaſt ſo raſh a Suſpicion, which his whole Life is a Confutation of; for he is a good Man, which he could hardly be, unleſs he were alſo, what I am fully perſuaded he is, a good Chriſtian. You will forgive me therefore, that I do recommend his Practice to your Imitation; for I ſhould not deſerve to be forgiven, if I were to offer you my own.

I ſhall cloſe this Article in a very few Words: If you ſhould be ſo lucky to riſe in the Church (do not wonder that I call it *Luck*; for Merit alone will not raiſe you, though you have as much as any young Man I know; but ſtrong Intereſt, fair Opportunity, and good Recommendation, will juſtle all Virtues, Graces, and Accompliſhments whatever; ſhould you therefore, I repeat it, by any kind Hit, become eminent) do not, I beſeech you, be, or affect to be, rigidly ſevere againſt any Sectaries or Set of Men, merely on Account of Difference in Opinion. If all who fear God, and work Righteouſneſs, are accepted of him, do not anathematiſe or reject thoſe, whom it is our Duty to hope, that God hath not rejected. Moreover, although we ought to be ſtedfaſt in our Faith, yet I cannot but think it a truly religious and highly commendable Fear, when we forbear to cenſure others, only for Differing in Opinion from us, from an awful Apprehenſion of its being poſſible they are in the right, and that we ourſelves may be miſtaken: For, conſider a little, we have Revelation, ſo have they; we have Reaſon, ſo have they: Many Things we differ in, yet very few of them are of the Eſſentials to Salvation; and thoſe which are ſo muſt wait their Determination from infinite Wiſdom: Therefore, in the firſt Place, with Regard to yourſelf, be ſober, be careful, be vigilant, be not blown about with every Wind of Doctrine, but labour inceſſantly to confirm and ſtrengthen thoſe who do well: And, in the next Place, with regard to others, be meek, be patient, be merciful; remember, that your Adverſary is your Brother, and be not bitter againſt him, but at all Times avoid that Zeal which is not according to Knowledge.

I am not now much aſhamed to own, eſpecially as it may be for your Advantage, that, in the two next Points in which I am about to caution you, I have often wiſhed for Advice at your Time of Life, and therefore hope, mine may now be of Service to you. They are theſe: What Reſpect you ought prudently to pay to others, and how much Reſpect you may juſtly claim to yourſelf.

The Reſpect you are to pay to others, may, in the general, be governed by the Degree of Reſpect paid to them by the reſt of Mankind; for the World doth generally judge right in this Particular; and, when I am informed, that Merit is without a due Reverence paid to it, I muſt know that Merit well, before I can be at all induced to believe it; for, in ſuch a Circumſtance, I do generally ſuſpect, that Mankind have found a ſufficient Reaſon to delay paying that Debt of Reſpect, which, without ſuch a Reaſon, they ſeem to me to be always ready enough to pay: And, therefore, as on the one Side you will be right in not being the laſt to regard thoſe who have the concurrent good Opinion of Mankind, although, poſſibly, you do not know all the Footſteps by which they made their Way; ſo, on the other Side, do not entertain, of a ſudden, too high an Opinion of the Appearance of infant Merit, while it remains under Obſcurity, leſt, when it comes forth into the Face of Day, there ſhould prove black Spots in it, which cannot bear the Light, and which, while you ſtand too near, may throw a Shade on your Judgment at leaſt, if it does not in ſome Sort darken your Integrity. In fine, there is a happy Medium: Praiſe no Man much, eſpecially if he praiſes you, leſt it ſhould ſeem like a Plot to play one another off to the World; nor cenſure any Man greatly, leſt you be thought to envy him.

Another Method of forming a Judgment, what Degree of Reſpect you are to pay to others, is to conſider, what Degree of Good they can do to you: For though they may happen to be under general Diſeſteem, yet, if they can and will do you a particular Benefit, they have an undoubted Right to your particular Regard, nor can you eaſily, in ſuch a Caſe, ſhew them too much; for all Mankind are but too deſirous of receiving Homage from each other, though the major Part of them are too indolent to exert thoſe good Qualities, which are neceſſary to obtain it. If you pay

them

them no more Reſpect than they deſerve, all Men will think you pay them too little; but, if you pay them fifty Times more than they merit, no Man will think you pay him too much. Err, therefore, for their Satisfaction, and your own Sake, on the right Side: Give my Lord his Title; or, if he likes to have it ſo, even call him his Grace; and his Lordſhip's Grace ſhall, in Return, ſay, you have much Learning and good Senſe, and deſerve Promotion: Pay him but Homage, he ſhall admire you, without knowing why, yet ought you to know, that he admires you for that Homage he receives from you.

You will object, perhaps, that this is an undue Method of applying to the Paſſions of Men: Yet, if you are to deal with Men, you muſt deal with them not as being what they ſhould be, but as they are, Creatures hurried away with their Paſſions and Vanities, and labour to make them ſerve to your own Intereſt. All Men have their Frailties, but an ardent Deſire of Reſpect is the great Frailty of all Men. There is a Vein of Pride winds itſelf through all Nature: The Meaneſt pant for that Homage, which the Great ones receive, and are anxious to find out ſomething a Degree below themſelves, from whom they alſo may have a Right to exact the like. I would be glad to tell you, that nothing of this Kind prevails among the Clergy, did not every Hour's Experience prove it otherwiſe; for I fear me, ſhould you aſk the Laity concerning all of us in general, or the inferior Clergy concerning the dignified Brethren in particular, their Anſwers would not excuſe us: Would they not ſay, that we require them to bow to a Prieſt, and kneel to a Biſhop; nay, perhaps, aſſert, that we were ſo watchful for Reſpect from them, as to make it a religious Obligation, which they were bound to perform?

But are there no Perſons who think it a Meanneſs to ſtoop thus far, and pay Mankind more Reſpect than they deſerve? Are there none who with an open Roughneſs, and highly to be applauded Sincerity, bring Men down to the low Level of their real Merit? Yes, ſome ſuch there are; but they are thoſe whom Succeſs in Life, or Independency of Fortune, have ſet at Liberty, to act as they pleaſe, or they are thoſe who rail at ſeeing others do, what they have themſelves done before in vain: But if you would know better than themſelves whether theſe Railers at over-doing Reſpect are truly in earneſt, or only actuated by Pique and Reſentment; ply them cloſely with that very Reſpect they pretend to deteſt, admire their ſuperior Underſtandings, revere their Uprightneſs, commend their *Stoick* Virtue, promiſe to imitate their Example; and I will venture to aſſert, you ſhall be well received by them for doing that to them, which they will not permit you to do to others. For the Thing is, in applying your Reſpect to himſelf, every Man thinks you apply it right.

But I muſt ſay no more on this Subject, leſt, when I have the Favour of a Viſit from you, you ſhould turn the Weapons I have lent you, againſt myſelf.

As to the Reſpect which you may juſtly claim to yourſelf, it is the hardeſt Thing of all to give Advice in: For hardly any one of us thinks he has enough, which is the Reaſon why he has ſo little. But as you now have a Right to require, that I propoſe ſome Rule for you to go by, let it be this, to demand only ſo much Reſpect as you really deſerve. Now this, you will ſay, leaves you as it found you, ſince you cannot eaſily form a Judgment of your own Deſerts. If that be the Caſe, then let the World form a Judgment for you, and it is highly probable it will be a favourable one: Think you deſerve no more, or rather leſs, than you do really receive; for this will be a certain Method to raiſe you that very Reſpect you want to have ſhewn to you, and will at the ſame Time preſerve Humility in yourſelf.—The Truth of the Fact is really juſt thus; it is our contending ſo apparently for ſo much Reſpect, which very often, if not always, deprives us intirely of it. Men have ceaſed from worſhiping Images: Tho' they revere the Prieſthood, they abhor Prieſtcraft: They will not, they ought not to regard us merely for our Habits, but to inquire what Manner of Spirit we are of. Nothing can make a proud Man more odious, unleſs it be, that he is a proud Prieſt; and believe me, from Experience I ſpeak it, if we would have any uncommon Deference and Regard ſhewn us from the Laity, we muſt always take it by Courteſy, and not as Matter of Right; for they are at all Times ready to give us a proper Reſpect, if we do not inſiſt on it as a Debt, which they are obliged to pay us.

It is but too often the Caſe, that, inſtead of the Homage we ſo ardently deſire, we are forced to bear Raillery, nay even ſome Degree of Ridicule itſelf, eſpecially from our Superiors in Fortune, on whom we have a

Dependence or Expectation, and to whom it would be the higheſt Imprudence to diſcover any Reſentment. Now to be able to ſuſtain this Trial with Decency and good Humour, and to make it ſeem eaſy to us, when it is, perhaps, far otherwiſe, though it is very difficult, is a very valuable and profitable Accompliſhment; and the great Secret ſeems to be this, by laughing with them, or rather beginning the Laugh for them againſt yourſelf, which will in a great Meaſure relieve you from being laughed at by them. Whatever is ſuperior to Ridicule, will not hurt you: Whatever cannot ſtand it, deſerves it. Then why not laugh? If a young Clergyman be too voracious an Epicure, bows very aukwardly, behaves very ſlovenly, or talks moſt pedantically, may we not join in Banter of the Man, without any Affront to the Order? Or is it abſolutely neceſſary to ſuppoſe every ſpiritual Perſon to have no earthly Failing? There ſeems to be, more eſpecially with every young Man among us, ſo ſtrong an Attachment to the Intereſts of the Church (to give it no worſe a Conſtruction) that he labours to make us believe, that it receives a Wound, when himſelf is attacked in his own private Capacity, on Occurrences which no Way affect it: His Perſon, his Dreſs, his Actions, his Errors, are all to be ſacred, becauſe he is a Divine. Why, what a Farce is this? Can we be ſuppoſed meek, patient, long-ſuffering, and ready to bear all Kinds of Perſecution, when we cannot even ſuſtain a little Raillery with any tolerable Serenity of Temper?

Endow yourſelf therefore, I requeſt you, with ſo much Patience, as to hear the Frailties incident to your Humanity, without the low Subterfuge of ſheltering yourſelf in your Divinity; nor ever imagine, that your Profeſſion of Religion, is, or ought to be a Protection for your Faults.

I do remember a Nobleman, who, before a very numerous Aſſembly, told a worthy Divine, who was ſoliciting him for a Living then vacant, and in his Lordſhip's Diſpoſal, "No, no, Doctor, talk no more of it; but "pr'ythee, Man, learn to dance." The Doctor, not at all abaſhed, ſmilingly replied, "He ſhould be incorrigible not to improve, "with his Lordſhip for an Inſtructor, who "had long taught him to dance Attendance. "Have I ſo, Doctor? ſays the Earl: Then "even take the Living, and my Daughter "*Sophy* ſhall teach you to turn your Toes "out." The Company laughed, but the Doctor had moſt Reaſon. I wiſh you the ſame ſelf-ſubduing Spirit, and that a like Reward may attend it.

Another Thing, which I muſt exhort you to, is this, In whatſoever State of Life you are, therewith to be content. Avarice and Oppreſſion are the two moſt ſhocking Crimes, which degenerated Nature can be guilty of; yet are they often, and I fear with too much Reaſon, imputed to the Clergy. Nor can it at all excuſe or extenuate our Offence, that it hath been ſo from Time before us, and may be ſo after us. Every Man is undoubtedly under a moral Obligation to provide for himſelf and his Family, by all prudent and honeſt Means; for, if we ſow unto them ſpiritual Things, it is meet that we partake of their temporal Things: But this does not extend ſo far as to injure, oppreſs, be rigid, tortious, and violent: And I am moſt uſually inclined to believe, that he among us who litigates for Tythes, or Duties, muſt be himſelf chiefly in Fault; for I have proved it myſelf, that the Man who will not pay you Sixpence, which he is convinced you have no Right to exact, will give you ten Times the Sum, if you will accept it in the Manner he thinks fit to give it you, and will ſpend forty Times as much to keep you from it, if you refuſe. Now, ſuppoſe Chriſtian Forbearance laid intirely out of the Caſe, which Way, think you, ought Human Policy to take? Whenever, therefore, you are in this diſagreeable Circumſtance, examine yourſelf with great Strictneſs, and be always the firſt to propoſe the Mediation of Friends, Arbitration, or any other Compromiſe, remembering, that to the ſpiritual Man belongeth Peace, and that he ought no more to make Uſe of the Law than of a Sword, neither of which are juſtifiable except only for Self-defence

The only Thing which remains for me to mention to you, and which neceſſarily follows Chriſtian Forbearance, is Chriſtian Charity. I had rather be employed in one Act of Benevolence, than expound the whole Apocalypſe. There is nothing ſo much miſtaken as Charity: Some confine it to an oſtentatious Almsgiving, where the Act pays itſelf: Some place it in giving all Men a good Character, which makes their good Word of no Value to any Man, and which ſeems to me to flow rather from

from an abject Servility of Spirit, than from any religious Motive: Yet, ſure, to part with the Superfluities of Life, which we know not how otherwiſe to employ, or to blow off our Praiſes on others, when they coſt nothing, and are nothing worth, cannot deſerve to wear the Name of Charity. That Virtue riſes to a higher Pitch; it ſtreams with every bleeding Wound, and ſighs with every aking Heart; is delighted to be employed, and places all its Good in procuring Happineſs to others; had rather remove Diſtreſs, than build Palaces; and ſays to the Unhappy, Mine is your Miſery, for ye are my Children: This is, or this ought to be, the diſtinguiſhing Characteriſtick of the Servants of Chriſt, without which Knowledge and Learning are a Reproach, and all Pretences to Piety, and ſolemn Auſterity, impious and Phariſaical.

I have now gone through the Whole, in which I thought it might be neceſſary to give you Advice. And although it may ſeem, that I have not directed you in any important Articles, yet I would wiſh you to keep my Letter by you, to refer to occaſionally; and I dare venture to ſay, that in the Courſe of your Life you will find the Uſefulneſs of it in every Particular.

It is not in weightier Matters that we are often the moſt embarraſſed; there we are always on our Guard, or can have preſent Directions for our Conduct, from pious and learned Authors: But little Inconveniences, by being as little attended to, oftentimes become the moſt difficult; for he, who deſpiſeth ſmall Things, ſhall periſh by little and little.

If this will not amount to a full Excuſe, let my ſincere Friendſhip for you ſupply the reſt; for you may be aſſured, I would not have written ſo freely and unreſervedly to any Perſon, for whom I had not the moſt affectionate Regard.

I ſhall be, aſſure yourſelf, exceeding glad to ſee you at all Times at ———, where you will be certain of finding me, having taken up a Reſolution, though not a common one, of ſpending the Remainder of my Days in my own Dioceſe.

*Nov.* 1730.

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## *England*'s Joy: Or a Relation of the moſt remarkable Paſſages, from his Majeſty's Arrival at *Dover*, to his Entrance at *White-hall*. *London*, Printed by *Tho. Creak*, 1660. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

BEING come a-board one of the faireſt of thoſe Ships, which attended at *Sluys*, for wafting him over from the *Hague* in *Holland*; and, therein having taken Leave of his Siſter the Princeſs Royal, he ſet Sail for *England* on *Wedneſday* Evening, *May* 23, 1660. And having, during his Abode at Sea, given new Names to that whole Navy (conſiſting of twenty-ſix goodly Veſſels) he arrived at *Dover* on the *Friday* following (*viz. May* the 25th) about Two of the Clock in the Afternoon. Ready on the Shore to receive him, ſtood the Lord General *Monk*, as alſo the Earl of *Winchelſea*, Conſtable of *Dover* Caſtle, with divers Perſons of Quality on the one Hand, and the Mayor of *Dover*, accompanied by his Brethren of that Corporation on the other, with a rich Canopy.

As ſoon as he had ſet Foot on the Shore, the Lord General, preſenting himſelf before him on his Knee, and kiſſing his Royal Hand, was embraced by his Majeſty, and received divers gracious Expreſſions of the great Senſe he had of his Loyalty, and in being ſo inſtrumental in this his Reſtoration.

There alſo did the Corporation of *Dover*, and the Earl of *Winchelſea*, do their Duties to him in like Sort; all the People making joyful Shouts; and the great Guns from the Ships and Caſtle telling aloud the happy News of this his Entrance upon *Engliſh* Ground.

From thence, taking Coach immediately, with his Royal Brothers, the Dukes of *York* and *Glouceſter*, he paſſed to *Barham-down* (a great Plain lying betwixt *Dover* and *Canterbury*) where were drawn up divers gallant Troops

Troops of Horſe, conſiſting of the Nobility, Knights, and Gentlemen of Note, clad in very rich Apparel, commanded by the Duke of *Buckingham*, Earls of *Oxford*, *Derby*, *Northampton*, *Winchelſea*, *Litchfield*, and the Lord Viſcount *Mordaunt*: As alſo ſeveral Foot Regiments of the *Kentiſh-men*. Being entered the *Down* on Horſeback, where Multitudes of the Country-people ſtood, making loud Shouts, he rode to the Head of each Troop (they being placed on his left Hand, three deep) who, bowing to him, kiſſed the Hilts of their Swords, and then flouriſhed them above their Heads, with no leſs Acclamations; the Trumpets, in the mean Time, alſo ecchoing the like to them.

In the Suburb at *Canterbury* ſtood the Mayor and Aldermen of that ancient City, who received him with loud Muſick, and preſented him with a Cup of Gold, of two-hundred and fifty Pounds Value. Whence, after a Speech made to him by the Recorder, he paſſed to the Lord *Camden*'s Houſe, the Mayor carrying the Sword before him.

During his Stay at *Canterbury* (which was till *Monday* Morning) he knighted the Lord General *Monk*, and gave him the Enſigns of the moſt honourable Order of the Garter: And Garter, principal King at Arms, ſent the like unto the Lord Admiral *Montague*, then a-board the Navy, riding in the *Downs*. There likewiſe did he knight Sir *William Maurice*, a Member of the Houſe of Commons, whom he conſtituted one of his principal Secretaries of State.

From *Canterbury* he came, on *Monday*, to *Rocheſter*, where the People had hung up, over the Midſt of the Streets, as he rode, many beautiful Garlands, curiouſly made up with coſtly Scarfs and Ribbands, decked with Spoons and Bodkins of Silver, and ſmall Plate of ſeveral Sorts; and ſome with Gold Chains, in like Sort as at *Canterbury*; each ſtriving to outdoe others in all Expreſſions of Joy.

On *Tueſday*, *May* the 29th (which happily fell out to be the Anniverſary of his Majeſty's Birth-Day) he ſet forth of *Rocheſter* in his Coach; but afterwards took Horſe on the farther Side of *Black-heath*, on which ſpacious Plain he found divers great and eminent Troops of Horſe, in a moſt ſplendid and glorious Equipage; and a Kind of rural Triumph, expreſſed by the Country Swains, in a Morrice-dance, with the old Muſick of Taber and Pipe; which was performed with all Agility and Chearfulneſs imaginable.

And from this Heath the Troops marched off before him, *viz.* Major-general *Brown*'s, the Merchant-adventurers, Alderman *Robinſon*'s, the Lord *Maynard*'s, the Earls of *Norwich*, *Peterborough*, *Cleveland*, *Derby*, Duke of *Richmond*'s, and his Majeſty's own Life-guard.

In this Order proceeding towards *London*, there were placed in *Deptford*, on his right Hand (as he paſſed through the Town) above an hundred proper Maids, clad all alike, in white Garments, with Scarfs about them; who, having prepared many Flaſkets covered with fine Linnen, and adorned with rich Scarfs and Ribbands, which Flaſkets were full of Flowers and ſweet Herbs, ſtrowed the Way before him as he rode.

From thence, paſſing on, he came into St. *George*'s Fields in *Southwark*, where the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, in their Scarlet, with the Recorder, and other City Council, waited for him in a large Tent, hung with Tapeſtry; in which they had placed a Chair of State, with a rich Canopy over it. When he came thither, the Lord Mayor preſented him with the City Sword, and the Recorder made a Speech * to him; which being done, he alighted, and went into the Tent, where a noble Banquet was prepared for him.

From this Tent the Proceeding was thus ordered, *viz.* Firſt, The City-marſhal to follow in the Rear of his Majeſty's Life-guard: Next the Sheriffs Trumpets; then the Sheriffs Men in Scarlet Clokes, laced with Silver on the Capes, carrying Javelins in their Hands; then divers eminent Citizens well mounted, all in black Velvet Coats, and Chains of Gold about their Necks, and every one his Footman, with Suit, Caſſock, and Ribbands of the Colour of his Company; all which were made Choice of out of the ſeveral Companies in this famous City, and ſo diſtinguiſhed; and, at the Head of each Diſtinction, the Enſign † of that Company.

After theſe followed the City Council ‡, by two and two, near the Aldermen, then certain Noblemen and Noblemen's Sons. Then the

* Which is propoſed to be publiſhed in this Collection.

† Or Arms of the Company painted or embroidered.

‡ Common Council.

King's

King's Trumpets, then the Heralds at Arms.

After them, the Duke of *Buckingham*; then the Earl of *Lindſey*, Lord High Chamberlain of *England*, and the Lord General *Monk*; next to them Garter, principal King of Arms; the Lord Mayor on his right Hand, bearing the City Sword, and a Gentleman Uſher on his Left, and, on each Side of them, the Serjeants at Arms with their Maces.

Then the King's Majeſty, with his Equeries and Footmen on each Side of him, and, at a little Diſtance on each Hand, his Royal Brothers, the Dukes of *York* and *Glouceſter*; and, after them, divers of the King's Servants, who came with him from beyond Sea; and, in the Rear of all, thoſe gallant Troops, *viz.* The Duke of *Buckingham*, Earls of *Oxford*, *Northampton*, *Winchelſea*, *Litchfield*, and the Lord *Mordaunt*; alſo five Regiments of Horſe belonging to the Army.

In this magnificent Faſhion his Majeſty entered the Borough of *Southwark*, about half an Hour paſt Three of the Clock in the Afternoon; and, within an Hour after, the City of *London*, at the Bridge; where he found the Windows and Streets exceedingly thronged with People to behold him; and the Walls adorned with Hangings and Carpets of Tapeſtry, and other coſtly Stuff; and in many Places Sets of loud Muſick; all the Conduits, as he paſſed, running Claret Wine; and the ſeveral Companies in their Liveries, with the Enſigns belonging to them; as alſo the Trained Bands of the City ſtanding along the Streets as he paſſed, welcoming him with joyful Acclamations.

And, within the Rails where *Charing-croſs* formerly was, a Stand of ſix-hundred Pikes, conſiſting of Knights and Gentlemen, as had been Officers of the Armies of his late Majeſty * of bleſſed Memory; the truly noble and valiant Sir *John Stowell*, Knight of the honourable Order of the Bath, a Perſon famous for his eminent Actions and Sufferings, being in the Head of them.

From which Place, the Citizens, in Velvet Coats and Gold Chains, being drawn up on each Hand, and divers Companies of Foot Soldiers; his Majeſty paſſed betwixt them, and entered *White-hall* at Seven of the Clock, the People making loud Shouts, and the Horſe and Foot ſeveral Vollies of Shot, at this his happy Arrival. Where the Houſe of Lords and Commons of Parliament received him, and kiſſed his Royal Hand. At the ſame Time likewiſe the Reverend Biſhops of *Ely*, *Saliſbury*, *Rocheſter*, and *Chicheſter*, in their Epiſcopal Habits, with divers of the long oppreſſed Orthodox Clergy, met in that Royal Chapel of King *Henry the Seventh*, at *Weſtminſter*; there alſo ſung *Te Deum*, &c. in Praiſe and Thanks to Almighty God, for this his unſpeakable Mercy, in the Deliverance of his Majeſty from many Dangers, and ſo happily Reſtoring him to rule theſe Kingdoms, according to his juſt and undoubted Right.

* King *Charles* I.

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The Orders, Laws, and ancient Cuſtoms of *Swans*. By *John Witherings*, Eſquire, Maſter and Governor of the Royal Game of *Swans* and *Cygnets* throughout *England*. *London*, printed in 1664. *Quarto*, containing ſix Pages.

To

To the Worſhipful *John Witherings*, Eſquire, Chief Maſter and Governor of the Royal Game of *Swans* and *Cygnets* throughout the Kingdom of *England.*

SIR,

*YOUR Deputy, Maſter* Loggins, *hearing that I had ſome ancient Notes of the Cuſtoms and Orders concerning Swans, deſired me, that you might have a Sight of them; which I have ſent you, together with certain Precedents, or Forms of Commiſſions for Keeping Swan-herds Courts, and Copies of ancient Patents, which I received of a very honeſt Gentleman, Maſter* Edward Clerke, *of* Lincoln's-Inn, *Eſquire, Father to Sir* Edward Clerke, *one of the Maſters of the* Chancery. *Theſe he delivered me, about eighteen Years ſince; at which Time Sir* Lawrence Tanfeeld, *late Lord Chief Baron, and myſelf had a Deputation, from Sir* William Andrews, *of that Walk, which Maſter* Loggins *now hath from you. Maſter* Clerke *was before me; but, as I remember, he told me he had his Deputation from my Lord of* Buckhurſt, *and not from Sir* James Mervin: *Howſoever, the Titles are truly by me tranſcribed, as I received them written with his own Hand. There are Orders alſo printed, and yet ſomewhat differing from theſe; which Orders were made at one particular Court, long ago: And, at a Court holden at* Burford, *in the County of* Oxon, *about fifteen Years ſince, by the ſaid Sir* Lawrence Tanfeeld *and others, ſome new Orders were made, which, Sir* Lawrence Tanfeeld *ſaid, were warrantable by the Commiſſion, and lawful to be made, where and when they were fit and neceſſary for the Preſervation of Swans; yet ſo, that thoſe particular Orders may be altered, upon Occaſion; but the ancient Cuſtoms, contained under the Name of* Orders, *may not. There hath been ſo little Care taken, for Preſerving and Publiſhing theſe ancient Cuſtoms, that they are not of all Gameſters known; and your Deputies commonly ſend their Servants among us, who, as they are more or leſs covetous, ſo do they impoſe more or leſs upon us; and, when we, that are the ancient Gameſters, oppoſe them, we have ſome Contention: You ſhall, therefore, Sir, do well, if, comparing theſe with your other Notes, you find them to ſerve generally for* England, *as well as for our River of* Thames, *That you give to all your Deputies, and to all Commiſſioners, Copies, that ſo all Gameſters may know the certain Cuſtoms, which are to be kept: And ſo I bid you heartily Farewell.*

From *Alborne* in *Wiltſhire*, this 26th of *January*, 1631.

Your loving Friend,

*John D'oyly.*

The Laws, Orders, and Cuſtoms of *Swans*, taken out of a Book, which the Lord of *Buckhurſt* delivered to *Edward Clerke*, of *Lincoln*'s-*Inn*, Eſq; to peruſe, *Ann. Eliſ.* 26. On the Backſide of which Book, it was thus intitled: *Taken out of an ancient Book, remaining with Maſter* Hambden, *ſometime Maſter of the* Swans.

*FIRST*, If any Perſon doth poſſeſs any Game of Swans, that may not diſpend five Marks a Year of Freehold (except the Son of the King) the Swans of every ſuch Perſon are forfeited to the King, 22 *Edward* IV.

2. If any Perſon poſſeſs any Game of Swans, and hath not paid his Fine for the ſame, his Game of Swans is to be ſeized for the King, till his Fine be paid; which Fine is Six Shillings and eight Pence, and no Man is to pay it more than once, during his Life.

3. But, if any Perſon, having no Mark allowed him, have one or more Swans given him,

him, or have any Land-bird ſign-marked, he may keep them in the common River till the next Upping-time without Fine, paying the Commons, and other Charges for the Upping.

4. If any Perſon, having Swans, either within Franchiſes, or without, be attainted, his Swans are forfeited to the King only, and not to any other Perſons whatſoever.

5. Alſo all Swans, that are clear of Bill, without Mark or Sign-mark, are the King's only, whether they be pinioned, or flying Swans.

6. Alſo all ſtray Swans, which no Man can challenge by his Mark, thoſe are the King's only; and they are to be ſeized for the King, and marked on the Leg, but are not to be carried away the firſt Year.

7. In all common Streams, and private Waters, when Cygnets are taken up, the Owner of the Cob muſt chuſe the firſt Cygnet, and the Pen the next, and ſo in Order; but, if there be three, then the Owner of the Graſs, where they breed, muſt have the third for the Spoil of his Graſs, and pay to the King Twelve Pence for the ſame Land-bird, ſaving in ſuch Places, where, of ancient Cuſtom, they pay leſs or more.

8. If an Airy be led with one Swan only, the Half of thoſe Cygnets ſhall be ſeized for the King, till Proof be made, whoſe the Swan was, that is away; but are not to be carried away that Year.

9. The Maſter of the Game, or his Deputy, ſhall yearly come, at the uſual Days of Marking Swans in that Stream, on Pain of loſing his Fees during his Abſence; and he ſhall keep a Roll, or Standard-book, containing all the uſual Marks of that Stream. He ſhall alſo keep a Regiſter-book of the Number of every Man's Swans, and the Place where they are upped; and ſhall likewiſe bring the Book of the laſt Year; for which every Gameſter is to give him, yearly, Four Pence.

10. Alſo the Maſter of the Game, or his Deputy, is to have a Penny for Upping every white Swan, and Two Pence for every Cygnet; and ſhall have his Dinner and Supper, and Hay or Graſs for his Horſe, diſcharged by the Gameſters every Upping-day, except in ſuch Streams, where, by ancient Cuſtom, other Compoſition is uſed.

11. If any Man deſire the Maſter of the Game to enter any Note in his Book, other than the Notes due to be written, as aforeſaid, or to take any Note out of his Book under his Hand, he is to pay Four Pence.

12. If any marked Swan be unpinioned, and thereby do fly, the Owner of that Swan is to pay Four Pence; and, if any Man take any flying Swan, or Cygnet, he muſt bring the ſame to the Maſter of the Game, or his Deputy, and take for his Pains Eight Pence, on Pain of Forty Shillings.

13. It is ordained, that no Perſon ſhall lay Leaps, ſet any Nets, or Drags within the common Streams or Rivers, upon the Day-time, from the Feaſt of the *Invention of the Croſs* unto the Feaſt of *Lammas*, upon Pain, ſo often as they be found ſo offending, to forfeit Twenty Shillings.

14. If any Swan be found double-marked, embezzled, or by Unſkilfulneſs put out of the right Mark, the Maſter of the Game is to chuſe five Gameſters (ſuch as are indifferent) to judge who hath Right to that Swan; and he, to whom the Swan ſhall be adjudged, ſhall pay Four Pence for Regiſtering the ſaid embezzled or wrong Mark: But, if theſe Five, or the greater Number of them, do not adjudge the ſaid Swan to one of the Gameſters, then the Swan is due to the King.

15. The uſual Days for Upping of Swans are not to be altered without Conſent of the greater Number of Gameſters of that Stream, and that by Proclamation made in all Market-towns near the ſaid Stream.

16. No Perſon ſhall go on Marking, without the Maſter of the Game, or his Deputy, be preſent, upon Pain to forfeit Forty Shillings: But, if, by Sickneſs, or other Occaſion, he be abſent at the uſual Upping-days, the Company may go on, ſo that ſome ſworn Gameſter keep the Regiſter-book, and receive all the Dues, and deliver them to him, at his Coming.

17. If any Perſon do embezzle, raſe, or alter the Mark of any Swan, to the Loſs or Hindering of any Man's Game, he ſhall ſuffer one Year's Impriſonment, and be fined Three Pounds ſix Shillings and eight Pence, and for ever be diſabled to be a Gameſter.

18. And, to the End that, in Upping-time, no Swan be embezzled, it is ordained, that no Man draw Blood of any Swan, till the Maſter of the Game, or his Deputy, have viewed the ſaid Swan, and declared whoſe the Swan is.

19. No Swan, other than clear-billed, is to be marked for the King on the Beak, but only

on the Leg; for two Marks on the Beak are unlawful.

20. The Maſter of the Game may preſently ſell, or carry away, all Swans that are clear-billed, embezzled, as aforeſaid, and all Swans forfeited for Want of Freehold, or by Attaint of the Owner.

21. And yet neither the Maſter of the Game, nor any other Gameſter, may take away any Swan, which is in Brood with any other Man's, or which is coupled, and hath a Walk, without the other's Conſent for breaking the Brood.

22. It is ordained, that Commons, that is to ſay, Dinner and Supper, is to be paid daily by every Banker or Commoner, whether he be preſent, or abſent; but, if he be abſent, the Maſter of the Game is to lay it out for him (as likewiſe all other Dues) till the next Meeting, or Upping; but the ſaid Commons ſhall not exceed above Twelve Pence a Man, and, if the Company will ſpend more, they are to pay the Overplus by the Poll.

23. To the End that Diet may be had at a reaſonable Rate, and likewiſe Lodging, the Place of taking both is to be choſen by the greater Number of the Commoners.

24. If any Perſon be found carrying a Swan-hook, within forty Lugs of any Stream, ſaving on the Upping-days, and not accompanied with two Swan-herds, he ſhall forfeit One Pound ten Shillings and four Pence. But, upon the Upping-days, every Gameſter, that carrieth not a Hook (except ſuch Gentlemen as, for Pleaſure, go to ſee their own Game) ſhall forfeit Eight Pence a Day; the one Half to be for the Maſter of the Game, the other Half for the Company.

25. No Perſon ſhall take up any Swan or Cygnet, marked or unmarked, unleſs it be done in the Preſence of two other Swan-herds, and that by Allowance of the Maſter of the Game, or his Deputy; for which Allowance he is to pay Four Pence, upon Pain to forfeit Forty Shillings.

26. If any Swanherd depart before he have made even with the Maſter of the Game for all Dues, he is to forfeit Twelve Pence; for which, as for all Dues, the Maſter of the Game, or his Deputy, may diſtrain the Game, and, at ths next Upping, may pay himſelf by Diſtraining and Sale of the Game, rendering to the Party the Overplus.

27. If there be any Perſon or Perſons, that have Swans, that do airy upon any of their Rivers, or ſeveral Waters, and afterward come to the common Water or River, they ſhall pay a Land-bird to the King, and be obedient to all Swan-laws; for divers ſuch Perſons do uſe Colluſion to defraud the King of his Right.

28. If any Perſon ſhall rake away the Egg or Eggs of any Swan, every ſuch Offender ſhall be impriſoned a Year and a Day, and ſhall pay Thirteen Shillings and four Pence for every Egg ſo taken away; whereof Half to the King, and Half to the Owner of the Swan, 11 *H.* VII.

29. If any Perſon do drive away any Swan breeding, or providing to breed, be it on his own Ground, or on any other Man's, he ſhall be fined Thirteen Shillings and four Pence, and ſhall ſuffer one Year's Impriſonment, 11 *H.* VII.

30. If any Dog ſhall drive any Swan away from her Neſt, the Owner of ſuch Dog ſhall forfeit Thirty Shillings and four Pence; but, if any Dog ſhall kill any old Swan, the Owner of ſuch Dog ſhall forfeit to the King Forty Shillings, whether he be there, or not.

31. If any Perſon ſhall hunt any Ducks, or any other Chace in the Water, with any Dog or Dogs, in Fence-time (that is, from the Feaſt of *Eaſter* till *Lammas* Eve) he ſhall pay, for every Offence, Six Shillings and eight Pence.

32. It is ordained, That, if any Perſon doth ſet any Snares, or any Manner of Nets, Lime, or Engines, to take Bitterns, or Swans, from the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, to the *Sunday* after *Lammas*-day; he or they to forfeit to the King's Majeſty, for every Time ſo Setting, Six Shillings and eight Pence.

33. If there be any Weirs upon the Rivers, not having Grates before them, whereby the Swans and Cygnets may be defended from Drowning, the Owner of ſuch Weir ſhall forfeit to the King Thirteen Shillings and four Pence.

34. All Fiſhermen are to aſſiſt the Maſter of the Game, or his Deputy, in the Execution of their Office, on the Upping-days, with their Boats at the upper End of their ſeveral Waters, upon Pain of Twenty Shillings for every Default; for which Service the Maſter of the Game ſhall cauſe the accuſtomed Fees to be paid to the ſaid Fiſhermen.

35. *Laſtly*, If there be any other Miſdemeanor or Offence committed, or done by any

any Owner of any Game, Swan-herd, or other Perſon whatſoever, contrary to any Law, ancient Cuſtom, or Uſage heretofore uſed and allowed, and not before herein particularly mentioned or expreſſed, you ſhall preſent the ſame Offence, that Reformation may be had, and the Offenders puniſhed, according to the Quantity and Quality of the ſeveral Offences.

Theſe Orders, according to Maſter *D'oyly's* Directions, I have examined, and compared with ſome other Orders, which are now in Print, and have been obſerved and uſed in ſome Parts of this Kingdom; but I find anciently uſed theſe Laws, Cuſtoms, and Orders, in moſt Parts of this Kingdom, and not much differing from thoſe Orders now printed, in Matter of Subſtance, but only in Form. As alſo I find a Commiſſion, uſed for the Preſervation of the Royal Game of *Swans* and *Cygnets*, directed to *Noblemen*, *Knights*, and *Gentlemen*, for the Inquiring of Abuſes committed contrary to theſe laudable Orders and Cuſtoms, and the Offences to puniſh, according to their ſeveral Qualities; and have cauſed theſe Orders to be printed, that thereby better Knowledge may be taken of them by every Deputy-maſter of the Game.

*John Witherings.*

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Gods Warning to his People of *England*, by the great Overflowing of the Waters or Floudes, lately hapned in *South-Wales*, and many other Places. Wherein is deſcribed the great Loſſes, and wonderfull Damages, that hapned thereby, by the Drowning of many Townes and Villages, to the vtter Vndooing of many Thouſandes of People. Printed at *London* for *W. Barley*, and *Io. Bayly*, and are to be ſolde in *Gratious* Street. 1607. *Quarto*, black Letter, containing twelve Pages.

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*This Tract, which is the Nineteenth in the Order of the Catalogue of Pamphlets publiſhed in this Collection, being requeſted by* N. P. *as a great Curioſity, and containing ſeveral Particulars, not to be found in the* Engliſh *Hiſtory, and ſerving to illuſtrate and account for ſeveral Things, that are, or may be publiſhed in the* Natural *Hiſtories of thoſe Parts, where this dreadful Inundation happened; we have taken this firſt Opportunity to oblige* him *and the* Publick *with ſo* extraordinary *a Relation, which otherwiſe, in a very ſhort Time, might perchance have been intirely loſt.*

MANY are the dombe Warninges of Diſtruction, which the Almighty God hath lately ſcourged this ourKingdome with; and many more are the threatning Tokens of his heauy Wrath extended towards vs; all which, in bleeding Hearts, may inforce vs to put on the true Garment of Repentance, and, like vnto the *Niniuits*, vnfainedly ſolicite the ſweet Mercies of our moſt louing God: Therefore, let vs now call to Remembraunce the late grieuous and moſt lamentable Plague of Peſtilence, wherein the Wrath of God tooke from vs ſo many Thouſandes of our Friendes, Kindred, and Acquaintance: Let vs alſo call to Remembraunce the moſt wicked and pretended Malice of the late Papiſticall Conſpiracie of Traytors, that, with Powder,

practiſed the Subuerſion of this beautifull Kingdome: And, *laſtly*, let vs fix our Eyes vpon theiſe late Swellinges of the outragious Waters, which, of late, now hapned in diuers Partes of this Realme, together with the Ouerflowing of the Seas in diuers and ſundry Places thereof; whoſe fruitfull Valeys, being now ouerwhelmed and drowned with theiſe moſt vnfortunate and vnſeaſonable ſalt Waters, doe fore-ſhew great Barrennes and Famin to enſue after it, vnleſſe the Almightie God, of his great infinit Mercy and Goodneſſe, doe preuent it. But now, oh *England*, be not ouercome with thine owne Folly, be not blinded with the ouermuch Securitie of thy ſelfe, neyther ſinke thou thy ſelfe in thine own Sinne; for, ſince the generall Diſſolution of the whole World by Water, in the Time of *Noah*, neuer the like Inundation or watry Puniſhment then hapned, now here related, to the great Griefe of all Chriſtian Hearers, as, by this Sequell, it ſhall heare appeare.

Upon *Tueſday*, being the Twentieth of *Ianuary* laſt paſt, 1607, in diuers Places, aſwell in the Weſterne Partes of *England*, as alſo in diuers other Places of this Realme, there hapned ſuch an Ouerflowing of Waters, ſuch a violent Swelling of the Seas, and ſuch forcible Breaches made into the firme Land, namely, into the Boſomes of theſe Countries following, that is to ſay, in the Counties of *Gloceſter*, *Sommerſet*, together with the Countries of *Munmouth*, *Glamorgan*, *Carmarthen*, and diuers and ſundry other Places of *South-Wales*; the like neuer, in the Memory of Man, hath euer bin ſeene or heard of: The ſuddayne Terror whereof ſtrooke ſuch an amazed Feare into the Hearts of al the Inhabitants of thoſe Partes, that euery one prepared him ſelfe ready to entertayne the laſt Period of his Liues Diſtruction, deeming it altogether to be a ſecond Deluge, or an vniuerſal Puniſhment by Water.

For upon the *Tueſday*, being the Twentieth of *Ianuary* laſt, as aforeſaid, about Nine of the Clocke in the Morning, the Sunne being moſt fayrely and brightly ſpred, many of the Inhabitantes, of thoſe Countreys before mencioned, prepared themſelues to their Affayres, ſome to one Buſines, ſome to an other, euery Man according to his Calling. As the Plowmen ſetting foorth their Cattle to their Labours; the Shepheardes feeding of their Flockes; the Farmers ouer-ſeeing of their Grounds, and looking to their Cattle feeding therein; and ſo every one imploid in his Buſines, as Occaſion required: Then they might ſee and perceiue a far of, as it were in the Element, huge and mighty Hilles of Water, tumbling one ouer another, in ſuch Sort, as if the greateſt Mountaines in the World had ouer-whelmed the lowe Valeyes or Marſhy Grounds. Sometimes it ſo dazled the Eyes of many of the Spectators, that they immagined it had bin ſome Fogge or Miſte, comming with great Swiftneſs towardes them, and with ſuch a Smoke, as if Mountaynes were all on Fire; and, to the View of ſome, it ſeemed as if Myllyons of Thouſandes of Arrowes had bin ſhot foorth all at one Time, which came in ſuch Swiftneſs, as, it was verily thought, that the Fowls of the Ayre could ſcarſe fly ſo faſt, ſuch was the threatning Furyes thereof.

But aſſoone as the People of thoſe Countries perceiued that it was the Violence of the Waters of the raging Seas, and that they began to exceede the Compaſſe of their accuſtomed Boundes, and making ſo furiouſly towardes them: Happy were they that could make the beſt and moſt Speed away, many of them leauing all their Goods and Subſtance to the merciles Waters, being glad to eſcape away with Life themſelues: But ſo violent and ſwift were the outragious Waues, that purſued one an other with ſuch Vehemencie, and the Waters multiplying ſo much in ſo ſhort a Time, that, in leſs then five Hours Space, moſt Part of thoſe Countreys (and eſpecially the Places which lay lowe) were all ouerflowen, and many Hundreds of People, both Men, Women and Children, were then quite deuoured by theſe outragious Waters; ſuch was the Furie of the Waues of the Seas, the one of them dryuing the other forwardes, with ſuch Force and Swiftneſs, that it is almoſt incredible for any to beleeue the ſame, except ſuch as taſted of the Smart thereof, and ſuch as behelde the ſame with their Eyes: Nay more, the Farmers, Huſbandmen, and Shepheards might beholde their goodly Flockes of Sheepe ſwimming vpon the Waters dead, which could by no Meanes be recouered.

Many Gentlemen, Yeomen, and others, had great Loſſes of Cattle, as Oxen, Kine, Bullockes, Horſes, Colts, Sheepe, Swine; nay, not ſo much as their Poultry about their Houſes, but all were ouerwhelmed and drowned by theſe merciles Waters. Many Men, that

that were rich in the Morning, when they roſe out of their Beds, were made poore before Noone the ſame Day: Such are the Judgements of the Almightie God, who is the Geuer of all good Thinges; who can, and will diſpoſe of them agayne at all Times, according to his good Will and Pleaſure, whenſoeuer it ſhall ſeeme beſt vnto him. Many others, likewiſe, had their Habitations or Dwelling-houſes all carryed away in a ſhort Time, and had not a Place left them, ſo much as to ſhrowde themſelues in.

Moreouer, many that had great Store of Corne and Grayne in their Barnes and Garners in the Morning, had not, within fiue Houres Space afterwardes, ſo much as one Grayne to make them Bread withall; neither had they ſo much left as a Locke of Hay or Straw to feede their Cattell which were left; ſuch was the great Miſery they ſuſteyned by the Fury of this watry Element; from which like, good Lord, I beſeech him, of his infinite Mercy and Goodneſs, to deliuer vs al.

The Names of ſome of the Townes and Villages, which ſuffered great Harmes and Loſſes hereby, were theſe, *viz.*

*Briſtoll* and *Auſt*; this *Auſt* is a Village or Town ſome eight Miles diſtant from *Briſtoll*, vpon the *Seauerne* Side, where all People are ferryed ouer, that come out of *Wales* into thoſe Partes of *Glouceſter* and *Sommerſetſhire*.

All the Countryes along on both the Sides of the River of *Seauerne*, from *Glouceſter* to *Briſtoll*, which is about ſome twenty Miles, was all ouerflowne, in ſome Places ſix Miles ouer, in ſome Places more, in ſome leſſe.

Moreouer, al or the moſt Parte of the Bridges, betweene *Glouceſter* and *Briſtoll*, were all forcibly carryed away with the Waters; beſides many goodly Buildings there abouts much defaced, and many of them carryed quite away; beſides many other great Loſſes of al Kinde of Corne, and Grayne, and Cattle, that were then loſt.

At *Auſt*, many Paſſengers that are ferryed ouer there now, are faine to be guided by Guides all along the Cauſies, where the Water ſtill remayneth. for the Space of three or four Miles, or elſe they wil be in great Daunger of Drowning, the Water lyeth, as yet, ſo deepe there.

Many dead Carkaſſes, both there, and in many other Places of the Countrey, are dayly found floating vpon the Waters, and, as yet, cannot be knowne who they are, or what Number of Perſons are drowned, by Reaſon of the ſame Waters, which as yet, in many Places, remaine very deepe; ſo great was the Spoyle that thieſe mercileſſe Elementes there wrought and made.

In *Briſtoll* was much Harme done, by the Overflowing of the Waters, but not ſo much as in other Places; many Cellars and Warehouſes, where great Store of Merchandize was in (as Wine, Salt, Hops, Spices, and other ſuch like Ware were all ſpoyled. And the People of the Towne were inforced to be carryed in Boates, vp and downe the ſaid Citie, about their Buſines in the Fayre Time there.

Upon the other Side of the Riuer of *Seauerne*, towards a Town called *Chepſtow*, vpon the lower Groundes, was much Harme done, by the Vyolence of the Water.

There was, in *Chepſtow*, a Woman drowned in her Bed, and alſo a Gyrle, by the like Misfortune.

Alſo, all along the ſame Coaſtes, vp to *Gold-clift*, *Matherne*, *Calicot-Moores*, *Redrift*, *Newport*, *Cardiffe*, *Cowbridge*, *Swanſey*, *Laugherne*, *Llanſtephan*, and diuers other Places of *Glamorgan-ſhire*, *Munmouth-ſhire*, *Carmarthen-ſhire*, and *Cardigan-ſhire*; many great Harmes were there done, and the Waters raged ſo furiouſly, and with ſuch great Vehemencie, that it is ſuppoſed, that, in thoſe Partes, there cannot be ſo few Perſons drowned as five Hundred, both Men, Women, and Children; beſides the Loſſe of aboundance of all Kinde of Corne and Grayne, together with their Hay, and other Prouiſion which they had made for their Cattle.

Moreouer, there were, in the Places afore mentioned, many Thouſandes of Cattle, which were feeding in the lowe Valeys, drowned and ouerwhelmed with the Violence of the furious Waters; as Oxen, Kine, young Beaſtes, Horſes, Sheepe, Swine, and ſuch like; the Number is deemed infinit; yea, and not ſo much as Turkies, Hens, Geeſe, Duckes, and other Poultry about their Houſes could once eſcape away, the Waues of the Sea ſo ouerwhelmed them.

And that which is more ſtraunge, there are not now founde onely floating, vpon the Waters ſtill remayning, the dead Carkaſſes of many Men, Women, and Children, but alſo an Aboundance of all Kinde of wild Beaſtes, as Foxes, Hares, Connies, Rats, Moules, and

ſuch

ſuch like; ſome of them ſwimming one vpon anothers Backe, thinking to haue ſaued themſelues thereby; but all was in Vaine, ſuch was the Force of the Waters that ouer-preſſed them.

In a Place in *Munmouthſhire*, there was a Maide went to milke her Kine in the Morning, but, before ſhe had fully ended her Buſines, the Vehemencie of the Waters increaſed, and ſo ſuddenly enuironed her about, that ſhe could not eſcape thence, but was enforced to make Shift vp to the Top of an high Banke to ſaue her ſelfe, which ſhe did with much adoe, where ſhe was conſtrained to abide all that Day and Night, vntill Eight of the Clocke in the next Morning, in great Diſtreſſe; what with the Coldnes of the Ayre and Waters, and what with other Accidents that there hapned vnto her, ſhe had bin like there to haue periſhed, had not the Almightie God, of his infinit Mercy and Goodnes, preſerued her from ſuch great Perills and Daungers, which were likely there to enſue vnto her.

But there placing herſelfe for Saueguard of her Life, as aforeſaid, having none other Refuge to fly vnto; the Waters in ſuch violent Sort had purſued her, that there was but a ſmall Diſtance of Ground left uncouered with Waters, for her to abide vpon: There ſhe remayned moſt pittyfully lamenting the great Daunger of Life that ſhe was then in, expecting, euery Minute of an Houre, to be ouerwhelmed with thoſe mercyleſſe Waters: But the Almighty God, who is the Creator of al good Things, when he thought meete, ſent his holy Angell to commaund the Waters to ceaſe their Fury, and returne into their accuſtomed Bounds againe, wherby, according to his moſt bleſſed Will and Pleaſure, ſhe was then preſerued.

In the meane Space, during the Continuance of her Abode there, diuers of her Friends practiſed al the Means they could to recouer her, but could not, the Waters were of ſuch a Deepnes about her, and Boates they had none, in all thoſe Partes, to ſuccour her; ſuch was their Want in this Diſtreſſe, that many periſhed through the Want thereof.

There was a Gentleman of Worth, dwelling neere vnto the Place where ſhe was, who cauſed a goodly Gelding to be ſadled, and ſet a Man upon the Backe of him, thinking to have fetcht her away; but ſuch were the Deepnes of the Waters, that he durſt not adventure the ſame, but retired.

At laſt, ſome of her Friends deuiſed a Deuiſe, and tyed two broad Troughes the one to the other (ſuch as, in theſe Countreys, they vſe to ſalt Bacon in) and put therin two luſtie ſtrong Men, who, with long Powles (ſtirring theſe Troughes together, as if they had bin Boates) made great Shift to come to her, and ſo, by this Meanes through God's good Helpe, ſhe was then ſaued.

But now, gentle Reader, marke what befell at this Time, of the Straungeneſs of other Creatures; whom the Waters had violently oppreſſed: For the two Men, which tooke upon them to fetche away the Maide from the Top of the Banke, can truly witneſs the ſame, as well as herſelfe, to be true, for they beheld the ſame with their Eyes.

The Hill or Bank, where the Maid abode al that Space, was al ſo couered ouer with wild Beaſtes and Vermin, that came thither to ſeeke for Succour, that ſhe had much adoe to ſaue herſelfe from taking of Hurt by them; and much adoe ſhe had to keepe them from creeping upon and about her; ſhe was not ſo much in Daunger of the Water, on the one Side, as ſhe was troubled with theſe Vermin, on the other Side.

The Beaſtes and Vermin that were there were theſe, *viz.*

Dogs, Cats, Moules, Foxes, Hares, Conyes, yea, and not ſo much as Mice and Rats, but were there in Aboundance: And that which is more ſtraunge, the one of them neuer once offred to annoy the other; although they were deadly Enemies by Nature the one to an other. Yet, in this Daunger of Life, they not once offred to expreſſe their naturall Enuie; but, in a gentle Sort, they freely inioyed the Liberty of Life, which, in mine Opinion, was a moſt wonderful Worke in Nature.

But now let vs leave this Matter, touching this Maide, beſides the other Accidentes before rehearſed, and let us returne againe to theſe watry Miſeries. The Counties of *Glamorgan*, *Carmarthen*, and *Cardigan*, and many other Places in *South-Wales*, haue likewiſe borne the heauy Burden of Gods Wrath herein; and many were the Liues of them that were loſt through this watery Deſtruction.

Many there were which fled into the Tops of high Trees, and there were inforced to abide

ſome

ſome three Daies, ſome more, and ſome leſſe, without any Victuals at al, there ſuffring much Colde, beſides many other Calamities; and ſome of them in ſuch Sort, that, through over-much Hunger and Cold, ſome of them fell down againe out of the Trees, and ſo were like to periſh for Want of Succour; other ſome, ſate in the Tops of high Trees, as aforeſaid, beholding their Wiues, Children, and Seruants ſwimming (remediles of al Succour) in the Waters.

Other ſome, ſitting in the Tops of Trees, might behold their Houſes ouerflowne with the Waters; ſome their Houſes carryed quite away; and no Signe or Token left there of them.

Many of them might ſee, as they ſtood vpon the Tops of high Hilles, their Cattle periſh, and could not tell how to ſuccour them, and their Barnes, with all their Store of Corne and Graine, quite conſumed, which was no ſmall Griefe vnto them.

Many People and Cattle, in diuers Places of theſe Countreys, might haue beene ſaued in Time, if that the Countreys had beene any Thing like furniſhed with Boates, or other Prouiſion fit for ſuch a ſudden Accident as this was, which, as God himſelfe knoweth, was little expected of them to haue fallen ſo ſuddenly vpon them.

But, ſeeing the Countreys were ſo vnfurniſhed with Boates, much Harme was done, to the utter Undooing of many Thouſandes.

Some fled into the Tops of Churches and Steeples to ſaue themſelues, from whence they might beholde themſelves deprived aſwell of al their Subſtance, as alſo of al their Ioys, which they had before receiued in their Wiues and Children, beware; whole Reekes of Peaſe, Beanes, Oates, and other Graine were ſeene a far of, to floate upon the Water too and fro, in the Countreys, as if they had bin Ships upon the Seas.

The Foundations of many Churches and Houſes were in a Manner decayed, and ſome carryed quite away, as in *Cardiffe*, in the Countie of *Glamorgan*, there was a great Part of the Church next the Water-ſide beaten downe, with the Water; many Houſes and Gardens there, which were neere the Water-ſide, were all ouerflowne, and much Harme done.

Diuers other Churches lie hidden in the Waters, and ſome of them the Tops are to be ſeene; and other ſome, nothing at al to be ſeene, but the very Tops of the Steeples, and of ſome of them nothing at al, neyther Steeple nor nothing elſe. Alſo many Schooles of young Schollers, in many Places of thoſe Countreys, ſtood in great Perplexitie; ſome of them, adventuring home to their Parents, were drowned by the Way; other ſome, ſtaying behinde in the Churches, did climbe vp to the Tops of Steeples, where they were very neere ſtarued to Death for Want of Foode and Fire: Many, by the Help of Boards and Plankes of Wood, ſwam to dry Land, and ſo were preſerued from vntimely Death. Many had Boates brought them, ſome ten Miles, ſome fifteen, ſome twenty, where there was neuer ſeene any Boates before.

Thus God ſuffred many of them to eſcape his yrefull Wrath, in Hope of their Amendment of Life: Some Men, that were riding on the Highways, were ouertaken with theſe mercileſſe Waters, and were drowned.

And againe, many have bin moſt ſtraungely preſerued.

As for Example: There was, in the Countie of *Glamorgan*, a Man both blind, and did ride, and one which had not bin able to ſtand vpon his Legs in ten Yeares before; he had his poore Cottage broken downe by the Force of the Waters, and himſelfe, Bed and al, carryed into the open Fields, where, being readie to ſinke, and at the Point to ſeeke a Reſting-place, two Fathoms deepe vnder the Waters, his Hand by Chaunce catcht holde of the Rafter of an Houſe, ſwimming by the Fiereeneſſe of the Windes, then blowing Eaſternely, he was driuen ſafely to the Land, and ſo eſcaped.

Alſo in an other Place, there was a Man Child, of the Age of fiue or ſix Yeares, which was kept ſwimming for the Space of two Houres, aboue the Waters, by Reaſon that his long Coates lay ſpread vpon the Tops of the Waters; and beeing at laſt at the very Poynt to ſinke, there came by Chaunce by (floating vpon the Tops of the Waters) a fat Weather that was dead, very full of Wooll: The poore diſtreſſed Child, perceiuing this good Meanes of Recouerie, caught faſt hold on the Weathers Wool, and likewiſe with the Winde he was driuen to dry Land, and ſo ſaued.

There was alſo, in the Countie of *Carmarthen*, a young Woman, who had foure ſmall Children, and not one of them able to helpe

it ſelfe,

it ſelfe; and the Mother then ſeeing the Furyes of the Waters to be ſo violent to ceaze vpon her, threatning the Deſtruction of her ſelfe and her ſmall Children (and as a Womans Wit is euer ready in Extreamities) ſhe tooke a long Trough, wherein ſhe was wont to make her Bread in, and therein placed her ſelfe and her foure Children; and ſo, putting themſelues to the Mercies of the Waters, they were al, by that Meanes, driuen to the dry Land, and by Gods good Prouidence thereby they were al ſaued.

Many more there were that, through the Handy-workes of God, were preſerued from this violent Death of Drowning, ſome on the Backes of dead Cattle, ſome vppon woodden Plankes; ſome by clyming of Trees, ſome by remaining in the Tops of high Steeples and Churches; other ſome, by making of Speed away with ſwift Horſes, and ſome by the Meanes of Boates, ſent out by their Friendes to ſuccour them; but there were not ſo many ſo ſtraungely ſaued, but their were as many in Number as ſtraungely drowned.

The lowe Marſhes and fenny Groundes neere *Barnſtable*, in the Countie of *Deuon*, were ouerflowne ſo farre out, and in ſuch outragious Sort, that the Countrey all along to *Bridgewater* was greatly diſtreſſed thereby, and much Hurt there done; it is a moſt pittifull Sight to beholde what Numbers of fat Oxen there were drowned; what Flockes of Sheepe, what Heades of Kine haue their bin loſt, and drowned in theſe outragious Waters: There is little now remaining there to be ſeene, but huge Waters, like to the maine Ocean: The Tops of Churches and Steeples like to the Tops of Rockes in the Sea; great Reekes of Fodder for Cattle are floating like Ships upon the Waters, and dead Beaſtes ſwimming thereon, now paſt feeding on the ſame, through the Rigour of this Element of Water: The Tops of Trees a Man may beholde remaining aboue the Waters, upon whoſe Braunches Multitudes of al Kinde of Turkies, Hens, and other ſuch like Poultry, were faine to fly vp into the Trees to ſaue their Liues, where many of them periſhed to Death, for Want of Reliefe, not being able to fly to dry Land for Succour, by Reaſon of their Weaknes.

This mercyleſſe Water, breaking into the Boſome of the firme Land, hath proued a fearefull Puniſhment, as well to al other liuing Creatures, as alſo to al Mankinde; which, if it had not bin for the mercyfull Promiſe of God, at the laſt Diſſolution of the World, by Water, by the Signe of the Rainebowe, which is ſtill ſhewed vs: We might haue verily beleeued, this Time had bin the very Houre of Chriſt his Comming: From which Element of Water, extended towardes vs in this fearefull Manner, good Lord deliuer vs al. *Amen.*

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A Packe of *Spaniſh* Lyes, ſent Abroad in the World; firſt printed in *Spaine*, in the *Spaniſh* Tongue, and tranſlated out of the Originall. Now ripped vp, vnfolded, and, by iuſt Examination, condemned, as conteyning falſe, corrupt, and deteſtable Wares, worthy to be damned and burned. *Thou ſhalt deſtroy them that ſpeak Lyes, the Lord wil abhorre the bloody and deceitfull Man.* Pſal. v. ver. 6. Imprinted at *London*, by the Deputies of *Chriſtopher Barker*, Printer to the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie. 1588. *Quarto*, in black Letter, containing thirteen Pages.

*This*

*This curious Pamphlet, which, our Correſpondent informs us, has been ſold by Auction at* Half a Guinea, *is an ancient Specimen of thoſe indirect Means, which an ambitious Court takes to ſupport its drooping Credit with the Publick. How far ſuch Practices are now in Vogue, every Reader knows; and theſe are now publiſhed to oblige that judicious Gentleman Mr.* R. Z. *who apprehends, by ſo doing, we ſhall alſo gratify all our Subſcribers.*

*This is the Eleventh in the Catalogue, publiſhed with this Collection; and contains the Artifices made Uſe of, by the* Spaniſh *Court, to keep up the Spirits of the People, at the Time that the King of* Spain *attempted, in* 1588, *to invade* England *with his invincible* Armada, *and dethrone Queen* Eliſabeth; *becauſe, the Fleet being beaten, diſperſed, and gone North about, and almoſt intirely deſtroyed by Tempeſt,* &c. *they began to doubt of its Succeſs. See Vol. I. where you have a true and full Account of this Expedition in* 1588.

## A Packe of *Spaniſh* Lyes.

*From* Spaine.

1. THE true Relation of the Succes of the *Catholike* Armie * againſt their Enemies, by Letters of the Poſt-maſter of *Logrono* of the Fourth of *September*, and by Letters from *Roan* of the One-and-thirtieth of *Auguſt*, † and by Letters from *Paris* of the Kings Embaſſadour there; wherein he declareth the Impriſonment of *Francis Drake*, and other great Nobles of *England*, and how the Queene is in the Fielde with an Armie, ‡ and of a certain Mutinie, which

## A Condemnation of the *Spaniſh* Lyes.

*From* England.

'1. IT is wel knowen to all the Worlde, 'how falſe all this Relation is, and 'either falſly coloured by the Letters remembred, or els both the 'Poſt-maſter of *Logrono*, and the 'Writers from *Roan*, ought to be waged as 'Intelligencers for the Deuill, the Father of 'Lyes, whom they haue herein trulye ſerued; and if they ſo continue, in Maynte-'nance thereof againſt the knowen Trueth, 'their Damnation is certaine, and Hell is o-'pen for them.

* The *Invincible Armada* in 1588.

† The Letters from the Kings Embaſſadour, whoſe Name is *Mendoza*, agreeable to their Maſters Name, being the Reporter of *Mendacia mendaciſſima*; and conſidering that he hath written, That *Francis Drake* is impriſoned, and many Nobles of *England*; if *Mendoza* will ſtand to his Letters, ſo as he would gage, and, by his Hande-writinge, aſſure but his worſt Iennet and his Belles, he ſhall be anſwered for the ſaid Sir *Francis Drakes* Perſon, or any Nobleman, Gentleman, or Page, ſo taken in the Fight betweene the two Armies, for the Ranſom of euery of the ſaid Priſoners fortie-thouſande Crownes in the *Royal Exchange* of *London*. But the Trueth is, Sir *Francis Drake* was ſo farre off to be a Priſoner, that he was the Taker; for he tooke *Pedro de Valdez*, and four-hundred more *Spaniſh* Priſoners, at one Time. And, to proue this to be true, *Mendoza* ſhall haue, if he will require it, *Pedro Valdez* owne Hande, to ſhewe that he is Priſoner to Sir *Francis Drake*, and four-hundred more taken with him, and not one *Engliſhman* taken in that Seruice.

‡ It is ſo falſe, that there was any Mutinie in the Queenes Armie, that ſhe her ſelfe was there, with the greateſt Honour, Loue, and Applauſe, receiued, that coulde be imagined for a Lady and a Queene. She rode rounde about her Armie, and paſſed through euery Part thereof, to their ineſtimable Comfort; ſhe lodged and did eat in the Campe, as quietly as euer ſhe did in her owne Chamber. In the Armie was neuer any Fray or Diſcord; Exerciſe of Armes was daily uſed and ſhewed before her, to her great Honour; yea, and with an vniuerſall Extolling of Gods Name euery Day, Morning and Euening, in loude Prayers and Pſalmes; and the like Song, in her owne Hearing, againſt all Tyrannie by Inuaſion of Gods Enemies; and this euery Man may iudge to be farre from any Colour of Mutinie.

was amongſt the Queenes Armie, with the Succeſſe of the ſaid *Catholike* Armie ſince they entred in the *Groyne*, till they came on the Coaſt of *England*, with two Ballets, compounded by *Chriſtouer Brauo*, a ‖ blinde Man of *Cordowa*; printed, with Lycence, by *Gabriel Ramos Beiarano*, Printer.

## A Packe of *Spaniſh* Lyes.

*From* Spaine.

*By a Letter of* Diego Peres, *chiefe Poſt-maſter of* Logrono, *dated the Second of* September, 1588.

2. THE Newes of *England* is confirmed here, by a Letter of the Gouernour of *Roan*. He writeth, he hath in his Power the chiefe Pilote of Captaine *Drake*, and that he knoweth that all the *Engliſh* Armie remained ouerthrowen, hauing ſunke two and twentie Shippes, and taken fourtie, * and impriſoned *Francis Drake*, having giuen them Chaſe almoſt as hie as † *Abſpurge*, and ſlaine many by the Sword; and likewiſe ſayeth, that there was found, in Captaine *Drakes* Shippe, a Piece of Ordinance of fiue-and-twentie Foote long, which diſcharged a Shotte of a Hundreth Weight at once, made of Purpoſe, with one onely Shot, to ſinke our *Spaniſh* Admirall; and it pleaſed God, although ſhe was ſomewhat battered, yet was ſhe repaired againe, and ouerthrewe the *Engliſh* Armie.

## A Condemnation of the *Spaniſh* Lyes.

*From* England.

'2. THE Gouernour of *Roan* is accompted "a worthy noble Man, and there-
'fore he ſhall do wel to make this Report of
'him to be knowen for a Lye; for ſo ſurely
'he knoweth it to be, that there was neuer,
'either a chiefe Pilote, or the Value of a Boy
'of Captaine *Drakes*, taken and brought to
'him as a Priſoner.

'The Gouernours of *Bollen* and *Calleis* can
'informe the Gouernour of *Roan* how falſe a
'Report it was, That the *Engliſh* Armie re-
'mained ouerthrowen afore *Calleis*: The *Eng-*
'*liſh* Armie fought with the *Spaniſh*; chaſed
'the *Spaniſh*, as a Brace of Greyhounds would
'a Herde of Deere; the *Spaniards* Ships were
'beaten, ſpoyled, burnt, ſunke, ſome in the
'maine Seas afore *Dunkirke*, ſome afore *Fluſh-*
'*ing*, and the reſt chaſed away; ſo as they
'fledde continually afore the *Engliſh* Nauie in
'their beſt Order for Strength, without daring
'to abide any Fight: Yea, ſome one of the
'*Engliſh* Shippes fought with three of their
'*Galleaſſes*; the *Spaniards* neuer attempting
'to board any *Engliſh*, but, as many of them,

‖ It was a meete Occupation for a blinde Man, to put Lyes into Songs; and, if he knewe how falſe his Verſes were, when he publiſhed them, it were to be wiſhed that he had his Eyes reſtored to ſee his Lyes, and then his Tongue cutte out that vttered them, and his Eyes cleane plucked out of his Head, that he ſhould neuer ſee any more written Lyes. As for his Eares, it were good to haue them open, to heare Men call him iuſtly, a notable blinde Lyar.

* If *Drakes* Shippe were taken, if there was ſuch a Piece of Ordinance of ſuch a Length, In what Port is that Shippe? In whoſe Poſſeſſion is that Piece? *Drake* is returned with Honour, his Shippe, called the *Reuenge*, is in Harborow, ready for a Reuenge by a newe Seruice; no Shippe loſt, no Ordinance miſſing.

† The fooliſh Lyar maketh mention of *Abſpurge* in *Scotland:* In all *Scotland* is no ſuch Place; in *Germanie* is a Countrey called *Habſpurg*, but any Wager may be layd, that none of the *Spaniſh* came euer thither, Euery Line, or euery Sentence, conteineth a Lye.

The Duke himſelfe is returned, let him confirme this Vntrueth, that he ouerthrewe the *Engliſh* Armie; it can not be imagined, that he, being a Perſon of ſo great Honour, will allow ſo notorious a Lye to be taken for a Trueth; for if he had ſuch a Victorie, Why did he not land to conquere *England?* Why did did he neuer enter into any Part of *England?* Why did he neuer cary any Enſigne of *England* into *Spaine* to ſhew, as very many of the *Spaniſh* were brought into *England.*

as

‘ as could ſaile away, fled with all their Sailes,
‘ and were followed by the *Engliſh*, vntil they
‘ were chaſed out of all the *Engliſh* Seas, and
‘ forced then to runne a violent Courſe about
‘ *Scotland*, and ſo to *Ireland*, where a great
‘ Number of their Ships are drowned, their
‘ Men taken, and many killed by the ſauage
‘ People for their Spoyle; and the *Engliſh*
‘ Nauie, vpon good Conſideration, left them,
‘ when they ſawe them ſo haſtily to flie deſpe-
‘ ratly into the Northern daungerous Seas,
‘ where, the *Engliſh* Nauie did very certaine-
‘ ly know, that there would be no Safety for
‘ them to follow the *Spaniſh*. Why durſt any
‘ report that twenty-two *Engliſh* Shippes were
‘ ſunke, and fortie were taken, when, in
‘ Trueth, there was not any one of the *Eng-*
‘ *liſh* Shippes ſunke or taken? A ſtrange Diſ-
‘ poſition, to forge ſuch great Lyes, where-
‘ of there was no Ground nor Colour. If
‘ any one or two of the *Engliſh* had bene
‘ ſunke, a Lyar might haue put the Nomber
‘ of Twenty for Two, and excuſed the Lye
‘ by Error of figuring; but, of none in Nom-
‘ ber, no Nomber can be made, but by
‘ Falſhood. The Gouernour of *Roan*, being a
‘ Man of great Honour and Vertue, ought to
‘ reuenge this ſhamefull Lye made vpon him;
‘ for *Lucian* neuer did, in all his Lyes, vſe
‘ more Impudencie, then theſe *Spaniſh* Lyars
‘ doe report of him.

## A Packe of *Spaniſh* Lyes.

*From* Spaine.

*Copie of a Letter that* Iohn Gamarra *wrote from* Roan *the Thirty-firſt of* Auguſt, *of the ſame Yeere.*

3. THE *Engliſh* haue loſt aboue fortie Ships in one Encounter, where they coulde not flie, which was in * *Luxaten*, a Hauen in *Scotland*, to the which Place, ſince the Departure of the *Spaniſh* Armies from *Calleis*, the *Engliſh* Armie followed; and, ſuppoſing they went to take that Hauen, they got before ours to defend the Entrance: We ſeeing

## A Condemnation of the *Spaniſh* Lyes.

*From* England.

‘ 3. ALL this is likewiſe as full of Lyes, as
‘ Lines. *Iohn Gamarra* may be
‘ what he is; but if there be ſuch a Man,
‘ and that he wrote as is mentioned, except
‘ he be a profeſſed Member of the Deuill to
‘ forge Lyes, he knoweth that he wrote
‘ falſly.

* He noteth alſo a Hauen in *Scotland*, called *Luxaten*; none ſuch was euer knowen there. In *Vtopia* there may be ſuch a one; no *Spaniard* can ſaye they tooke any Hauen in *Scotland*; it is altogether vaine otherwiſe to reproue this; but al that is reported are Lyes, and ſo let *Gamarra* repent, or follow the Deuill, his Maſter, the Father of malicious Lyes.

ing them ſo neere the *Engliſh* Fleete, and that they coulde not retire, as they alwayes did, when they pleaſed, to the *Engliſh* Hauens, they ſet vpon them ſo valiantly, that they ſunke twenty of their Shippes, and they tooke twenty-ſix whole and ſound; and the reſt, ſeeing their Deſtruction, fled away with great Loſſe of Men, and their Shippes very much battered; and with this, they ſay, the *Spaniſh* Armie tooke the Hauen, where they are very well lodged, as euery one affirmeth, and ſo the Newes is here; I pray God giue them good Succeſſe: We vnderſtande, by the Poſt come from *Calleis*, that in *England* it is forbidden, vpon Paine of Death and Loſſe of Goods, that no Body doe write Newes from thence to any Place; which confirmeth the Newes aboue.

## A Packe of *Spaniſh* Lyes.

*From* Spaine.

*Coppie of a Letter that* Pedro de Alua *did write from* Roan, *the Firſt of* September, *of the ſame Yeere.*

4. I Do not write Newes of the *Spaniſh* Armie, becauſe they are diuers, and woulde gladly write the very Trueth. Nowe by the Newes which runneth from diuers Places, as *Calleis*, *Deepe*, and *Hollande*, and Preſumptions from *England*, and other Places, it is holden for certaine, that they haue fought with the *Engliſh*, and broken their Heads, hauing ſunke many of their Shippes, and taken others; and the reſt, which they ſay were twenty-ſeuen Shippes, returned, very much battered, to the Riuer of *London*, which are all thoſe that coulde eſcape. There goeth with this Poſt another Poſt of *Iorge Seguin* of *Calles*, which ſaith, that certaine Maſters and Mariners of *Zeland* did affirme to the Gouernour of *Calleis*, Mounſier *de Gorden*, that our Fleete is in a Hauen, or Riuer, in *Scotland*, called * *Triſta*, where they ſay there may ride two-thouſand Shippes; this is that which commonly is currant here.

## A Condemnation of the *Spaniſh* Lyes.

*From* England.

'4. THIS *Pedro Alua* coulde be content 'to ſend Lyes, but he is more warie 'in the Auowing of them; he reporteth Lyes, 'as he ſaith, that came from other Places: 'But, of all other Places, none coulde make 'a truer Report then *Calleis*, where the Gouernour, and all the Inhabitants, ſaw the 'Spaniſh Armie mightily beaten by the *Engliſh*; and it was affirmed, by Men there of 'great Iudgement, that neuer was ſeene, by 'any Man liuing, ſuch a Battery, ſo great 'for Nomber, ſo furious, and of ſo long Continuance, as the *Engliſh* made againſt the 'Spaniſh. *Calleis* ſawe the *Spaniſh* Armie firſt 'driuen from their Ancres with Fire; they 'ſawe the greateſt *Galliaſſe* of the *Spaniſh*, 'whereof was Commander that worthy noble 'Man *Moncada*, ſpoyled, and himſelfe ſlaine 'in the *Galliaſſe* by the *Engliſh*. *Calleis* did 'ſee, the next Day, that the *Engliſh* Nauie 'fought, and did beate the *Spaniſh* Armada 'from Eight of the Clocke in the Morning 'vntill Four in the Afternone, without any 'Ceaſing.

'*Calleis* ſawe the *Spaniſh* hoyſe vp al their 'Sayles, and flie as faſt as Winde coulde driue,

* The laſt Part of this Report is a like Lye to the other; there is no ſuch Port in *Scotland*, called *Triſta*; neither did any of the *Spaniards* take Succour in any Hauen, nor yet coulde haue done, by reaſon of the contrary Windes.

and

' and the *Engliſh* to follow and purſue them;
' and yet *Calleis* ſaw a ſufficient Nauie of *Eng-*
' *land* left afore *Dunkirke*, able to maſter all
' the Shipping that the Duke of *Parma* had
' prouided.

## A Packe of *Spaniſh* Lyes.

*From* Spaine.

*Aduiſe from* London, *which the Embaſſadour of our Soueraigne Lord the King, reſident in* Paris, *had from thence.*

5. BY Newes from *London*, of the Twenty-ſixth of *Auguſt*, it is knowen for moſt certaine, from Perſons of Credit, that the Queenes Admirall Generall was arriued in the Riuer of *London* with twenty-fiue Ships onely, without his Admirall Shippe *, which was taken by our Admirall *Saint Iohn*; and it is well knowen in *England*, that, to hide the Loſſe of their Admirall Shippe, they ſay he put himſelfe in a ſmaller Shippe, the better to follow our Armie; and it is knowen for Certaintie that he ſaued himſelf in a Boat, when he loſt his Shippe; that *Drake*, for Certaintie, is taken or ſlaine. The ſame is confirmed by the Way of *Holland*, by a Pinnaſſe of theirs. And from *Auſterland*, that the Queene commanded, vpon Paine of Death, that no Body ſhoulde ſpeake of her Fleete; and that there was great Sorrow in thoſe Parts of *England*; and that the Queene had in the Field thirty Thouſand raw Souldiers, betwixt *Dover* and *Margate*; and that † the *Catholikes*, vnderſtanding that al their Fleete was diſperſed, moued a certaine Mutinie, which forced the Queene to go herſelfe into the Fielde; and for certaine it is knowen, that there is not brought in to *England* neither Ship nor Boat of ours, more then the Ship of Don *Pedro Valdez*; and that our Fleete was gone in to *Scotland*, and arriued in a Hauen called ‡ *Trapena Euxaten.*

## A Condemnation of the *Spaniſh* Lyes.

*From* England.

' 5. HERE followeth the Mountaine of
' Lyes. It is Reaſon, that if there
' were Lyars in *London*, they ſhould ſend them
' to *Mendoza*; for ſo *Mendacia* are of more
' Price with him then true Reportes, and ſo
' was he accuſtomed when he was Embaſſadour
' in *England*, to buye more Lyes, becauſe he
' liked them better then Trueths.

' If one ſhould make a Section, or Anato-
' mie of this Mountaine and Body of Lyes,
' there is no Piece, nor Ioynt, to be found
' found.

* The Admirall Shippe, which was called the *Arke Royall*, was ſafely brought Home by the Lord Admirall of *England*, *Lord Howard*; he neuer changed her, ſhe is, thanked be God, ſafe with other the Queenes Royall Shippes; ſhe is able, with the Lord Admirall, to match in Fight with the Duke of *Medina*, or any Prince of *Chriſtendome*, in any Shippe that the King of *Spaine* hath. This is not ſpoken for Oſtentation; but Gods Fauour is aſſured to *England*, in the Iuſtice of the Quarrel againſt any Inuadour.

† If there were a Mutinie of *Catholikes*, they ſhould haue bene hanged or puniſhed; but it was not knowen that one *Catholike* did ſtir this Summer, with Hand or Tongue, to mooue Offence, neither was any one impriſoned, or otherwiſe puniſhed.

‡ The laſt Line is a Lye, with like Errour as the former; for there is no Hauen in *Scotland* called *Trapena Euxaten.* This *Mendoza* was very curious to forge a ſtrange Name, as it appeareth he had read of ſome ſuch in *Peru*, or in *New-Spaine.*

A Packe

## A Packe of *Spaniſh* Lyes.

*From* Spaine.

*By a Letter of the chiefe Poſt-maſter of* Bourdeux, *written to the* French *Embaſſadour, the Second of* September, 1588.

6. AFTER that I had written this, here is arriued a *Scottiſhman*, which ſaith, that all the *Spaniſh* Fleete is arriued in *Scotland*, and that the *Scottiſhmen* haue taken Armes againſt the *Engliſh*.

## A Packe of *Spaniſh* Lyes.

*From* Spaine.

*Relation of that which hath paſſed till this Day, the Fifth of* September, 1588, *till Three of the Clocke in the after Noone, knowen by the Relations and Aduiſe, come to his Maieſtie from the happie Fleete, whereof is Generall the Duke of* Medina, *in the Conqueſt of* England.

7. THAT, vpon the Thirtieth of *Iuly*, without ſeeing any Sayle of the Enemies in the Sea, he came to the Channell, ſixe Leagues from *Plimmouth*; where vnderſtanding the Enemies were, he gathered together and ſet in Order all the Fleete, and, ſayling, the Firſt of *Auguſt* there was diſcouered ſome Sayles of the Enemies; the which, the ſecond Day, were nombred to be lx. Sayle; of which the Duke tooke the Wind, and paſſed without any Fight, although he preſented the ſame to them: Howbeit, they began to ſhoot at the Rereward; but the Duke, in the Galleon *S. Martin*, ſet the Prow of

## A Condemnation of the *Spaniſh* Lyes.

*From* England.

'6. THIS *Scottiſhman*, I thinke, hath no 'Name; a manifeſt Lye it was, 'that *Scottiſhmen* had taken Armes againſt the '*Engliſh*. Such a Lye did *Mendoza* publiſh 'ſome Yeeres paſt, that the King of *Scots* had 'beſieged and wonne *Barwicke*. I truſt he 'remembreth now, how falſe a Lye it was; 'but yet he hath no Grace, as it ſeemeth, 'to forbeare from forging of Lyes, for his 'chollerike Appetite. But a manifeſt Trueth 'it is, that the King of *Scots*, at the Tyme 'meant, made a generall Proclamation, that 'no *Scottiſhman* ſhould victuall any *Spaniard*, 'for that the King did knowe they came to 'haue conquered both *England* and *Scotland*. 'And on the other Side, the King by Proclamation commaunded, that all Succours 'ſhould be giuen to the Armie of *England*, 'as being the Armie of his Sifter and Confederate, and the Prince whom he knew to 'be inuaded moſt iniuſtly. Many *Scottiſhmen* might, at *Bourdeaux*, haue reported this 'for a Trueth.

A

CONDEMNATION

OF

*SPANISH* LYES.

*From* England.

'7. ALL theſe vntrue Newes are ſayde to 'haue come from the *Spaniſh* Fleete 'to the Kings Maieſtie. By this Tyme is it 'ſure, that the Duke of *Medina* can tell the 'King his Maſter ſome other contrary Matters; for elſe he had no Cauſe to flie about '*Scotland* and *Ireland*.'

his

his Shippe againſt the biggeſt of the Enemies, the which, being ſuccoured by twenty others, fled away: Of this Fight and firſt Encounter, there was ſunke three Galleaſſes *, and foure mighty Galleons of the Queenes; there was burnt, of ours, by Negligence of a Gunner, the Admirall of *Oquendo*; and the Enemies took the chiefe Ship of Don *Pedro Valdez*, which, being entangled with ſome others vnder his Charge, was left without Tackle, and ſo neere the Enemies, that ſhe coulde not be ſuccoured by others.

With this, our Fleete ſeeing that the Enemie, in euery Point, did flie from giuing Battell, they ſailed with ſome calme Weather, and the Enemies after them, ſhooting alwayes at the Rereward, vntil the Seuenth, that our Fleet ancored in the Roade of *S. Iohn*, betwixt *Calleis* and *Bollin*, nine Leagues from *Dunkerke*; and the Enemies did the like, the neereſt they coulde to *England*.

The Night being approched, the Enemies got vp their Ankers to get the Wind, and not to ſuffer our Shippes to goe out of the Roade to Sea, becauſe they had trimmed viii. Shippes of Fire, which, with the Corrent of the Water, ſhould haue put them ſelves amongſt our Shippes, to haue burnt them. But my Lord the Duke, foreſeeing the Danger, preuented them, with Commandement, that the Shippes that were neereſt ſhould cut their Cables, and to take vp the others with a Readineſſe vncredible; and with this the Enemies Pretence was hindered; and ſo got the Sea moſt braueley, and with ſuch good Fortune, that, if he had not done it, our Armie ſhould haue ben in euil Caſe; for, in the very Place, which we left, there was ſhotte off by them, out of thoſe fierie Shippes, ſuch Fires, and other Engins, that were ſufficient to burne the Sea, much more Shippes, which are made of Wood and Pitch.

In this Departure, the Captaine of the Galleaſſes had a great Miſchance; for, getting vp her Anker, a Cable fel foule of her Helme,

* He alſo wil not ſay, That eyther three Galleaſſes, and foure Galleons of *England* were ſunk; or that euer he coulde ſee one Shippe, or one Boate of *England* ſunk. He can tell the King, with great Griefe, That he neuer had fortunate Day, from his Comming from the *Groine*, till he returned with the Loſſe of as many Shippes, Men, Victuals, Treaſure, and Ordinance, as might haue made a good Armie by Sea: And great Pittie it is for *Chriſtendome*, that both that, which is loſt, and that, which remaineth, had not beene vſed by the King Catholike againſt the *Infidels*; and not, with Ambition, to imploy ſuch Kinde of Forces to inuade *Chriſtian* Countreys therewith; who, if he would liue in Peace with them, would be readye to ioine their Forces with his, to dilate the Fines of *Chriſtendome*, and forbeare Spending of *Chriſtian* Blood amongſt *Chriſtians*.

that

that ſhe could not follow the reſt; which cauſed one of her Sides to lie ſo hie, that her Ordinance could not play, and ſo xxv. Pinnaſes came and battered her; and withall this, if the Mariners, Souldiers, and Rowers, that were in her, had not caſt them ſelues into the Sea, it is holden for certain, that * Don *Hugo de Moncada* had defended her, as he did vntill ſhe came into *Calleis*, where, at the Entrance thereof, he was killed of two Caliuer-ſhot: The People on Shore defended the Galleaſſe, and all that was in her, and deliuered the ſame to our Soueraigne Lord the Kings Miniſters.

At this Time, the Duke had a very franke Wind, and the like had the Queenes Fleete; and ſo they both paſſed by the Sight of *Dunkerke*, inſomuch as they on Land knew the Galleon *S. Martin*, and others, that went fighting with the *Engliſh* Armie: And in this Order they went till the Twelfth.

Afterwards they write, That there came into *Calleis* a Shippe, which ſaith, that, the † xii. Day, they did ſee the two Fleetes together in Sight: An other, which came afterwardes, ſaid he had ſeene ſome Shippes ſpoiled and torne, and from them they threw out ‡ their Baggage, which they ſaued in Boates; which argueth they were Shippes of the Enemies, for that our Men had no Place to ſaue them ſelues, nor there were none of them arriued into *Flanders*, which was their Place of Returne.

## A Packe of *Spaniſh* Lyes.

*From* Spaine.

8. OUT of *Englande* was Aduiſe giuen, That, on the xiii, arriued fifteene of the Queenes Ships; and they ſayd, that the Galleon *Saint Martin*, wherin my Lorde the Duke is (whom God preſerue) had encountered with *Drake*, and had grapled his Ship, and captiued his Perſon, and other noble *Engliſh* Men, and taken other fifteene Ships, beſide others that were diſtreſſed; and the Duke, with his Fleete, followed his Way to *Scotland*, becauſe the Winde was not come about.

## A Condemnation of the *Spaniſh* Lyes.

*From* England.

'8. THIS, that is ſayd of the Dukes 'Grapling with *Drakes* Ship, and 'Taking of him Captiue, and many other 'noble Men of *England*, is like all the reſt of 'the Lyes.

'The Duke, after he went from *Calleis* 'towards *Scotland*, neuer came neere to offer 'Fight with any *Engliſh* Ship, neuer turned 'backe to the *Engliſh* that followed him, but 'fledde away, as Winde and Sayle could ſerue 'him.

* This noble Man was killed with a ſmal Shot in the Galleaſſe, where, in very Trueth, he remayned in Defence of the Galleaſſe, and fought not to flie away, as a great Number did.

† If it be meant, the xii. of *Auguſt*, the Vntruth is apparant; for there was neuer Fight after that afore *Calleis*, which was the xix. of *Iulie*, *Nouo Stilo*, or the xxix, *Stilo Antiquo*.

‡ It is very true, that the *Spaniards* Ships, to make themſelues light to flie, did caſt away their Boates, and threw their Moiles and Horſes into the Seas.

With

With theſe Newes his Maieſtie reſteth verie much contented, and cauſed them to be ſent to the Empreſſe, by the Hands of *Franciſco Ydiaquez*, his Secretarie of Eſtate.

'If he had this Fortune thus falſely re-
'ported, it is ſure, that he would haue
'brought both *Drake*, and ſome of the noble
'Men Home with him into *Spaine*, to
'haue beene preſented to the King, and
'not haue gone Home to his owne Houſe,
'without Sight of the King. But, in Truth,
'there was not one noble Man, or Gentle-
'man of any Marke, that went to the Sea,
'that was either ſlaine, or taken; all are liu-
'ing, and are as willing, by Gods Fauour,
'to aduenture their Liues, as euer they were,
'againſt any of the Queenes Enemies, when
'ſhe ſhal command them.

'And, where theſe Newes did much con-
'tent the King, it is likely, that, if he thought
'them true, he was glad thereof; for ſo had
'his Maieſtie Cauſe; but he is thought too
'wiſe to haue thought, that, after he vnder-
'ſtoode, that the Duke and all his Armie had
'fled from the Coaſt of *Flanders* and *England*,
'that euer they were like to haue any Victorie
'of the *Engliſh*. No, contrariwiſe; the King
'and all his wiſe Counſellours had Cauſe to
'lament the Dangers, whereunto of Neceſſi-
'tie his Armada ſhould fall, by paſſing the
'dangerous Coaſtes, Ilandes, and monſtruous
'Rockes of *Scotland* and *Ireland*; of more
'Danger for his Nauie to paſſe, then to haue
'paſſed from *Lisborne* to the *Moluccas*, and
'Home againe.

'It is to be thought, that, if the Empreſſe
'gaue the Secretarie, *Ydiaquez*, any Rewarde,
'for the Newes, as it is likely ſhe did, ſhe
'may iuſtly require it againe from him, and
'giue him Charge, not to bring her Maieſtie,
'nor the King his Maſter, any ſuch notorious
'Lyes hereafter; for, if he vſe it often, he is
'vnworthie to be Secretarie to ſo great a
'King.'

Imprinted in *Sevil*, in the Houſe of *Coſmo de Lara*, Printer of Bookes, by Lycence of the Counte of *Orgaz*, Aſſiſtant in *Sevil*.

Imprinted at *London*, by the Deputies of *Chriſtopher Barker*, Printer to the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie. 1588.

IOAN. viii. 44.
*Ye are of your Father the Deuil, and the Luſtes of your Father ye will doe: He hath bene a Murtherer from the Beginning, and aboade not in the Trueth, becauſe there is no Trueth in him. When he ſpeaketh a Lye, then ſpeaketh he of his owne; for he is a Lyer, and the Father thereof.*

ZACH. viii. 26.
*Theſe are the Things that ye ſhall doe: Speake ye euery Man the Trueth vnto his Neigbour.*

EPHES. iv. 25.
*Wherefore caſt off Lying, and ſpeake euery Man Trueth vnto his Neighbour; for we are Members one of another.*

*Englands* Way to win Wealth, and to employ Ships and Mariners: Or, a plain Deſcription what great Profit it will bring unto the Commonwealth of *England*, by the erecting, building, and adventuring of Buſſes to Sea a Fiſhing: With a true Relation of the ineſtimable Wealth that is yearly taken out of his Majeſty's Seas by the *Hollanders*, by their great Numbers of Buſſes, Pinks, and Line-boats: And alſo a Diſcourſe of the Sea-coaſt Towns of *England*; and the moſt fit and commodious Places and Harbours that we have for Buſſes; and of the ſmall Number of our Fiſhermen; and alſo the true Valuation, and whole Charge of building and furniſhing to Sea Buſſes and Pinks, after the *Holland* Manner. By *Tobias Gentleman*, Fiſherman and Mariner. Printed at *London* for *Nathaniel Butter*, 1614. *Quarto*, containing fifty Pages, excluſive of the Dedication.

*This Pamphlet, with the other, intitled,* The Royal Fiſhery revived, *are publiſhed at the Requeſt of a Subſcriber.*

*The Occaſion of their firſt Writing and Publication, was, a Complaint, which the Nation ſtill has Occaſion to continue, from the* Dutch *Uſurpation on our Fiſhery, which, if duly conſidered, may be thought worth the Regard of the Legiſlature, as the beſt Nurſery for Mariners, and the beſt Employment for the Poor of this Nation: All which is ſo well aſcertained by this Author, that it needs no further Recommendation from the Publiſher; I ſhall only therefore advertiſe the Reader, that He, being a Fiſherman, has rather endeavoured to make himſelf underſtood, in Terms proper to explain his Deſign, than to poliſh his Deſcription with Art and a laboured Stile.*

To the Right Noble, Learned, and truly Honourable *Henry*, Lord *Howard*, Earl of *Northampton*, Baron of *Marnhill*, Conſtable of the Caſtle of *Dover*, Lord Warden, Chancellor and Admiral of the Cinque Ports, Lord Privy Seal, Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, and one of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy-Council.

Right Honourable,

*SEEING that by Nature our Country challengeth a greater Intereſt in us, than our Parents, Friends, or Children can, and that we ought, for Preſervation thereof, to oppoſe our Lives unto the greateſt Dangers: It is the Part of every Native to endea-*

*vour*

*vour ſomething to the Advancement and Profit thereof, and not to affect it for that we poſſeſs in it, but to love it for itſelf, as being the common Mother and Nouriſher of us all. For my own Part, albeit my ſhort Fathom can compaſs no ſuch great Deſign as I deſire, yet from a willing Mind (as he that offered his Hands full of Water to great* Artaxerxes) *I am bold enough to preſent this Project of my honeſt and homely Labours, beſeeching your Lordſhip, whoſe Virtues have truly ennobled you, to take the ſame into your Protection: And prefer it to the View of our moſt Royal Sovereign, recommending the good Effecting thereof to his gracious Favour and Furtherance. Doubtleſs, your Actions and Endeavours, having all been full of Virtue and Goodneſs, are not the leaſt prevailing Motives whereby his Majeſty hath ſo endeared you unto him. In this, then, you ſhall not think yourſelf diſparaged, the Matter being both honeſt and commendable, and in true Value of as great Subſtance, as the Offer of* Sebaſtian Cabot, *to King* Henry the Seventh, *for the Diſcovery of the* Weſt-Indies.

Humbly,

At your Lordſhip's Commandment,

*Tobias Gentleman.*

NOBLE *Britons*, foraſmuch as it hath pleaſed the Almighty God to make us a happy Nation, by bleſſing and inriching this noble Kingdom with the ſweet Dew of his heavenly Word, truly and plentifully preached amongſt us; and alſo in ſituating our Country in a moſt wholeſome Climate, and ſtored with many rich and pleaſant Treaſures for our Benefit; which alſo yieldeth, in Abundance, all Things neceſſary, ſo that we do not only excel other Nations in Strength and Courage, but alſo all other Kingdoms, far remote, are, by our *Engliſh* Commodities, relieved and cheriſhed: It ſeemeth that the Wiſdom of our gracious God hath reſerved us, as ſome precious Gem, unto himſelf in invironing our Country with the plenteous Ocean Sea, and dividing of us from the whole Continent of the reſt of the inferior World, by our rich and commodious Element of Water, which, in due Seaſons, yieldeth to us in Abundance: For, although our Champion Soil, by the Diligence of the Huſbandman, be plentiful unto us, yet do theſe watery Regions and Dominions yield yearly great Variety of all Kinds of moſt wholeſome and dainty Fiſhes; ſo that it may ſeem ſtrange and diſputable, and hard to determine, which of his Majeſty's Dominions, of the *Land* or *Seas*, be richeſt. Myſelf being the moſt unworthy of all, in that I am no Scholar, but born a Fiſherman's Son by the Sea-ſide, and ſpending my youthful Time at Sea about Fiſher-affairs, whereby, now I am more ſkilful in Nets, Lines, and Hooks, than in Rhetorick, Logick, or learned Books; yet, in thoſe few which I have read, beſides the Inſtinct of Nature, which maketh me to know, that every one ſhould endeavour himſelf, the beſt he is able, to be beneficial and profitable to the Kingdom and Commonwealth wherein he is born; which was a forcible Motive to incite me to think of this preſent Diſcourſe, the Penning whereof was thus occaſioned.

It was my Fortune, ſome two Years paſt, to be ſent for into the Company of one Maſter *John Keymour*, who is a Man very well deſerving of his Country; and he, knowing me to have Experience in Fiſher-affairs, demanded of me the Charge both of Buſſes and Line-boats, after the *Hollanders* Faſhion; and ſhewed unto me ſome few Notes that he had gathered and gotten from other Men of my Trade, which he ſeemed greatly to eſteem; for that himſelf was altogether unexperienced in ſuch Buſineſs: And further, I delivered to him certain principal Notes, which he ſeemed greatly to eſteem; for that he ſaid, that he did mind to ſhew them unto the Right Honourable Council; whereupon I entered into the Cogitation of writing this true Relation, out of my own Experience and Knowledge, touching the ineſtimable Sums of Money taken

yearly, for Fiſh and Herrings, out of his Majeſty's Seas by Strangers, whereby they have not only maintained their Wars many Years againſt the *Spaniard*, both by Land and Sea, he being one of the great Monarchs of the World; and, at length, they have not only wearied him in the Wars, and brought him to good Terms and reaſonable Compoſition; but alſo it is moſt apparent, notwithſtanding the huge Charge of their Wars ſo long continued, which would have made any other Nation poor and beggarly, they, on the contrary, are grown exceeding rich and ſtrong in fortified Towns and beautiful Buildings, in Plenty of Money and Gold, in Trade and Traffick with all other Nations; and have ſo increaſed and multiplied their Shipping and Mariners, that all other Nations and Countries in the World do admire them.

Moreover, whereas one Haven in one of their Towns did, in former Times, contain their Ships and Shipping with infinite Coſt, now they have cut out two Havens more to a Town; and at this preſent are all three Havens ſcarce ſufficient with Room enough to contain their Ships and Shipping; and, by reaſon of their induſtrious Fiſher-trade, not one of their People are idle, nor none ſeen to beg amongſt them, except they be ſome of our own *Engliſh* Nation.

And what their chiefeſt Trade is, or their principal Gold-mine, is well known to all Merchants, that have uſed thoſe Parts, and to myſelf and all Fiſhermen; namely, that his Majeſty's Seas is their chiefeſt, principal, and only rich Treaſury, whereby they have ſo long maintained their Wars, and have ſo greatly proſpered and inriched themſelves.

If their little Country of the *United Provinces* can do this, as it is moſt manifeſt before our Eyes, they do, then what may we, his Majeſty's Subjects, do, if this Trade of Fiſhing were once erected among us, we having, in our own Countries, ſufficient Store of all Neceſſaries to accompliſh the like Buſineſs: For the *Hollanders* have nothing growing in their own Land for that Buſineſs, but they are compelled to fetch all their Wood, Timber, and Plank, wherewith they build and make all their Ships of, out of divers Countries; and their Iron out of other Places; their Hemp and Cordage out of the *Eaſtern* Countries; their Hoops and Barrel-boards out of *Norway* and *Sprucia*; their Bread-corn out of *Poland*, and the *Eaſt* Parts; their Malt, Barley, and beſt double Drink from *England*; and alſo all their Fiſh and chiefeſt Wealth out of his Majeſty's Seas.

The which they do tranſport unto the foreſaid Countries, and return, for the Produce, of Fiſh and Herrings, the forenamed Commodities; whereby their Ships and Mariners are ſet on Work, and continually multiplied, and into their Countries is plentiful Store of Money and Gold daily brought, only for the Sale of Fiſh and Herrings.

And their Country being, as it were, a ſmall Plot of Ground, in Compariſon of *Great-Britain*; for two of his Majeſty's Counties, *Suffolk and Norfolk, do equal, if not exceed, in Spaciouſneſs, all their Provinces*; and yet it is manifeſt, that, for Shipping and Sea-faring Men, all *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Spain*, for Quantity of Shipping and Fiſhermen, cannot make ſo great a Number.

Howſoever this may ſeem ſtrange unto many that do not know it, yet I do aſſure myſelf, that a great Number, beſides myſelf, know I affirm nothing herein but the Truth.

Wherefore ſeeing the great Benefit that this Buſineſs by the Buſſes, Bonadventures, or Fiſher-ſhips, by erecting of this profitable and new Trade, which will bring Plenty unto his Majeſty's Kingdoms, and be for the general Good of the Commonwealth, in ſetting of many Thouſands of poor People on Work, which now know not how to live; and alſo for the increaſing of Ships and Fiſhermen, which ſhall be employed about the taking of Fiſh and Herrings out of his Majeſty's own Streams, as alſo for the employing of Ships and increaſing of Mariners; for the ſtrengthening of the Kingdom againſt all foreign Invaſions, and for the inriching of Merchants with Tranſportation of Fiſh and Herrings into other Countries; and alſo for the bringing in of Gold and Money, which now is grown but ſcarce, by reaſon that the *Dutch* and *Hollanders* have ſo long Time been ſuffered to carry away our Money and beſt Gold, for Fiſh and Herrings, taken out of his Majeſty's own Streams, which his Majeſty's own Subjects do want (and ſtill are like to do) if they be not forbidden for bringing us of Fiſh and Herrings: And this worthy Commonwealth's Buſineſs of Buſſes foſtered and furthered by his Majeſty's Honourable Council, and the worſhipful and wealthy Subjects, by putting too of their helping

ing Adventures now at the firſt; for that thoſe that be now the Fiſhermen, of themſelves, be not able to begin.

Thoſe poor Boats and ſorry Nets, that our Fiſhermen of *England* now have, are all their chiefeſt Wealths; but, were their Ability better, they would ſoon be employing themſelves: For that it is certain, that all the Fiſhermen of *England* do rejoice now at the very Name and News of building of Buſſes, with a moſt joyful Applauſe, praying to God to further it: For what great Profit and Pleaſure it will bring they do well underſtand, and I will hereafter declare.

*Firſt*, I ſhall not need to prove, that it is lawful for us, that are his Majeſty's own Subjects, to take, with all Diligence, the Bleſſings that Almighty God doth yearly ſend unto us, at their due Times and Seaſons; and which do offer themſelves freely and abundantly to us, in our own Seas, and nigh our own Shores.

*Secondly*, to prove that it is feaſable for us; for what can be more plain than that we ſee daily done before our Eyes by the *Hollanders*, that have nothing that they uſe growing in their own Land, but are conſtrained to fetch all out of other Countries; whereas we have all Things, that ſhall be uſed about that Buſineſs, growing at Home in our own Land, Pitch and Tar only excepted.

*Thirdly*, to prove it will be profitable, no Man need to doubt, for that we ſee the *Hollanders* have long maintained their Wars, and are nevertheleſs grown exceeding rich; which are Things to be admired, inſomuch that themſelves do call it, 'their chiefeſt Trade, 'and principal Gold-mine, whereby many 'Thouſands of their People, of Trades and 'Occupations, be ſet on Work, well main-'tained, and do proſper'. Theſe be the *Hollanders* own Words, in a *Dutch* Proclamation, and tranſlated into *Engliſh*, and the Copy of that Proclamation is here annexed unto the End of my Book.

And ſhall we neglect ſo great Bleſſings, O ſlothful *England*, and careleſs Countrymen! Look but on theſe Fellows, that we call the plump *Hollanders*, behold their Diligence in Fiſhing, and our own careleſs Negligence!

In the Midſt of the Month of *May*, do the induſtrious *Hollanders* begin to make ready their Buſſes and Fiſher-fleets; and, by the Firſt of their *June*, are they yearly ready, and ſeen to ſail out of the *Maeze*, the *Texel*, and the *Uly*, a thouſand Sail together, for to catch Herrings in the *North*-ſeas.

Six-hundred of theſe Fiſher-ſhips, and more, are great Buſſes, ſome ſix-ſcore Tons, moſt of them a hundred Tons, and the reſt three-ſcore and fifty Tons, the Biggeſt of them having four-and-twenty Men, ſome twenty Men, and ſome eighteen and ſixteen Men a-piece; ſo that there cannot be, in this Fleet, of People, no leſs than twenty-thouſand Sailors.

Theſe, having with them Bread, Butter, and *Holland*-cheeſe, for their Proviſion, do daily get their other Diet out of his Majeſty's Seas, beſides the Lading of this Fleet three Times a-piece, commonly before St. *Andrew* *, with Herrings, which being ſold by them, but at the Rate of ten Pounds the Laſt, amounteth unto much more, than the Sum of one Million of Pounds Sterling, only by this Fleet of Buſſes yearly; no King, upon the Earth, did yet ever ſee ſuch a Fleet of his own Subjects at any Time, and yet this Fleet is there, and then, yearly to be ſeen. A moſt worthy Sight it were, if they were my own Countrymen; yet have I taken Pleaſure in being amongſt them, to behold the Neatneſs of their Ships and Fiſhermen, how every Man knoweth his own Place, and all labouring merrily together, whereby the pooreſt Sort of themſelves, their Wives and Children, be well maintained, and no Want ſeen amongſt them.

And thus *North-weſt* and by *North* hence along they ſteer, then being the very Heart of Summer, and the very Yolk of all the Year, ſailing until they do come unto the Iſle of *Shetland* †, which is his Majeſty's Dominions; and, with this gallant Fleet of Buſſes, there have been ſeen twenty, thirty, and forty Ships of War to waft and guard them from being pillaged and taken by their Enemies, and *Dunkirkers* ‡; but, now the Wars § be ended, they do ſave that great Charge, for they have not now above four or ſix to look unto them for being ſpoiled by Rovers and Pirates.

* Thirtieth of *November*.

† *Shetland* is the greateſt Iſle of all the *Orcades*, and lieth in the Heighth of ſixty Degrees of Northerly Latitude.

‡ Privateers from *Dunkirk*.

§ Between *Spain* and the *Dutch*.

Now

Now if that it happen, that they have ſo good a Wind to be at *Shetland* before the Fourteenth Day of their *June* *, as moſt commonly they have, then do they put all into *Shetland*, nigh *Swinborn-head*, into a Sound called *Bracy*'s Sound; and there they frolick it on Land, until that they have ſucked out all the Marrow of the Malt and good *Scotiſh*-ale, which is the beſt Liquor that the Iſland doth afford: But, the fourteenth Day of *June* being once come, then away all of them go, for that is the firſt Day, by their own Law; before which Time they muſt not lay a Net, for until then the Herrings be not in Seaſon, nor fit to be taken to be ſalted.

From this Place, being nigh two-hundred Leagues from *Yarmouth*, do they now firſt begin to fiſh; and they do never loſe the Shoals of Herrings, but come along amongſt them, following the Herrings as they do come, five-hundred Miles in length, and lading their Ships twice or thrice before they come to *Yarmouth*, with the principal and beſt Herrings, and ſending them away by the Merchant-ſhips that come unto them, that bring them Victuals, Barrels, and more Salt, and Nets, if that they do need any; the which Ships, that buy their Herrings, they do call *Herring-yagers*, and theſe *Yagers* carry them and ſell them in the *Eaſt* Countries; ſome to *Revell*, and to *Rie*, and ſome ſo far as the *Narva*, and *Ruſſia*, *Stockholm* in *Sweden*, *Queensborough*, *Dantzick*, and *Elving*; and all *Poland*, *Pruſſia*, and *Pomerania*, *Letto*, *Burnt-holm*, *Stetin*, *Lubeck*, *Jutland*, and *Denmark*: Returning with Hemp, Flax, Cordage, Cables, and Iron, Corn, Soap-aſhes, Wax, Wainſcot, Clapholt, Pitch, Tar, Maſts, and Spruce-deals, and Hoops, and Barrel-boards, and Plenty of Silver and Gold, only for their Produce of Herrings.

Now, beſides this great Fleet of the Buſſes, the *Hollanders* have a huge Number more of ſmaller Burthen, only for to take Herrings alſo; and theſe are of the Burthen, from fifty Tons unto thirty Tons, and twenty Tons; the greateſt of them having twelve Men apiece, and the ſmalleſt eight and nine Men apiece; and theſe are Veſſels of divers Faſhions, and not like unto the Buſſes, yet go they only for Herrings in the Seaſon; and they are called, ſome of them, *Sword-pinks*, *Flat-bottoms*, *Holland-toads*, *Crabskuits*, and *Yeuers*; and all theſe, or the moſt Part, do go to *Shetland*; but theſe have no *Yagers* come unto them, but they go themſelves Home, when they be laden, or elſe unto the beſt Market: There have been ſeen, and numbered, of Buſſes, and theſe in Braces found, and going out to Sea, and at Sea, in Sight, at one Time, two-thouſand Sail, beſides them that were at Sea, without Sight, which could not be numbered.

It is *Bartholomew*-tide, yearly, before that they be come from *Shetland*, with the Herrings, ſo high as *Yarmouth*; and all thoſe Herrings that they do catch in *Yarmouth* Seas, from *Bartholomew*-tide until St. *Andrew*, the Worſt, that be the rope-ſick Herrings, that will not ſerve to make barreled Herrings, by their own Law, they muſt not bring Home into *Holland*; wherefore they do ſell them for ready Money, or Gold, unto the *Yarmouth*-men, that be no Fiſher-men, but Merchants, and Ingroſſers of great Quantities of Herrings, if that by any Means they can get them; ſo that the *Hollanders* are very welcome Gueſts unto the *Yarmothian* Herring-buyers; and the *Hollanders* do call them their *Hoſts*, and they do yearly carry away from *Yarmouth* many a thouſand Pound, as it is well known; but theſe *Hollanders*, with their Lading of the Beſt, which they make their beſt brand Herrings to ſerve for *Lenten*-ſtore, they ſend ſome for *Bourdeaux*, ſome for *Rochelle*, *Nantes*, *Morlaix*, and St. *Maloes*; *Caen* in *Normandy*, *Roan*, *Paris*, *Amiens*, and all *Picardy* and *Calais*; and they do return from theſe Places with Wines, Salt, Feathers, Roſin, Wood, *Normandy*-canvas, and Dowlas-cloth, and Money, and *French* Crowns: But, out of all the Arch-duke's Countries, they return nothing from thence but ready Money, in my own Knowledge; and their ready Payment was all double *Jacobuſes*, *Engliſh* twenty-ſhilling Pieces. I have ſeen more there in one Day, than ever I did in *London* at any Time; for, at *Oſtend*, *Newport*, and *Dunkirk*, where, and when, the *Holland* Pinks come in, there daily the Merchants, that be but Women (but not ſuch Women as the Fiſhwives of *Billingſgate*; for theſe *Netherland* Women do lade many Waggons with freſh Fiſh daily, ſome for *Bruges*, and ſome for *Bruſſels*, *Ypres*, *Dixmuyde*, and *Riſſels*, and at *Saſſe* by *Gant*.) I

* Which is eleven Days before our Account of Time.

lay

have ſeen theſe Women-merchants, I ſay, have their Aporns full of nothing but *Engliſh Jacobuſes*, to make all their Payment of; and ſuch Heaps and Budget-fulls in the Counting-houſes of the Fiſh-brokers, which made me much to wonder how they ſhould come by them; and alſo I know, that Capons are not ſo dearly ſold by the Poulterers in *Gracechurch* Street in *London*, as freſh Fiſh is ſold by the *Hollanders*, in all thoſe *Roman Catholick* and *Papiſtical* Countries *.

And, whereas I have made but a true Relation of their Fleets of Buſſes, and only the Herring-fiſhermen, that are on his Majeſty's Seas, from *June* until *November*, I will here alſo ſet down the Fiſhermen, that all the Year long, in the Seaſons, do fiſh for *Cod* and *Lings* continually, going and returning laden with barreled Fiſh.

And theſe be Pinks and Well-boats, of the Burthen of forty Tons, and the ſmalleſt thirty Tons, and theſe have ſome twelve Men apiece, one with another; and there is of this Sort of Fiſher-boats, beginning at *Fluſhing*, *Camfere*, *Surwick-ſea*, the *Maeze*, the *Texel*, and the *Fly*, and the other ſandy Iſlands, about five-hundred or ſix-hundred Sail, which all the Year long are fiſhing for Cod, whereof they do make their barreled Fiſh, which they do tranſport, in Summer, into the *Eaſt* Parts; but, in Winter, all *France* is ſerved by them, and all the Arch-duke's Countries before ſpoken of, both of barreled Fiſh, and freſh Fiſh, which they, of Purpoſe, do keep alive in their Boats in Wells; and to us here in *England*, for Love of our ſtrong Beer, they bring us barreled Fiſh in Winter, and carry away our Money and Gold every Day in great Quantities.

Beſides all theſe Pinks and Well-boats, the *Hollanders* have continually, in the Seaſon, another Fleet of Fiſhermen, at the *North-eaſt* Head of *Shetland*, which are of an other Quality; and there are more than two-hundred of theſe; and theſe be called *Fly-boats*, and theſe do ride at Anchor all the Seaſon at *Shetland*, in the Fiſhing-grounds; and they have ſmall Boats within them, which be like unto Cobles, the which they do put out to lay and hale their Lines and Hooks, whereby they do take great Store of *Lings*, the which they do not barrel, but ſplit them, and ſalt them in the Ship's Bulk; and theſe they ſell commonly for four and five Pounds the Hundred, and theſe go by the Name of *Holland-lings*, but they are taken out of his Majeſty's Seas, and were *Shetland-lings*, before they took them there; and for theſe Lings they do carry away Abundance of *England*'s beſt Money daily.

Now having declared, according unto Truth, the Numbers of their Fiſhermen of *Holland*, for Herrings upon his Majeſty's Seas, and alſo of their Pinks and Well-boats, and their Courſes for taking, and venting, and ſelling of their barreled Fiſh, and freſh Fiſh, and alſo of their Fly-boats at the *North-eaſt* Head of *Shetland*, for *Shetland-lings*, I think it now beſt, truly to ſhew the true Number of our *Engliſh* Fiſhermen, and how they do employ themſelves all the Year long, firſt beginning at *Colcheſter*, nigh the Mouth of the *Thames*, and ſo proceed *Northward*.

I can ſcarce afford theſe Men of that Water the Name of *Fiſhermen*, for that their chiefeſt Trade is Dragging of Oyſters; yet have they, in the Summer, ſome eight or ten Boats in the North Seas for Cods, which, if that they happen to ſpend all their Salt, and to ſpeed well, they may get ſome twenty Pounds in a Summer clear: But, here by the Way, I will make known a great Abuſe that is offered to the Commonwealth, and eſpecially to all the Herring Fiſhermen of *England*, only by thoſe Men of *Colcheſter* Water.

For theſe Men, from St. *Andrew* until *Candlemas*, and ſometimes longer, do ſet forth Stale-boats, amongſt the Sands, in the *Thames* Mouth, for to take Sprats, with great Stale-nets, with a great Poke; and, they ſtanding in the *Swin*, or the *King's Channel*, on the Back of the *Gunfleat*, they do there take inſtead of Sprats infinite thouſands of young Herrings, ſmaller than Sprats, and not good to be eaten; for one Sprat is better worth than twenty of thoſe Bleaks or young Herrings; but, becauſe they do fill the Buſhel at *Billingſgate*, there they do ſell them for Sprats, the which, if that they were let live, would be at *Midſummer* a fat Summer-full Herring; and a Peck is ſometimes there ſold for two Pence, which Number of Herrings at *Midſummer* would make a Barrel of Summer Herrings, worth twenty or thirty Shillings.

If that they could take the Sprats, it were good, for they be good Victuals for the City;

* I have ſeen a ſmall Haddock ſold there for two Shillings and Six pence, and a Turbot for a *Jacobus*, ſays the Author.

but,

but, for every Cart-load or Buſhel of Sprats, they take a hundred Cart-loads or Buſhels of theſe young Herrings, which are the very Spawn of the Shoals of the Herrings that come from *Scotland* every Summer; and, when as they come in *Yarmouth* Seas yearly about St. *Luke*, and ſometimes before, if that it do blow a hard Eaſterly Wind, do always at that Seaſon become Rope-ſick, and do ſpawn and become ſhotten betwixt *Wintertonneſs* and *Orfordneſs*; and thoſe Fry of that Spawn, thoſe young little Creatures, by the Wiſdom of the great Creator, ſeek into the Shore and ſhallow Places, there to be nouriſhed, and alſo into the *Thames* Mouth, into the ſweeteſt Waters; for that the Water nigh the Shore, and in the *Thames* Mouth, is not ſo Brine ſalt as it is farther off into the deep Water, where theſe Bleaks yearly ſeeking to be nouriſhed, they are always at that Seaſon taken and deſtroyed; but, if that theſe Men will needs uſe their Stale-boats and Nets, let them go where the good Sprats be; they muſt then ſtand at *Orfordneſs*, and in *Donwich-bay*, where there be excellent Sprats; and, for the Good of all the Herring Fiſhermen of *England*, I wiſh that they might be prohibited to ſell that which is not wholſome to be eaten, which is as much as to ſell Hemlock for Parſnips.

The next to *Colcheſter* is *Harwich*-water, a Royal Harbour, and a proper Town, fit for the Uſe of Buſſes; no Place in all *Holland* comparable; for there is both Land and Strand, and dry Beach enough for four-hundred Sail; but the chiefeſt Trade of the Inhabitants of this Place, is with Carvels for *Newcaſtle*-coals; but they have three or four Ships yearly that they do ſend to *Iceland* for Cod and Lings, from *March* until *September*, and ſome Years they get, and ſometimes loſe; but, if that they had but once the Trade of Buſſes, this would ſoon be a fine Place; but thoſe Carvels and Ships, which they now have, are all their chiefeſt Wealth.

Six Miles up *Harwich*-water ſtands *Ipſwich*, which is a gallant Town, and rich; this Town is ſuch a Place for the Buſſes, as in all *England* and *Holland* I know no Place ſo convenient: *Firſt*, it is the beſt Place in all *England* for the Building of Buſſes, both for the Plenty of Timber and Plank, and excellent Workmen for making of Ships; there are more there than there is in ſix of the beſt Towns in all *England*: *Secondly*, it is a principal Place for good Houſewives, for Spinning of Yarn, for the Making of Pouldavis, for there is the beſt that is made; which Town, with the Uſe of Making of Twine, will ſoon be the beſt Place of all *England* for to provide Nets for the Buſſes.

It is alſo a moſt convenient Place for the Wintering of the Buſſes, for that all the Shores of that River are altogether oozy and ſoft Ground, fit for them to lie on in Winter.

Alſo the *Ipſwich* * Men are the Chief Merchant-adventurers of all *England* for all the Eaſt-lands, for the *Suffolk* Cloths; and they have their Factors lying all the Year long in all thoſe Places where the *Hollanders* do vent their Herrings, and where the beſt Price and Sale is continually. And, although that yet there be no Fiſhermen, yet have they Store of Sea-faring Men, and, for Maſters of the Buſſes, they may have enough from *Yarmouth* and *Sowld*, and the Sea-coaſt Towns down their River; from *Nacton* and *Chimton*, *Holbroke*, *Shotly*, and *Cowlnes*, they may get Men that will ſoon be good Fiſhermen, with but a little Uſe; for underſtand thus much, that there is a Kind of Emulation in *Holland*, between the Fiſhermen that go to Sea in Pinks and Line-boats, Winter and Summer, and thoſe Fiſhermen that go in the Buſſes; for they in the Pinks make a Scorn of them in the Buſſes, and do call them *Koe-milkens*, or Cow-milkers; for indeed the moſt Part of them be Men of Occupations in Winter, or elſe Countrymen, and do milk the Cows themſelves, and make all the *Holland* Cheeſe, when they be at Home.

This Place is alſo moſt convenient for the erecting of Salt-pans, for the Making of Salt upon Salt; for that the Harbour is ſo good, that at all Times Ships may come up unto them with Salt from *Mayo*, or *Spaniſh* Salt to make the Brine or Pickle, and alſo the Carvels from *Newcaſtle* with Coals, for the Boiling of it at the cheapeſt Rates, at any Time, may come thither.

To the North-eaſt of this Place, three or four Leagues, is *Orford-haven*, and the Towns of *Orford* and *Alborough* eſpecially; where are

* This Town is a moſt fit and convenient Place to make a Staple Town for Corn for all *England*, for the Return and Sale of the Buſſes Herrings from *Dantzick* and *Poland*.

many

many good Fiſhermen; and there are belonging to thoſe Towns ſome forty or fifty North-ſea Boats, that yearly go to Sea, having ſeven Men a-piece, and ten or twelve *Iceland* Barks, which ſometimes get ſomething, and ſometimes little or nothing; if that theſe Men's Wealth were in Buſſes and Nets, and had but once the Trade, they would put down the *Hollanders*, for they are great Pliers of any Voyage that they do undertake.

About three Leagues to the Northward is *Swold-haven*, and in the Towns of *Swold*, *Donwich* *, and *Walderſwicke* is a very good Breed of Fiſhermen; and there are belonging unto thoſe three Towns, of North-ſea Boats, ſome twenty Sail, and of *Iceland* barks ſome fifty Sail, which yearly they ſend for Cod and Lings to *Iceland*: This Town of *Swold*, of a Sea-coaſt Town, is the moſt beneficial unto his Majeſty of all the Towns in *England*, by Reaſon all their Trade is unto *Iceland* for Lings, and his Majeſty's Serjeant-cater hath yearly *gratis*, out of every Ship and Bark, one hundred of the choiceſt and faireſt Lings, which are worth more than ten Pounds the hundred, and they call them Compoſition-fiſh †: But theſe Men of this Place are greatly hindered, and in a Manner undone, by Reaſon their Haven is ſo bad, and in a Manner often ſtopped up with Beach and Chingle-ſtone, that the Wind, and the Tide, and the Sea do beat thither; ſo that, many Times in the Seaſon, when they be ready to go to Sea, they cannot get out, when Time is to go to Sea; neither can they get in when they return from Sea, but oftentimes do caſt away their Goods and themſelves: This Haven, if that it had but a South Pier, built of Timber, would be a far better Haven than *Yarmouth* haven, with one Quarter of the Coſt that hath been beſtowed on *Yarmouth*-haven: They are now Suiters unto his Majeſty, God grant they may ſpeed; for it is pitiful the Trouble and Damage, that all the Men of theſe three Towns do daily ſuſtain, by their naughty Harbour.

To the Northward of *Swold*-haven, three Leagues, are *Kirkley* and *Layeſtof*, decayed Towns; they have ſix or ſeven North-ſea Boats, but they of *Layeſtof* make Benefit yearly of Buying Herrings of the *Hollanders*; for likewiſe theſe *Hollanders* are hoſted with the *Layeſtof-men*, as they be with the *Yarmothians*.

To the Northward, two Leagues, is the Town of *Great-Yarmouth* ‡, very beautifully built, upon a very pleaſant and ſandy Plain, of three Miles in Length: This Town is a Place of great Reſort of all the Herring Fiſhermen of *England*; for thither do reſort all the Fiſhermen of the *Cinque Ports*, and all the reſt of the Weſt-Countrymen of *England*, as far as *Bridport* and *Lime* in *Dorſetſhire*; and thoſe Herrings, that they do take, they do not barrel, becauſe their Boats are but ſmall Things, but they ſell all unto the *Yarmouth* Herring-buyers for ready Money; and alſo the Fiſhermen of the North Countries beyond *Scarborough*, and *Robin Hood*'s Bay, and ſome, as far as the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, do thither reſort yearly, in poor little Boats, called *Five-men-cobbles*; and all the Herrings, that they take, they ſell freſh unto the *Yarmouth*-men to make red Herrings. Alſo to *Yarmouth* do daily come into the Haven up to the Key, all, or the moſt Part of the great Fleet of *Hollanders*, which before I made Relation of, that go in the Sword-pinks, *Holland*-toads, Crab-ſkuits, Walnut-ſhells, and great and ſmall Yeures, one hundred and two-hundred Sail at a Time together; and all their Herrings that they do bring in, they ſell them all for ready Money to the *Yarmouth*-men: And alſo the *Frenchmen* of *Picardy* and *Normandy*, ſome hundred Sail of them at a Time, do come thither, and all the Herrings they catch they ſell freſh unto theſe Herring-mongers of *Yarmouth* for ready Gold; ſo that it amounteth unto a great Sum of Money, that the *Hollanders* and *Frenchmen* do carry away from *Yarmouth* yearly into *Holland* and *France*, which Money doth never come again into *England*. This Town is very well governed by wiſe and civil Magiſtrates, and good Orders are carefully obſerved for the Maintenance of their Haven and Corporation;

* *Donwich*, in ancient Times, hath been the Seat of the Kings of the *Eaſt-Angles*, but now all ruined.

† My Father lived in this Town until he was ninety-eight Years of Age, and gave theſe Compoſition-Lings ſeventy Years, unto four Princes, *viz.* King *Edward*, Queen *Mary*, Queen *Eliſabeth*, and until the ſixth Year of the Reign of our moſt gracious Sovereign, which cometh to much more than one-thouſand Pounds, for one Man of that Town.

‡ In all his Majeſty's Kingdoms there is not any Town comparable unto it for brave Buildings.

and this Town, by Reaſon of the Situation, and the freſh Rivers that belong to it; one up to the City of *Norwich*, and another that runneth far up into *Suffolk*, a Butter and Cheeſe Country, about *Bunga* and *Betkels*; and a Third that runneth far up into *Flegg*, a Corn Country, by Reaſon whereof, I ſay, this Town of *Yarmouth* is always well ſerved with all Kinds of Proviſion at all Times plentifully, at good and cheap Rates, whereby they of the Town do relieve the Strangers, and alſo do benefit themſelves. To this Town belong ſome twenty *Iceland* barks, which yearly they do ſend for Cods and Lings, and ſome hundred and fifty Sail of North-ſea Boats; they make a Shift to live; but, if that they had the Uſe of Buſſes, and alſo Barrel fiſh, they would excell all *England* and *Holland*, for they be the only Fiſhermen for the North Seas, and alſo the beſt for the Handling of their Fiſh that are in all this Land.

The Herring-buyers of *Yarmouth* do profit more than do the Fiſhermen of *Yarmouth*, by Reaſon of the Reſort of the *Hollanders*; for that they are ſuffered to ſell all their rope-ſick Herrings at *Yarmouth*, to the Merchants there; and alſo the Barrel-fiſh, that the *Flemings* do bring in Winter to *London*, do alſo gale them; but becauſe that our Fiſhermen * may, if they pleaſe, make Barrel fiſh themſelves; and therefore I will not mone them.

The Merchant Herring-buyer of *Yarmouth*, that hath a Stock of his own, ſo long as he can make his Gains ſo certain, with the Buying of Rope-ſick Herrings of the *Hollanders*, will never lay out his Money to build or ſet forth Buſſes; and the Fiſhermen are now ſo poor, by Reaſon that they only do bear the whole Charge of that coſtly Haven †, the Merchant Herring-buyers being not at any Charge thereof, but all that great Coſt cometh out of the Fiſhermen's Labours, for the Maintenance of that wooden Haven, which amounteth to ſome five-hundred Pounds a Year, and ſome Years more; ſo that, though they be willing, yet their Ability will not ſuffer them to do it, neither can they forbear their Money for to adventure their Herrings into the Eaſt Countries, where the beſt Sales always be.

To the Northward of *Yarmouth*, eight Leagues, are the Towns of *Blackney* and *Wells*, good Harbours, and fit for Buſſes; and they have good Store of Fiſhermen; and theſe Towns have ſome twenty Sail of Barks, that they do yearly ſend unto *Iceland*; but theſe Towns are greatly decayed, to that they have been in the Times paſt; the which Places, if that they had but twenty Buſſes belonging to them, would grow rich Towns in a ſhort Time.

Then is there *Lynn*, a proper gallant Town for Sea-faring Men, and for Men for *Iceland*; this is a rich Town, and they have ſome twenty Sail of *Iceland* Ships, that they yearly ſend for Cods and Lings; and I am in Hopes to ſee them fall to the Uſe of Buſſes as ſoon as any Men.

To the Northward is *Boſton*, a proper Town, and like unto *Holland* Soil for low Grounds, and Sands coming in; but yet there are but few Fiſhermen; but it is a moſt fit Place for Buſſes; if that they had but once the Taſte of them, they would ſoon find good Liking.

Next to *Boſton*, ſome twenty Leagues to the *Northward*, is the great River of *Humber*, wherein there is *Hull*, a very proper Town for Sailors and Shipping, but there are but few Fiſhermen; yet it is a moſt convenient Place for to adventure Buſſes.

There are alſo *Grimſbey*, *Paul*, and *Pattrington*: In all theſe Places now there is great Store of poor and idle People, that know not how to live, and the moſt of all theſe Places are decayed, and the beſt of them all grow worſe and worſe, which, with the Uſe of Buſſes, would ſoon grow rich Merchant-Towns, as are in *Holland*; for to theſe Places would be tranſported out of the *Eaſt-lands*, all Manner of Commodities, for the Uſe of Buſſes, and Houſes and Work-yards erected for Coopers, and Rope makers, and great Numbers of Net-makers; and with the Recourſe of the Ships that ſhall bring Salt, and other Commodities, and Ships that ſhall lade away their Herrings and Fiſh, theſe Places will ſoon become populous, and Money ſtir plentifully in theſe Places, returned for the Produce of Fiſh and Herrings; which Places now are exceeding poor and beggarly.

In all theſe Fiſher-Towns that I have before

* *Ipſwich*, *Lynn*, and *Hull*.

† *Yarmouth* Haven is the only Refuge in Diſtreſs of Weather, for all the Fiſhermen of the *Cinque Ports*, and all others that do fiſh in thoſe Seas; and it is built all of Timber, againſt the Violence of the main Sea: It is now in great Danger to run to Ruin, if it have not Help in Time.

named,

named, as *Colcheſter*, *Harwich*, *Orford*, *Alborough*, *Donwich*, *Walderſwick*, *Swold*, *Yarmouth*, *Blackney*, *Wells*, *Lynn*, *Boſton*, and *Hull*: Theſe are all the chiefeſt Towns, and to all, that uſe the North ſeas in Summer, all theſe Towns, it is well known, are ruinated.

In all theſe Towns, I know to be o—o *Iceland* Barks, and o—o North-ſea Boats, and all theſe, Fiſhermen having o—o Men a-piece, amount to the Sum of o—o. But, admit that there is in all the Weſt Country of *England*, of Fiſher-boats, tag and rag, that bring Home all freſh Fiſh, which ſeldom or never uſe any Salt: Say that they have o—o Men a-piece, which make the Sum of o—o in all *England*; but, in all theſe, I have not reckoned the Fiſher-men, Mackarel-catchers, nor the Cobble-men of the North Country, which, having o—o Men a-piece, come to ſo many Men in all *England* *.

But ſo many in all *England*; and I have truly ſhewed before, that the *Hollander* hath, in one Fleet of Buſſes, Twenty-thouſand Fiſhermen, beſides all them that go in the Sword-pinks, Flat-bottoms, Crab-skuits, Walnut-ſhells, and great Yeuers, wherein there are not leſs then Twelve-thouſand more, and all theſe are only for to catch Herrings in the North Seas.

Beſides all them that go in the Fly-boats, for *Scotland* Lings, and the Pinks for barreled Fiſh, and Trammel boats, which come unto Five-thouſand more.

So that it is moſt true, that as they have the Sum of o o Fiſhermen more than there is in all this Land; and by Reaſon of their Buſſes and Pinks, and Fiſhermen that ſet their Merchant-ſhips on Work, as that they have o - o Fiſhermen more than we have, ſo have they o—o and o—o Ships and Mariners more than we.

Now, in our Sum of o—o Fiſhermen, let us ſee what Vent we have for our Fiſh into other Countries, and what Commodities and Coin are brought into this Kingdom, and what Ships are ſet on Work by them, whereby Mariners are bred, or employed; nor one: It is pitiful.

For, when our Fiſhermen come Home, the firſt Voyage from the North Seas, they go either to *London*, *Ipſwich*, *Yarmouth*, *Lynn*, *Hull*, or *Scarborough*, and there they do ſell at good Rates, the firſt Voyage; but, the ſecond Voyage, becauſe that they, which be now the Fiſhermen, have not yet the right Uſe of making barreled Fiſh wherewith they might ſerve *France* as do the *Hollanders*, they are now conſtrained to ſell in *England*, for that it is ſtaple Fiſh, and not being barreled, the *French* will not buy it.

But if that our Fiſhermen had but, once the Uſe of Pinks and Line-boats, and barreled Fiſh, then they might ſerve *France* as well as the *Hollanders*; which by this new Trade of Buſſes being once erected, and Pinks and Line-boats, after the *Holland* Manner, there will be Fiſhermen enough to manage the Pinks for barreled Fiſh, from *November* unto the Beginning of *May*, only the moſt Part of thoſe Men that ſhall be maintained by the Buſſes; for that, when the Buſſes do leave Work in the Winter, their Men ſhall have Employment by the Pinks, for barreled Fiſh, which Men, now, do little or nothing; for, this laſt Winter at *Yarmouth*, there were Three-hundred idle Men that could get nothing to do, living very poor for Lack of Employment, which moſt gladly would have gone to Sea in Pinks, if there had been any for them to go in.

And whereas I before ſaid, that there was not one Ship ſet on Work by our Fiſhermen, there may be objected againſt me this:

That there do every Year commonly lade, at *Yarmouth*, four or five *London* Ships for the *Streights*, which is ſometimes true; and the *Yarmouth* Men themſelves do yearly ſend two or three Ships to *Bourdeaux*, and two or three Boats laden with Herrings to *Roan*, or to *Nantz*, or *St. Maloes*, whereby there is returned Salt, Wines, *Normandy* Canvas, whereby the King hath ſome Cuſtom; but there is no Money returned into *England* for theſe Herrings, which coſt the *Yarmothians* ready Gold, before that they had them of the *Hollanders*, and *Frenchmen*, to lade theſe Ships; and, therefore, I may boldly ſay, not one.

And this laſt Year, now, the *Hollanders* themſelves have alſo gotten that Trade; for there did lade twelve Sails of *Holland* Ships with Red-herrings at *Yarmouth*, for *Civita Vecchia*, *Leghorn*, *Genoa*, *Marſeilles*, and *Toulon*, moſt of them being laden by the *Engliſh* Merchants;

* I crave Pardon, for that I omit the particular Numbers and total Sum, which I could here ſet down, if I were commanded, ſays the Author.

ſo

ſo that, if this be ſuffered, the *Engliſh* Owners of Ships ſhall have but ſmall Employment for theirs *.

Now to ſhew truly, what the whole Charge of a Buſs will be, with all her Furniture, as Maſts, Sails, Anchors, Cables, and with her Fiſher's Implements and Appurtenances, at the firſt provided all new, is a great Charge; ſhe, being *between thirty or forty Laſts, will coſt ſome Five-hundred Pounds.*

By the Grace of God, the Ship or Buſs will continue twenty Years with ſmall Coſt and Reparations; but the *yearly Slite and Wear of her Tackle, and War-ropes, and Nets, will coſt ſome eighty Pounds.*

And the whole Charge for the Keeping of her at Sea for the whole Summer, or three Voyages, for the Filling of a hundred Laſts of Caſks, or Barrels:

| | *l.* |
|---|---|
| For One-hundred Laſt of Barrels | 72 |
| For Salt four Months | 88 |
| For Beer four Months | 42 |
| For Bread four Months | 21 |
| For Bacon and Butter | 18 |
| For Peaſe four Months | 03 |
| For Billet four Months | 03 |
| For Men's Wages four Months | 88 |
| | 335 |

A hundred Laſts of Barrels, filled and ſold at ten † Pounds the Laſt, come to One-thouſand Pounds.

| | |
|---|---|
| Herrings | 1000 *l.* |
| The whole Charge | 335 |
| Gotten | 0665 |

Here plainly appeareth, that there is gotten Six-hundred and Sixty-five Pounds in one Summer, whereout, if that you do deduct One-hundred Pounds for the Wear of the Ship, and the Reparations of her Nets againſt the next Summer, *yet ſtill there is Five-hundred and ſixty-five Pounds remaining for clear Gains, by one Buſs, in one Year.*

The *Hollanders* do make the Profit of their Buſſes ſo certain, that they do lay out their own Children's Money, given them by their deceaſed Friends, in adventuring in the Buſſes: And alſo, there is in *Holland* a Treaſury for Orphans, opened and laid out in adventuring in the Buſſes.

The *Hollanders* do make both a profitable, and a pleaſant Trade of this Summer-fiſhing; for there was one of them, that having a gallant great new Buſs of his own, and he having a Daughter married unto one, which was his Mate in the Buſs; and the Owner, that was Maſter of this Buſs, did take his Wife with him Abroad, and his Mate his Wife, and ſo they did ſet Sail for the North Seas, with the two Women with them, the Mother and the Daughter; where having a fair Wind, and being fiſhing in the North Seas, they had ſoon filled their Buſs with Herrings, and a Herring Yager cometh unto them, and brings them Gold and freſh Supplies, and copeth with them, and taketh in their Herrings for ready Money, and delivereth them more Barrels and Salt, and away goeth the Yager for the firſt Market into *Sprucia*, and ſtill is the Buſs fiſhing at Sea, and ſoon after again was fully laden borne Home; but then another Yager cometh unto him, as did the former, and delivering them more Proviſion of Barrels and Salt, and ready Money, and bid them Farewel; and ſtill lieth at Sea with the Mother and Daughter ſo long, and not very long, before they had again all their Barrels full, and then they ſailed Home into *Holland*, with the two Women, and the Buſs laden with Herrings, and a thouſand Pounds of ready Money.

If that any Man ſhould make any Queſtion of the Truth of this, it will be very credibly proved, by divers of good Credit, that are now in the City of *London*.

Now to ſhew the Charge of a Pink of eighteen or twenty Laſts, the Pink being built new, and all Things new unto her, will not coſt Two-hundred and ſixty Pounds, with all her Lines, Hooks, and all her Fiſher Appurtenances.

| | *l.* |
|---|---|
| And fifteen Laſts of Barrels will coſt | 10 |
| Five Weighs of Salt upon Salt | 15 |

* Note here, how the *Hollanders* employ themſelves and their Ships, firſt in taking of the Herrings quick, and yet are not content, but catch them again after they be dead, and do ſet both their Ships and Mariners on Work, and *Engliſh* Ships lie up a rotting.

† I have rated the Herrings but at ten Pounds the Laſt, which is with the leaſt, for they be commonly ſold by the *Hollanders* at *Daptzick*, for fifteen and twenty Pounds the Laſt.

For

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| For Beer and Caſks | | 07 |
| For Bread | —— —— | 03 |
| For Butter | —— —— | 01 |
| For the Petty-tally | —— | 01 |
| For Men's Wages for two more Months, and all together | | 20 |
| | | 57 |

Fifteen Laſts of barreled Fiſh, at fourteen Pounds and eight Shillings the Laſt, which is but twenty-four Shillings the Barrel, amount unto Two-hundred and ſixteen Pounds; whereout, if you do deduct fifty-ſeven Pounds, for the Charge of ſetting her to Sea, there is ſtill reſting One-hundred and fifty-eight Pounds, clear Gains, by one Pink, with fifteen Laſts of Fiſh, for two Months.

Wherefore, ſeeing the Profit ſo plainly, and, by the Grace of God, ſo certain, both by the Buſſes and Line-boats, whereby the *Hollanders* have ſo long gained, let all noble, worſhipful, and wealthy Subjects put too their adventuring and helping Hands, for the ſpeedy Launching and Floating forward of this great and good Commonwealth Buſineſs, for the Strengthening of his Majeſty's Dominions with two principal Pillars, which is, with Plenty of Coin brought in for Fiſh, and Herrings, from other Nations; and alſo for the Increaſing of Mariners againſt all foreign Invaſions, and alſo for the Bettering of Trades and Occupations, and Setting of Thouſands of poor and idle People on Work, which now know not how to live, which, by this Trade of the Buſſes, ſhall be employed, as daily we ſee is done before our Eyes by the *Hollanders*. And as always it hath been ſeen, that thoſe, that are now the Fiſhermen of *England*, have been always found to be ſufficient to ſerve his Majeſty's Ships in former Time, when there has been Employment; which Fellows, by this new Trade of Building, and Setting forth Buſſes, will be greatly multiplied and increaſed in this Land; which Fellows, as we ſee the *Hollanders*, being well fed in Fiſher-affairs, and ſtrong and luſtier than the Sailors, that uſe the long Southern Voyages, that ſometimes are greatly ſurfeited, and hunger-pined: But theſe courageous, young, luſty, ſtrong-fed Yonkers, that ſhall be bred in the Buſſes, when his Majeſty ſhall have Occaſion for their Service in War againſt the Enemy, will be Fellows for the Nonce, and will ſhew themſelves right *Engliſh*, and will put more Strength to an iron Crow, at a Piece of great Ordnance in traverſing of a Cannon, or Culvering, with the Direction of the experienced Maſter Gunner, than two or three of the fore-named ſurfeited * Sailors; and in Diſtreſs of Wind, grown Sea, and foul Winter's Weather, for flying forward to their Labour, for pulling in a Top-ſail, or a Sprit-ſail, or ſhaking of a Bonnet in a dark Night; for Wet and Cold cannot make them ſhrink, nor ſtain, whom the North Seas, and the Buſſes, and Pinks, have dyed in Grain for ſuch Purpoſes.

And whoſoever ſhall go to Sea, for Captain to command in Martial-Affairs, or take Charge for Maſter in Trade of Merchandiſe (as in Times paſt I have done both) will make Choice of theſe Fellows; for I have ſeen their Reſolution, in the Face of their Enemy, when they have been *legramenta*, and frolick, and as forward as about their ordinary Labours or Buſineſs.

And, when his Majeſty ſhall have Occaſion and Employment for the furniſhing of his Navy, there will be no Want of Maſters, Pilots, Commanders, and ſufficient Directors of a Courſe, and Keeping of Computation; but now there is a pitiful Want of ſufficient good Men † to do the Offices and Labours before ſpoken of; all which theſe Men of the Buſſes and Pinks will worthily ſupply.

And to the Art of Sailing they may happily attain; for hitherto it hath been commonly ſeen, that thoſe Men that have been brought up in their Youth, in Fiſhery, have deſerved as well as any in the Land for Artificial Sailing; for at this Time are practiſed all the Projections of Circular and Mathematical Scales, and Arithmetical Sailing, by divers of the young Men of the Sea-coaſt Towns, even as commonly amongſt them, as amongſt the *Thameſers* ‡.

Beſides all the *Hollanders* before ſpoken of,

* Drunken and debauched.

† It is not unknown, that, this laſt Year, there was a general Preſs along the Coaſt of *England*, from *Hull* in *Yorkſhire*, unto St. *Michael's Mount* in *Cornwall*, only for Sailors to furniſh but ſeven Ships, for the Wafting over the Count *Palatine*, and his moſt noble Princeſs, but twenty-eight Leagues.

‡ The Navigators in the River *Thames*.

the *Frenchmen* of *Picardy* have alſo a hundred Sail of Fiſhermen, only for Herrings, on his Majeſty's Seas every Year, in the Summer-ſeaſon *; and they are almoſt like unto the Buſſes; but they have not any Yagers that come unto them, but they do lade themſelves, and return Home twice every Year, and find great Profit by their making but of two Voyages every Summer-ſeaſon.

And it is much to be lamented, that we having ſuch a plentiful Country, and ſuch Store of able and idle People, that not one of his Majeſty's Subjects are there to be ſeen, all the whole Summer, to fiſh, or to take one Herring: But only the North-ſea Boats of the Sea coaſt Towns, that go to take Cods, they do take ſo many, as they need to bait their Hooks, and no more †.

We are daily ſcorned by theſe *Hollanders*, for being ſo negligent of our Profit, and careleſs of our Fiſhing; and they do daily flout us that be the poor Fiſhermen of *England*, to our Faces at Sea, calling to us, and ſaying, *Ya* Engliſh, *ya zall, or oud ſcoue dragien*, which in *Engliſh* is this: *You* Engliſh, *we will make you glad for to wear our old Shoes.*

And likewiſe the *French* Men ſay we are apiſh, for that we do ſtill imitate them in all needleſs and fantaſtical Jags and Faſhions; as it is moſt true, indeed; for that they have no Faſhion amongſt them in Apparel, nor Lace, Points, Gloves, Hilts, nor Garters, even from the ſpangled Shoe-lachet, unto the ſpangled Hat and Hat-band, be it never ſo idle and coſtly, but, after that we do once get it, it is far bettered by our Nation.

Wherefore, ſeeing that we can excel all other Nations, waſtefully, to ſpend Money, let us, in one Thing, learn of other Nations, to get Thouſands out of his Majeſty's Seas, and to make a general Profit of the Benefits that Almighty God doth yearly ſend unto us, in far greater Abundance than the Fruit of our Trees; which, although they be more chargeable in the gathering together, yet is the Profit far greater unto this Kingdom, and Commonwealth of all his Majeſty's Subjects, increaſing the Wealth of the Adventurers; as alſo, for the inriching of Merchants, and maintaining of Trades, Occupations, and employing of Ships, and increaſing of Mariners, which now do but little or nothing; as alſo, for the ſetting of poor and idle People on Work, which now know not how to live; and to teach many a tall Fellow to know the proper Names of the Ropes in a Ship, and to hale the Bow-line, that now, for Lack of Employment, many ſuch, by the Inconvenience of idle Living, are compelled to end their Days with a Rope, by an untimely Death ‡; which, by the Employment of the Buſſes, might be well avoided, and they, in Time, become right honeſt, ſerviceable, and truſty Subjects.

Here, ſince my Book came to the Preſs, I have been credibly certified, by ‖ Men of good Worth (being Fiſhmongers) that ſince *Chriſtmas* laſt, unto this Day §, there hath been paid to the *Hollanders*, here in *London*, only for barreled Fiſh, and *Holland* Lings, the Sum of Twelve-thouſand Pounds.

And, laſt of all, if that there be any of the worſhipful Adventurers, that would have any Directions for the Building of theſe Buſſes, or Fiſher-ſhips; becauſe I know that the Ship-carpenters of *England* are not yet ſkilful in this Matter; wherefore, if that any ſhall be pleaſed to repair to me, I will be willing to give them Directions, and plain Projections, and Geometrical Demonſtrations, for the right Building of them, both for Length, Breadth, and Depth; and alſo for their Mould under Water; and alſo for the Contriving of their Rooms, and the Laying of their Gear **, according the *Hollanders* Faſhion.

* Some of theſe are three and four-ſcore Tons the Burthen.

† The *Hollanders* do yearly take ſo many, as they do make more than Two-millions of Pounds Sterling. And we, his Majeſty's Subjects, do take no more then to bait our Hooks, *ſays the Author.*

‡ The Sailors Proverb: *The Sea and the Gallows refuſe none.*

‖ Mr. *William Snelling*, Mr. *Stephen Topley*, and divers others of the Company of *Fiſhmongers.*

§ 18 *Feb.* 1641.

** And for providing of their Cordage, and Nets, after the neateſt and cheapeſt Rates.

## *The* States *Proclamation, tranſlated out of* Dutch.

THE States-General of the *United Provinces* of the *Low-Countries*, unto all thoſe that ſhall ſee or hear theſe Preſents, Greeting: We let to weet, that whereas it is well known, that the great Fiſhing, and Catching of Herrings, is the chiefeſt Trade, *and principal Gold-Mine* of theſe United Countries, whereby many Thouſands of Houſholds, Families, Handicrafts, Trades and Occupations, are ſet on Work, well maintained, and proſper; eſpecially the Sailing and Navigation, as well within, as without theſe Countries, is kept in great Eſtimation: Moreover, many Returns of Money, with the Increaſe of the Means, Convoys, Cuſtoms, and Revenues of theſe Countries, are augmented thereby and proſper; and, foraſmuch as there are made, from Time to Time, many good Orders concerning the Catching, Salting, and beneficial Uttering of the ſaid Herrings, to the End to preſerve and maintain the ſaid chief Trade, in the *United Provinces*; which Trade, by divers Encounters, of ſome that ſeek their own Gain, is envied, in reſpect of the great Good it bringeth to the United Countries: And we are informed, that a new Device is put in Practice, to the Prejudice of the Trade, to tranſport out of the United Countries, into other Countries, Staves for Herring-barrels made here, and half Herring-barrels, put into other Barrels, and Nets, to croſs the good Orders and Policy here intended to them of theſe Countries, for the Catching, Salting, and Selling the Herrings, dreſſed in other Countries, after the Order of theſe Countries, whereby *this chief Trade ſhould be decayed here*, and the Inhabitants of theſe Countries damnified, if that we make no Proviſion in Time againſt ſuch Practices; therefore we, after mature Judgment and Deliberation, have forbidden and interdicted, and by theſe Preſents do forbid and interdict, all, and every one, as well Home-born and Inhabitants, as Strangers frequenting theſe Parts, to take up any Herring-barrels, or half ones prepared, or any Kind of Nets, in any Ship, Town, or Haven, of the *United Provinces*, to be ſent into other Countries, or Places, upon Pain of Confiſcation of the ſame, and the Ship alſo wherein they ſhall be found, beſides the Penalty of Two-hundred of *Netherlandiſh* ſilver Royals, for the firſt Time; and for the ſecond Time, above Confiſcation of Ship and Goods, Four-hundred of the ſaid Royals of Silver; and for the third Time, above Confiſcation of Ship and Goods, and Six-hundred of the ſaid Royals of Silver, corporal Puniſhment: All which Confiſcations, and Penalties, ſhall be diſtributed, one third Part to the Profit of the Plaintiff, one third Part to the Poor, and one third Part to the Officers, where the ſaid Confiſcation ſhall be demanded: And not only they ſhall incur this Penalty, which after ſhall be taken in the Deed, but they alſo, that within one Year after the Deed ſhall be convicted; and that none may pretend Ignorance, and that this Order may be in all Places duly obſerved, and the Offenders puniſhed according to Juſtice, We will and require, our dear and well-beloved Eſtates, Governors, Deputies of the Council, and the Eſtates of the reſpective Provinces of *Guelderland*, and the County of *Satfill* in *Holland*, *Weſt-Friezland*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, *Friezland*, *Merizel*, the Town of *Groyning*, and the circumjacent Places, and to all Juſtices and Officers, that they cauſe to be publiſhed in all Places, and proclaimed, where the uſual Proclamation and Publication is made: We do charge alſo the Chancellors, and Provincial Council, and the Council of the Admiralty, the Advocatiſtical, and the Procurators General, and all other Officers, Judges, and Juſtices of theſe *United Provinces*, and to all general Colonies, Admirals, and Vice-Admirals, Captains, Officers, and Commanders, to perform, and cauſe to be performed, this Order and Commandment; and to proceed, and cauſe to be proceeded againſt the Offenders, without Grace, Favour, Diſſimulation, or Compoſition: Becauſe we have found it neceſſary, for the Good and Benefit of the ſaid *United Provinces*. Dated in *Hague*, this 19th of *July*.

The Royal Fiſhing Revived. Wherein is demonſtrated, from what Cauſes the *Dutch* have upon the Matter ingroſſed the Fiſhing Trade in his Majeſty's Seas, wherein the Principles of all the Trades they drive in the World are chiefly founded: As alſo from what Cauſes the *Engliſh* have loſt the Fiſhing Trade, to the Endangering the ſmall Remainder of the Trades they yet enjoy. Together with Expedients by which the Fiſhing Trade may be redeemed by the *Engliſh*; and Propoſals for Carrying on ſo great a Work. Humbly offered to the Conſideration of the King and Parliament. *London*, printed by *Thomas Ratcliffe* for the Author, 1670. *Quarto*, containing twelve Pages.

*Here we are preſented with the State of the Fiſhery in the* Britiſh *Seas, when King* Charles II. *ſeemed inclined to maintain the Right of his Subjects, and to protect them in the Employment of that valuable Branch of Trade. It is but ſhort, but it methodically and rationally gives us the Advantages which the* Dutch *gain by that Trade, with the Reaſon of thoſe Advantages: The Hinderances, which obſtruct the* Engliſh *in the Proſecution thereof: The Means whereby the* Engliſh *may redeem the Fiſhing Trade: And ſo concludes with Propoſals for Carrying on this great Work.*

ADvantages the *Dutch* have in the Fiſhing Trade, with the Reaſons of them; *viz.*

1. Multitudes of Men, above any other Nation.

2. Cheapneſs of Building all Sorts of Ships for this Trade, above any other Place.

3. Their convenient Building Ships for this Trade, above any other Place.

4. Greatneſs of Vent in Foreign Trade for all Sorts of Commodities, returned in Barter for their Fiſh, above any other Place.

5. Their Excellency in Packing and Curing all Sorts of Fiſh (except Red-Herrings) above any other Place.

*The Reaſons.*

*Firſt*, Their Multitudes of Mariners and Fiſhermen proceed not from the Conveniency of their Coaſts, for all the Fiſh they take are generally upon the Coaſts of *England*, *Scotland*, and the *Orcades*; and ſo might be more conveniently caught by us: Nor from the Conveniency of their Harbours, ours in Number and Excellency far exceeding theirs: But from the Freedom that they give People of all Nations, above any other Place; whereby thoſe People enjoying what they deſire, and being kept in conſtant Employment, are no Way ſubject to Sedition or Murmur againſt the State; to the incomparable Strengthening as well as Inriching thereof.

*Secondly*, The Cheapneſs of their Building Ships for this Trade proceeds: 1. From the great Quantities and Cheapneſs of Timber they have down the *Rhine* and *Maeze*, as alſo out of *Norway*, and the *Baltick* Sea, in Return of the Fiſh and other Commodities vented there by

by them. 2. Cheapneſs of Pitch, Tar, Hemp, and Iron, &c. above any other Place, which are in great Meaſures returned upon the Product of their Fiſh. 3. Lowneſs for Intereſt of Money, above any other Place.

*Thirdly*, Their convenient building of Ships for this Trade, is from the Encouragement and Freedom they give to all Sorts of Builders of all Nations, whereby Ingenuity and Induſtry is improved, as alſo the Builders, above any other Place.

*Fourthly*, The Greatneſs of Vent of all Sorts of Commodities, returned in Product of the Fiſh, is from the Lowneſs of their Cuſtoms for the ſame, and Lowneſs of Intereſt Money; Conveniency and Cheapneſs of Shipping, above any other Place.

*Fifthly*, The Excellency and Reputation of Curing and Packing their Fiſh, proceeds from the careful Inſpection of the States of the *United Netherlands*, above any other Place; and their Curing on Ship-board, and then Repacking.

Theſe Advantages have been in Proceſs of Time ſo well improved by the *Dutch*, that they have not only gained to themſelves almoſt the ſole Fiſhing in his Majeſty's Seas; but principally upon this Account have very near beat us out of all our other moſt profitable Trades in all Parts of the World: Nor have the *Engliſh* any Reaſon to hope to retain the Reſidue of thoſe Trades, which they yet enjoy, unleſs they may be relieved in the Fiſhing Trade, from theſe Diſadvantages and Inconveniences following; which are,

*Firſt*, Scarcity of People: Although the Coaſt of *England*, with a Limitation of five Miles from it, will maintain more People than all the *United Netherlands*.

*Secondly*, Dearneſs of building Ships for this Trade; ſo that a *Dutch* Ship, of equal Dimenſion, is built for half the Price.

*Thirdly*, Inconvenient Building of Shipping; ſo as a *Dutch* Ship, of equal Bigneſs, is ſailed with half the Hands.

*Fourthly*, Want of Vent for all Sorts of Commodities, returned in Barter for the Fiſh in Foreign Trade.

*Fifthly*, The negligent and corrupt Curing of Fiſh by the *Engliſh*, (except Red-Herrings) whereby their Reputation is far leſs than thoſe that are cured by the *Dutch*.

*The Reaſons.*

*Firſt*, Scarcity of People upon the Coaſt of *England*, is occaſioned by our Peopling the *American* Plantations, the Re-peopling *Ireland*, ſince the great Maſſacre there, the late great Plague in the Year 1665, and the Law againſt Naturaliſation, which permits no Foreigner to partake equal Freedom with the *Engliſh* in this Trade; and Corporations, which reſtrain the Freedom of this Trade, to the very few Freemen of them.

*Secondly*, Dearneſs of Shipping for this Trade proceeds: 1. From the Dearneſs and Scarcity of Timber in *England*. 2. From the Act of Navigation, which not only reſtrains the Importation of Timber, Pitch, Tar, Hemp, and Iron, to theſe dear built Ships, and the Ships of the Natives of the Places, from whence they are had, whether they have Ships or not, but alſo it gives Freedom to the *Dutch* to import all Sorts of Manufactories made of theſe Growths, which they acquire for half the Price the *Engliſh* can; whereby the *Engliſh* Nation have wholly loſt the Trade for fitting up Ships, for this, or any other Trade.

*Thirdly*, The inconvenient Building of Ships for this Trade, is from reſtraining the Building of Ships to the *Engliſh* only, who are very few, and know no other Way.

*Fourthly*, The Want of Vent for all Sorts of Commodities, returned in Barter for Fiſh, proceeds: 1. From the Greatneſs of the Cuſtoms upon thoſe Commodities, which are twenty Times more than in the *United Netherlands*. 2. The Dearneſs of the Ships in which they muſt be vented. 3. The Inconveniency of thoſe Ships, compared with the *Dutch*, for any Foreign Trade with thoſe Commodities. 4. The Height of Intereſt of Money here in *England*, above the *United Netherlands*; ſo as, beſides the Height of Cuſtoms, theſe Ships of the *Engliſh* being twice ſo dear, and failed with double the Hands that thoſe of the *United Netherlands* are, and paying above one Third Intereſt more, the *Engliſh* Merchant is here neceſſarily incumbent to a three-fold Charge, more than the *Dutch* Merchant.

*Fifthly*, The negligent and corrupt Curing of Fiſh, caught by the *Engliſh*, proceeds from the Want of a conſtant Council of Trade, which may inſpect and govern the Fiſhing-Trade.

*The*

## *The Expedients whereby the* Engliſh *may redeem the Fiſhing-Trade.*

*FIRST*, For a Supply of Men, upon all Occaſions, to carry on this great Work, it is propoſed, that it may be free for all Sorts of Foreigners to partake and enjoy equal Freedom, with the natural Subjects of *England*, in their Perſons and Eſtates, in the Fiſhing-Trade; and that all poſſible Security and Encouragement be given to all Sorts of Foreigners who ſhall aſſiſt us therein.

*Secondly*, That all Reſtraints by the Freedom of Corporations be taken away, and no Perſon excluded in this Trade.

*Thirdly*, That all Sorts of begging Perſons, and all other poor People (not ſick, or impotent) may be employed therein.

*Fourthly*, That all People, condemned for leſs Crimes than Blood, be compelled to redeem their Crimes, and in ſome Meaſure to make Compenſation by extraordinary Labour in this Trade.

*Fifthly*, That all Perſons in Priſon for Debt, and not able to pay, may be employed therein.

*Sixthly*, That the Act of Navigation be repealed, whereby all Sorts of Foreign Ships may be employed in this Trade: And that it be free to import Pitch, Tar, Hemp, Iron, and Timber, whereby the *Engliſh* may be enabled to employ all thoſe Hands in fitting up Ships for this Trade, as well as the *Dutch*.

*Seventhly*, That all Cuſtoms for Commodities, returned for the Fiſh, vented in Foreign Parts, be taken off, and an equal Exciſe to be impoſed in Lieu thereof; ſo that, as Multitudes and Concourſe of People increaſe, and by Conſequence a greater Conſumption, his Majeſties Revenue will thereby be proportionably increaſed, without any Prejudice to this Trade.

*Eighthly*, That the Statute, *de Donis Conditionalibus*, may ſtand in Force, ſo that Fines ſhall be no Bar to the Heirs in Tail, nor Recoveries to thoſe in Remainder; whereby a Stock, as well in this Trade as others, of all thoſe Monies, which are ſpent in Buying and Mortgaging Land, will generate into a common Bank of Trade; and thoſe numerous Companies of other Bankers, Uſurers, Scriveners, and Sollicitors, will be neceſſitated to ſeek better Means of Living, and thereby the Vanity of luxurious Perſons, reſtrained to the Bounds of their Eſtates: As alſo the Intereſt of Money will become as low here, as in the *United Netherlands*.

*Ninthly*, Yet, for Encouraging Foreigners to inhabit and plant, as well as trade with us, it may be lawful for all Foreigners to purchaſe Lands here, to them and their Heirs; whereby the Nation would be inriched as well as peopled; and whereby vaſt Sums of Money, which are now employed by the *Dutch* at Intereſt, to the Impoveriſhing the Nation, might be converted to the Inriching of it.

*Tenthly*, That all poſſible Encouragement be given as well to Foreigners as Natives, for Building Ships for this Trade, in *Ireland*, *Virginia*, and *New-England*.

*Eleventhly*, That a conſtant Council of Trade be erected by Parliament, which may inſpect this Trade; and during the Intervals, with his Majeſty's Approbation, may make By-Laws until the next Seſſion of Parliament.

## *Propoſals for carrying on this great Work.*

*FIRST*, That Commiſſioners be impowered by Act of Parliament, to enquire into all Abuſes and Deceits in the Management and Government of Hoſpitals, and of all Concealments and Miſ-converſions of any Part of the Revenues thereof; and that Care be taken for the future to improve the Revenues of the ſaid Hoſpitals to the beſt Advantage; and that all ſuch Monies, concealed or miſ-employed, together with the Improvements and Overplus (over and above what ſhall be neceſſarily laid out for the Maintenance and Repairs of the ſaid Hoſpitals, *&c.*) may be brought into his Majeſty's Bank for Carrying on the Royal Fiſhing.

*Secondly*, That the ſaid Commiſſioners enquire what Sums of Monies at any Time have been given to Charitable Uſes and are concealed, or have been miſ-employed by any Perſons to whoſe Truſt the ſame were committed: And that all ſuch Monies may be brought into the Bank, for Carrying on the Royal Fiſhing.

*Thirdly*, That one Year's Value of the Annual Aſſeſſments to the Poor, may be advanced by the reſpective Pariſhes of *England*, to be employed in Buying and Building convenient Houſes, and for a Stock in ſetting the Poor at Work, to carry on the Royal Fiſhing:

ing: By Means whereof the Charge of maintaining the Poor, in all Pariſhes, will proportionally leſſen, to the univerſal Eaſement and Benefit of the whole Nation.

*Fourthly*, That ſome Reaſons for altering or repealing the Statute of 43 *Eliſ. c.* 2. intituled, *Who ſhall be Overſeers for the Poor, their Office, Duty, and Accounts*, may be conſidered, for the Benefit of the Royal Fiſhing.

*Fifthly*, That the Children of all lazy and idle Perſons, living upon Foreſts, Waſtes, and Chaces, may be employed in the Royal Fiſhing, and that thoſe Waſtes may be improved for a Publick Good, and the Revenue ariſing thereby employed, for Carrying on the Royal Fiſhing.

*Sixthly*, That all Victuallers, Higlers, Badgers, *&c.* formerly licenſed by Mayors and Juſtices of the Peace, *&c.* may be hereafter licenſed by Commiſſioners impowered by Act of Parliament, and the Fees and Profits, ariſing thereby, be likewiſe employed for Carrying on the Royal Fiſhing.

*Seventhly*, Whereas there was obtained, beyond Sea, a Grant from his Majeſty for thirty-one Years, of the Home-vent of Coals from the River of *Tyne*, upon Pretence of five-hundred Pounds Fine, and 1838 Pounds 12 Shilling Annual Rent, when as the ſame might have been leaſed out by his Majeſty for near 10000 Pounds, *per Annum*, if his Majeſty had been rightly informed of the Value thereof; wherefore, it is propoſed, that, by his Majeſty's Permiſſion, the ſaid Grant may be vacated in Parliament; and his Majeſty be at Liberty to let it for the beſt Advantage. And that his Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed, that the Improvement of the Rent thereof may go towards the Support of the Royal Fiſhing.

*Eighthly*, That like Duties may be impoſed upon the Vent of Coals from *Sunderland*, as are at *Newcaſtle*, to be employed in the Royal Fiſhing.

*Ninthly*, That all ſuch Sum or Sums of Money, which ſince his Majeſty's Reſtoration have been raiſed and collected upon Subſcriptions and Benevolences for the Uſe of the Fiſhery, and do ſtill remain in the Hands of the Collectors, Treaſurers, and others, who ought to account for the ſame, may be forthwith reduced into his Majeſty's Bank, for Carrying on the Royal Fiſhing.

*Tenthly*, That his Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to grant, that all Diſcoveries within his Majeſty's Gift, not yet diſcovered nor granted away by his Majeſty (after a reaſonable and fitting Reward ſecured to the Diſcoverer or Diſcoverers out of the ſame) ſhall go towards the Support of the Royal Fiſhing.

*Eleventhly*, That all Houſes built upon new Foundations within the City and Suburbs of *London*, ſince the Year 1657, except ſuch Houſes as have been conſumed by Fire, may pay a Fine to the Value of one Year's Rent, to be employed towards the Carrying on the Royal Fiſhing.

*Twelfthly*, That his Majeſty will be pleaſed to grant, that all Fines and Forfeitures, not already granted away by his Majeſty, may go towards the Carrying on the Royal Fiſhing.

It is humbly deſired, that theſe Propoſals may be examined and debated, and, if all or any of them may be found uſeful for carrying on this great and profitable Work, further Means ſhall be humbly offered for promoting the ſame.

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Ane Admonitioun direct to the trew Lordis Mantenaris of the Kingis Graces Authoritie. M. G. B. Imprentit at *Striviling* be *Robert Lekprevik*. *Anno Dom.* 1571. *Octavo*, containing thirty Pages in the *Scotiſh* Tongue.

This

*This Pamphlet came out at a Time, when* Scotland *was in the greateſt Fermentation; Religion was then juſt reforming, and the Queen Regent was not only a Priſoner in* England, *but there was a ſecret Faction ready to join with every deſigning Malcontent to deſtroy the reigning Family.*

*The Author, who, I apprehend, was the Learned and truly Proteſtant* Buchanan, *that wrote the Detection of* Mary *Queen of* Scots, *was very well appriſed of the Danger of his Country, to which it was liable, not only from Foreign, but eſpecially from the Policy of the Domeſtick Foes; and, in a true Regard to the real Welfare of the ſame, writes theſe Particulars, addreſſes them to the governing Part of the Nation, and by Way of Caution, as well as Proof of what he advanceth, plainly ſhews the Origin of all their preſent Troubles, and future Dangers, to be owing to the Ambition of the* Hamilton-*Family, who, tired of Subjection, were not content to ſhare the Government, but aſpired to the Crown of* Scotland: *And, perhaps, contains a Piece of the beſt and moſt ſecret Hiſtory of thoſe Times.*

IT may ſeme to your Lordſchippis, that I, mellyng with heigh Materis of gouerning of Commoun welthis, do pas myne Eſtait, beyng of ſa meane Qualitie, and forgettis my Dewtie, geuyng Counſall to the Wyſeſt of this Realme: Not the les ſeyng the Miſerie ſa greit apperyng, and the Calamitie ſa neir appochyng, I thoght it les Fault to incur the Crime of ſurmountyng my priuate Eſtate, then the Blame of neglecting the publik Danger: Thairfor I cheſid rather to vnderly the Opinion of Preſumptioun in Speiking, then of Treſon in Silence; and ſpecially of ſic Thingis, as euin ſeme preſently to redound to the perpetuall Schame of your Lordſchippis, Diſtructioun of this royall Eſtate, and Ruyne of the hole Commoun welth of *Scotland*. On this Conſideratioun I haue takin in Hand, at this Tyme, to aduertiſe your Honours of ſic Thingis, as I thoght to appertene, baith to your Lordſchippis, in ſpeciall, and in generall to the hole Communitie of this Realme, in Punitioun of Tratouris, Pacificatioun of Troublis amongis your ſelfis, and Continuatioun of Peace with our Nighbouris. Of the quhilk I haue takin the Trauell to write, and do remit the Iudgement to your Diſcretioun, hopyng, at leiſt, that, althogh my Wit and Forſight ſhall not ſatisfie yow, yit my gud Will ſhall not diſpleis yow, of quhilk Aduertiſement the Summe is this.

*Firſt*, To conſider how godly the Actioun is quhilk yow haue in Hand, to wit, the Defence of your King, an innocent Pupill, the Stabliſching of Religioun, Punitioun of Thiefis and Tratouris, and Mantenance of Peace and Quietnes amongis your ſelfis, and with forrane Natiounis.

*Item*, Remember how yow have vindicat this Realme from the Thraldome of Strangeris, out of domeſtik Tyrannie, and out of a publik Diſhonour, in the Sight of all forrane Natiounis, we beyng altogidder eſtemid a Pepill-Murtherars of Kingis, and impacient of Lawis and ingrait, in reſpect of the Murther of the late King *Henry*, within the Wallis of the principall Towne, the greateſt of the Nobilitie beyng preſent with the Quene for the Tyme: And by your Power, one Part of the chief Tratouris tried from amongis the trew Subjectis, quhairby Strangers wer conſtranid afterwart as mekle to praiſe your Iuſtice, as of befoire they wrangfully condempnid your Injuſtice.

*Item*, Remember how far, in doing the ſame, ye haue obliged your ſelfis befoir the hole Warld, to continew in the ſame Vertew of Iuſtice, and quhat Blame ye ſhall incur, if ye be inconſtant: For all Men can belief na vtherwiſe, if the Tyme following be not conforme to the Tyme paſt, that nouther Honour nor Commoun welth ſtirrid yow vp then, but rather ſum Particulair tending to your priuate Commoditie.

Alſo remember how many gentill and honeſt Meanis yow haue ſocht, in Tymes paſt, to caus the King be acknawledgid, and the Countrarie put at reſt; and how vnprofitabill hath been your Honeſtie in treityng; your vailyeant Curage in Werr; your Mercyfulnes in Victorie; your Clemencie in Puniſching, and Facilitie in Reconſiliatioun.

Quhilk

Quhilk Thingis witnefsis fufficiently, that ye eſtemit na Man Enemie that wald liue in Peace, vnder the Kingis Authoritie; that ye wer neuer deſirous of Blude, Geir, nor Honour of ſic as wald not, rather, in making of Troubill and Seditioun, declair thame ſelfis Enemeis to God, and the Kingis Maieſtie, than liue in Concord and Amitie with thair Nichbouris vnder the Correctioun of Iuſtice.

And ſen ye can nouther bow thair obſtinate Hight with Pacience, nor meaſe thair ſtubburne Hartis with Gentilnes, nor ſatisfie thair inordinate Deſyris, vtherwyſe then with the Kingis Blude and youris, the Diſtructioun of Religioun, Baniſching of Iuſtice, and fre Permiſſioun of Crueltie and Miſordour, your Wiſdomes may eaſily conſidder quhat Kind of Medicine is not only mete, but alſwa neceſſair, for mending of ſic a Maladie.

And, to the Effect that ye may the better conſidder this Neceſſitie of Medicine, remember quhat Kynd of Pepill they ar, that profeſſis thame ſelfis in Deid, and diſſemblis in Worde, to be Enemeis to God, to Iuſtice, and to yow, becaus ye maintene the Kingis Actioun.

Sum of them ar Counſeillaris of the King his Fatheris Slauchter, ſum Conueyaris of him to the Schambles, that ſlew his Grandſchir, baniſched his Father; and, not ſatisfyid to haue ſlayne him ſelf, murtherit the Kingis Regent, and now ſeikes his awin Blude, that thay may fulfill thair Crueltie and Auarice, being Kingis, quhilk they begonne to exerciſe, the Tyme of thair Gouerning.

Vthers ar, that, being alliat nor neir of Kyn to the *Hamiltounis*, thinkis to be Participant of all thair Proſperitie and Succes.

Vthers, being gyltie of King *Henryis* Death, in the firſt Parliament halden in the Kingis Regne that now is, could well accord, that the Quene ſhould haue bene put to Deith alſo.

And, ſeing they could not obtene that Point, the next Schift of thair Impietie was, to put downe the King, that he ſhould not reſt to reuenge his Fatheris Deith; quhilk, thay thocht, could not be mair eaſilie done, then by bringing Hame the Quene with ſic a Huſband, that, other for auld Haitred, or for new Couatice, wald deſire the firſt Degre of Succeſſion to be of his awin Blude.

Sum vthers ar practiſid in caſting of Courtis, and reuoluing of Eſtatis, by raiſing of Ciuile Werr, and ar becum richer than euer thay hopid; and, becaus thay haue found the Practiſe ſa gude in Tyme paſt, now thay ſeik all Wayis to continew it; and, hauing ones guſtid how gude Fiſching it is in drumly Waters, they can, by no Maner, leaue the Craft.

Vthers of that Faction ar, ſum *Papiſtis*, ſum feined *Proteſtantis*, that hes na God bot Geir; and deſiris agane the *Papiſtrie*, not for Luif they beir to it (for they ar Scorners of all Religioun) but hoping to haue Promotioun of idle Belleis to Benefices; and lamentis the preſent Eſtait, quhair (as they ſay) Miniſteris gettis all, and leifis nathing to gude Fellowis; and to this Intent thay wald ſet vp the Quenis Authoritie, ſay thay.

Sum thair be alſo, that, vnder Colour of ſeiking the Quenis Authoritie, thinkis to eſchaip the Puniſchement of auld Faultis, and haue Licence, in Tyme to cum, to oppres thair Nichbouris that be febiller then they.

Now haue I to ſchew yow, by Coniecture, quhat Frute is to be hopid of an Aſſembly of ſic Men, as for the maiſt Pairt ar of inſatiabill Gredines, intollerabill Arrrogance, without Faith in Promeis, Meaſure in Couatice, Pietie to the Inferiour, Obedience to the Superiour, in Peace deſirous of Troubill, in Werr thirſtie of Blude, Nuryſhers of Theft, Raiſers of Rebellioun, Counſallours of Tritouris, Inuenters of Treſſoun, with Hand reddie to murther, Mynd to deceiue, Hart voyde of Treuth and full of Fellonie, Toung trampid in Diſſait, and Worde tending to ſals Practiſe without Veritie; by quhilk Properteis, and many vthers thairunto ioynid, as is knawin to all Men, ye, that vnderſtandis thair Beginning, Progres and hole Lyfe, may eaſilie remember, to quhome thys general Speiking appertenis in ſpeciall; and it is not vnknawin to ſic as knawis the Perſonis, how they ar mellid with godles Perſons, *Papiſtes*, Harlot *Proteſtantis*, commoun Brybouris, holy in Worde, Hypocrites in Hart, proude Contempners or *Machiauill*-mockers of all Religioun and Vertew, bludie Boucheris, and open Oppreſſouris, Fortifieris of Theiffis, and Manteneris of Tratouris.

It is alſo neceſſarie to your Lordſchippis to vnderſtand thair Pretence, that, if it be a Thing quhilk may ſtand with the Tranquillitie of the Commoun-welth, your Lordſchippis may, in

ſum Pairt, rather condiſcend to thair inordinate Luſt, then put the hole Eſtate in Ieopardie of Battell.

*Firſt*, It is not Honour, Riches, nor Authoritie that thay deſire; for thay haue had, and als haue preſentlie, and may haue, in Tyme to cum, ſic Pairt of all thay Thingis, as a priuait Man may haue in this Realme, not being chargeabil to the Countrie, or not ſuſpectit to ane King, as vnaſſurit of his awin Eſtait.

It is not the Delyuerance of the Quene that thay ſeik, as thair Doingis contrair to thair Worde teſtifeis manifeſtlie; for, if they wald haue her deliuerit, they wald haue procurit, by all Menis poſſibill, the Quene of *Inglandis* Fauour and Support, in quhais Power the hole Recouerance ſtode only, and not offendid hir ſa heichly as thay haue done, and daylie dois, in Participatioun of the conſpirit Treſſoun, to put hir Maieſtie, not only out of hir Stait, bot out of this Lyfe preſent; nor in receiting and mantening of hir Rebellis contrair to Promeis and ſolempne Contract of Pacificatioun betuix this two Realmes, nouther yet haue houndit furth proude and vncircumſpect young Men, to hery, burne, and ſlay, and take Preſoneris in her Realme, and vſe all Miſordour and Crueltie, not only vſed in Werr, but deteſtabill to all barbar and vile *Tartaris*, in ſlaying of Preſoneris, and, contrair to all Humanitie and Iuſtice, keip na Promeis to miſerabill Catiues, receiued once to thair Mercy; and all this was done by Commandiment of ſic as ſayis thay ſeik the Quenes Deliuerance, and reprochit to thame, by the Doaris of the Miſcheifis, ſaying, That they enterit thame in Danger, and ſupportit thame, not in Miſter, ſo mekle as to cum to Lawder and luik from thame; in quhilk Deſerting of thair Collegis, thay ſchew Crueltie ioyned with Falſheid, and maiſt heich Treſſoun againſt the Quene, pretending, in Worde, hir Delyuerance, and ſtopping, in Warke, hir Recouerance; the quhilk, as euery Man may cleirlie ſe, thay ſocht, as he that ſocht his Wyfe drowned in the Riuer againis the Streime.

It is not the Quenis Authoritie that thay wald ſet vp, in hir Abſence; for, if that war thair Intentioun, quhome can they place in it mair friendly to hir then hir onlie Sone; or quhat Gouernour may they put to him, les ſuſpect, than ſic Men as haue na Pretence of Succeſſion to the Crowne, or any Hoip of Proffeit to cum to tham after his Deith; or thay that euer haue bene trew Seruandis to Kingis before him, ſhould thay not be preferrit to his paternall Enemeis, yea, and Slayeris of his Father, and Sollicitaris of Strangeris to ſeik his innocent Blude?

Quhat then ſhall we think that theſe Men ſeikis vnder Pretence of the Queenis Authoritie, ſeing they can not bring Hame the Quene to ſet vp hir, nor will not ſuffer the King lawfully inaugurat and confirmed, by Decreit of Parliament, to bruik it, with ſa many of his Tutoris choſin by his Mother, as ar not to be ſuſpectit to will him Harme? I traiſt it is not vneaſie to perceiue, by thair hole Progres, now preſently, and in Tyme by paſt, that they deſire na other Thing but the Deith of the King and Quene of *Scotland*, to ſet vp the *Hamiltounis* in Authoritie; to the quhilk they haue aſpyrit, by craftie Meanis, theſe fyftie Yeires ago: And, ſeing thair Purpois ſuccedit not by craftie and ſecreit Meanis, now thay follow the ſame Traide, conioynyng to Falſheid opin Wickitnes.

And, that ye may ſee quhat Meanis they haue vſid, thir fyftie Yeiris by paſt, to ſet vp by Craft this Authoritie, quhilk now they ſeik by Violence, Force, and Treſoun, I will call to your Memorie ſum of thair Practiſis, quhilk many of you may remember aſweill as I.

*Firſt*, After the Deith of King *Iames the Fourth*, *Iohn*, Duke of *Albany*, choſin by the Nobilitie to gouerne in the Kingis les Age, the *Hamiltounis*, thinking that he had bene als wicked as thay, and ſhould, to his awin Aduancement, put downe the King, being of tender Age, for the Tyme, and by the Deceis of his Brother left alone; and that thay wald eaſilie get thair Hand beyond the Duke, being an Stranger, and without Succeſſioun of his Body, held thame quyet for a Seaſon, thinking that vther Mens Actioun ſhould be thair Promotioun; but ſeing that the Duke, as a Prince baith wyſe and verteous, to bring him ſelfe out of ſic Suſpitioun, put four Lordis eſtemid of the maiſt trew and verteous in *Scotland*, in that Tyme, to attend on the Kingis Grace, to wit, the Erle *Merchell*, the Lordis *Erſkyn*, *Ruthuen*, and *Borthick*; the *Hamiltounis* being out of Hope of the Kingis Putting doune by the Duke of *Albany*, and out of Credeit to do him any Harme by thame ſelfis, maid one Conſpyracie, with certane Lordis, to put the ſayd Duke out of Authoritie and take it on thame ſelfis, that, all Thinges put in thair Power, thay might vſe the King and the Realme at thair

thair awn Pleſure: To that Effect thay tuik the Caſtell of *Glaſgow*, and there maid an Aſſembly of thair Factioun, the quhilk was diſſoluit by the haiſtie Cummyng of the Duke of *Albany*, with an Armie; for Feir of the quhilk, the Erle of *Arrane*, Cheif of that Cumpany, fled to his Wifis Brother, the Lord *Hume*, being then out of Court.

The ſecond Conſpiracie was, after the Dukis laſt Departyng (the foreſayd Lordis ſeparate from attending on the King) deuyſit be Schir *Iames Hamiltoun*, Baſtard Sone to the ſayd Erle of *Arrane*, quha conſpyrit the Kingis Deith, then being in his Hous, in the Abbay of *Halyruidhous*; quhilk Conſpyracie, after mony Yeiris, reueillit, the ſaid Schir *Iames* ſufferit Deith for it. This Conſpyracie not beyng execute, Schir *Iames* perſeuerid in his euill Intentioun; and, by ſecreit Meanis in Court, ſoght alwais that the King ſhould not mary, that, for Lack of his Succeſſioun, the *Hamiltounis* might cum to thair Intentis: For the King was young, luſty, and redy to auenture his Perſoun to all Haſardis, baith by Sea and Land, in doune putting of Theifis, and vpſetting of Iuſtice. The *Hamiltounis* luiked on, quhen Seiknes, throw Exceſſe of Trauell, or ſum vther rakles Auenture, ſhould cut him of without Children; and, deſtitute of this Hope, firſt he ſtoppid the Kingis Metyng with his Vncle the King of *Ingland*, quha, at that Tyme, hauing but one Doughter, was willing to haif marryid with the King of *Scotland*, and maid him King of the hole Ile after him; and to haue enterid him, at that preſent Tyme, in Poſſeſſion of the Duchy of *Yorke*; but the ſaid Schir *Iames*, euer hauing Eye to his awn Scope, hinderid this Purpois by ſum of the Kingis Familiaris, that he had practiſed with by Giftis, and ſpeciallie by the Biſchop of *Sanctandros*, *Iames Betoun*, Vncle to the Erle of *Arranis* Mother, and greit Vncle to Schir *Iames* Wyfe, and raiſed ſic Suſpitioun betuix the twa Kingis, that broght baith the Realmes in greit Beſyries.

This Purpois as ſayd is put abak; the King, ſeing that his Ambaſſadouris furtherit not at his Pleſure, deliuered him ſelfe in Perſoun to ga be Sey in *France*; and Schir *Iames Hamiltoun*, perſeuering in his former Intentioun, went with him to hinder his Mariage, by all Meanis that he might; and, to that Effect, the King ſleiping in the Schip, without any Neceſſitie of Wynde and Wedder, Schir *Iames* cauſid the Marineris to turn Saill of the Weſt Coiſt of *Ingland* bakwart, and land in *Galloway*, quhair the King was verray miſcontent with Schir *Iames* and Maiſter *Dauid Panter*, principall Cauſeris of his returnyng, as diuers that was in the Schip, yit liuyng, can report: And, fra that Tyme furth, the King, hauing tryid out his Pretence, and perſaiuing his vnfaithfull Dealing euer diſfauourid him, and, to his greit Diſpleſure, fauoured opinlie the Erl of *Lennox* and his Friendis in his Abſence; the quhilk Erle pretended a Right and Tytill to the hole Erldome of *Arrane*, the preſent Erle for that Tyme being knawin to be Baſtard; as alſo, it was in Mens recent Memorie how Schir *Iames Hamiltoun* had cruellie ſlayne the Erle of *Lennox* at *Linlythgow*, euin to the greit Diſpleſure of the Erle of *Arrane*, Father to Schir *Iames*, and Vncle to the Erle of *Lennox*, cumming by the Kingis Commandiment to *Linlythgow*: Sa the King, as ſaid is, vnderſtanding the priuate Practick of Schir *Iames*, in keiping him vnmaryid, haiſtit him the mair eirneſtlie to mary, to the Effect that his Succeſſioun might put the *Hamiltounis* out of Hope of thair Intent, and him out of Danger by the *Hamiltounis*. And albeit that Schir *Iames*, to make him ſelfe clene of that Suſpitioun, ſoght many diueris Wayis to the Diſtructioun of the Erle of *Arrane* his Brother; yit he could neuer conqueis the Kingis Fauour, vntill finallie he was executid for Treſoun, and tooke ane miſerabill End, conforme to his vngodly Lyfe.

The King at laſt deceiſſit, and leuing a Doughter of ſex Dayis auld, the *Hamiltounis* thoght all to be thairis. For then the Erle of *Arrane*, a young Man of ſmall Wit and greit Inconſtancie, was ſet up by ſum of the Nobilitie, and ſum familiar Seruandis of the Kingis, lately deceiſſit; for thay thoght him mair tollerabill then the Cardinall *Beton*, quha, by ane fals Inſtrument, had takin the ſupreme Authoritie to him ſelfe.

The Erle of *Arrane* namid Gouernour, by a priuait Factioun, and fauourid by ſa many as profeſſit the trew Religioun of *Chriſt*, becaus he was beleiſt then to be of the ſame; howbeit he was gentill of Nature, yit his Friendis, for the maiſt Pairt, wer gredie baith of Geir and Blude, and geuin to Iniuſtice quhair Gayne followid. Thair was, in his Tyme, nothing ellis but Werr, Oppreſſioun, and Brybing of his callid Brother, the Biſchop of *Sanctandrois*, ſa

that all the Eſtatis wer werie of hym, and diſchargid hym of hys Office, and charged with it an Woman Strangear.

In the Begynnyng of hys Gouernement, the Quene and hir Mother wer keipit by hym, rather lyke Preſoneris then Princeſſis; but yit that Incommoditie was Caus of preſeruyng of the Quenis Lyfe, he beleifing to mary hir on his Sone. But after the Erle of *Lennox* had delyuerid tham out of hys Handis, and the Nobilitie had refuſid to mary hir on hys Sone, howbeit he left hys ferme Friendis, and, come to the Quene, abiurid hys Religioun in the *Grayfreiris* of *Striuiling*, yit he could neuer cum agane to hys pretendid Clymming to the Crowne, quhilk he had lang ſoght, partly by Fauour of ſic of the Nobilitie as wer alliat with hym, and partly by Diſtructioun of the ancient Houſis that might haue put Impediment to hys vnreaſonabill Ambition. For, hauing baniſhed the Erle of *Lennox*, he thoght the Erle of *Angous* to be the principall that might reſiſt hym; and, hauing enterid in Waird Schir *George Dowglas*, to be yit mair aſſurid, he ſend for the ſaid Erle of *Angous* in freindly Maner, and put hym in Preſoun, without any iuſt Occaſioun, and wold haue beheidid tham baith, if the Arryuing of the *Inglis* Army had not ſtayit hys Purpois, by the quhilk and Fear of the Murmour of the Pepill, he was conſtranit to delyuer tham. And, ſeing he durſt not at ſic a Tyme put tham down by Tyrannie, he offerit tham to the Sword of the Enemy to be ſlaine by tham. And, to the Effect that thay and thair Freindes, hauing put abak the *Inglis* Horſemen, and receiuyng an vther Charge, might be the mair eaſely ſlayne, thay ſtanding in Battell and fighting for hym, he, in the Battell behind, fled to *Tynetham*, and ſa theſe Nobillmen, ſa far as lay in hym, was ſlayne, and preſeruid by the Prouidence of God.

The young Quene, quhilk, being in hir Motheris Keiping, he might not put doune, nor mary at hys Pleſure, he conſentid to offer hir to the Stormes of the Sea, and Danger of Enemeis, and ſauld hir as a Slaue in *France*, for the Duchy of *Chaſtellarault*; the quhilk he bruikis in Name onlie, as the Crowne of *Scotland* in Fantaſie, and receauit ſic Price for hir, as Treſoun, Periurie, and the Sellyng of fre Perſounis ſhould be recompenſit with. But yit the Couatiſe of the Crowne that he had ſold ceſſid not heir, for, befoir hir Returning Hame out of *France*, at the Troubillis quhilk began anent the Repreſſing of the *Frenchemen*, and Tyrannie agains the Religioun, how many Meanis ſoght the *Hamiltounis* to haue depryuit hir of all Right, and tranſlatit the Crowne to tham ſelfis, is knawin baith to *Scotland* and *Ingland*.

Alſo, after the Quenis Arryuing in *Scotland*, ſche ſeiking a Querrell againſt the ſayd Duike and ſum vther Lordis, vnder Pretence that thay had conſpyrit againſt hir, for the Religionis Caus, the Duikis Freindis left hym all, becaus that the reſt of the Lordis wald not conſent to deſtroy the Quene, or derogat hir Authoritie by any Maner of Way. A lytill befoir the quhilk Tyme, the Occaſioun of the Dukis Conſpyracie with the Erle *Bothwell*, to ſlay the Erle of *Murray* in *Falkland*, was na vther, but becaus, the ſayd Erle of *Murray* liuyng, thay could nouther do the ſayd Quene Harme in her Perſoun, nor diminiſche her Authoritie, nor conſtrane her to mary at thair Pleſure, and to her vtter Diſpleſure.

After that the Quene had maryit with hym, quhom thay eſtemid thair auld Enemie, and was with Child, the gude Biſchop of *Sanctondrois*, firſt callid *Cuningham*, eſtemit *Cowane*, and at laſt Abbot *Hamiltoun*, not onlie conſpyrit with the Erle *Bothwell*, but come with the Quene to *Glaſgow*, and convoyit the King to the Place of his Murther, the Biſchop being lodged, as he ſeildom of befoir, quhar he might perſaif the Pleſure of that Crueltie with all hys Senſis, and helpe the Murtheraris, if Miſter had bene, and ſend four of his familiar Seruandis to the Executioun of the Murther, watching all the Night, and thinking lang to haue the Ioy of the Cumming of the Crowne a Degree neirer to the Hous of *Hamiltoun*; and ſa greit Hope mellit with Ambition inflamit his Hart for the Kingis Deceis, that within ſchort Tyme he beleuid firmlie hys callid Brother to be King, and he (the ſayd Biſchop) to be to him as Curatour, duryng the hole Tyme of his Non-wit, quhilk had been a langer Teirme than *Witſonday* or *Martymes*; for he thoght vndoubtidlie, that the Erle *Bothwell* ſhould diſtroy the young Prince, and not ſuffer hym to proſper, to reuenge hys Fatheris Deith, and precede the Erlis Children in Succeſſioun of the Crowne; and, the young Prince onis cut of, the Biſchop maid hys Rekning, that the Quene and the Erle *Bothwell*, hated alredy for the Slaughter of the King hir Huſband, and mair for the Innocent, wer eaſie

to

to be deſtroyit with Conſent of all Eſtatis, and the Cryme eaſie to the Biſchop to be proued, quha knew all the Secretis of the hole Diſſeigne: Or, if they wald ſlay the Erle *Bothwell*, and ſpair the Quene, thay wer in Hope ſche ſhould mary *Iohn Hamiltoun*, the Dukis Son, quhome with merie Luikis and gentill Countenance (as ſche could weill do) ſche had enterid in the Paſtyme of the Glaikis, and cauſit the reſt of the *Hamiltounis* to fond for Fainnes. But, after that the Erle *Bothwell* had refuſit Battell, at *Carbarry-Hill*, and the Quene, befoir the Cumming of the *Hamiltounis*, come to the Lordis, the *Hamiltounis* as at that Tyme diſapoint, foſterid thair vane Hope with a merie Dreame, that the Quene ſhould be puniſchit after hir Demeritis, and wer a Tyme in dowbill Ioy; the one that, beyng rid of the Quene, ſche ſhould not beir ma Children to debar tham from the Crowne; and the vther, that thay might haue ane eaſie Way to calumniat the Regent for Deſtroying of the Quene; but, ſeyng hir kept, thay blamit openlie the Regent, quha kept hir in Stoir in Diſpite of tham (as thay ſayd) to be a Stud to caſt ma Foillis, to hinder tham of the Succeſſioun of the Crowne; yit, for all that, there would nane of tham cum to Parliament to further thair Deſyre with ane anerlie Vote, but lay bake to keip tham ſelfis at Libertie, to reproif all that ſhould be done in that Conuentioun; and to ſenze Fauour towardis the Quene quhome thay hated, ſa as, if by Conſent of the Lordis, or vtherwiſe, ſche wer delyuerit, thay might helpe hir to put downe the Lordis, that wold not put hir downe in Fauour of tham.

This thair Intentioun was opinlie ſchawit, quhen the Quene beyng kept in *Lochleuin*, by Commaundement of the hole Parliament, was delyuerit by Conſpyracie of ſum priuate Men, eſpeciallie of the *Hamiltounis*, for thay aſſemblit all thair Forces to put downe the young Kyng and Lordis obedient to hym. Quhilk euill Will thay ſchew towardis the Lordis at the *Langſyde*, brynging with tham great Stoir of Cordis, to murther and hang tham, if thay had been takin Priſoneris, and the Victorie fallen to the *Hamiltounis*; and the ſame euill Will towardis the King, in keiping the Watter of *Forthe*, that he ſhould not eſchaip thair cruell Handis, beyng aſſurit, if he come in the Quene of *Inglandis* Power, that ſche, of hir accuſtomate Clemencie and Kyndnes of Blude, wald not abandoun hym to thair vnmercyfull Cruelltie, experimentit alredy in hys Father. And, ſeyng that the Prouidence of God had cloſit the Dore to all thair Wicitnes at that Tyme, thay have neuer ceiſit ſince to ſeike Enemeis to his Grace in all ſtrange Natiounis; and perceiuing that thay had faire Wordis of all vtheris, except of the Quenis Maieſtie of *Ingland*, quha vnderſtode thair fals and treſſonabill Dealing, thay turnit thair Hatred agaynſt hir, and enterid in Conſpyracie with ſum Tratouris of *Ingland*, that wer als euil mindit towardis the Quenis Maieſtie thair Souerane, as the *Hamiltounis* wer to the Kingis Hienes of *Scotland*. This is nouther dremid in Wardrop, nor hard throw a Boir, but a trew Narratiue, of which the Memorie is ludged in Menis Hartis, baith *Scottis* and Strangeris, and the Veritie knawin. By the quhilk ye may vnderſtand the *Hamiltounis* Pretence, this fifty Yeiris and mair.

After ſa many Wayis ſought by tham to diſtroy the right Succeſſioun, and place tham in the Kinglie Rowme, ſeyng all thair Practiſis could not auaill, and thair Forces wer not ſufficient, thay ſought to augment thair Factioun, adioyning to tham all that wer participant of the Kingis Slaughter, and had aſpyrit to ſlay the Quene of *Ingland*. And, to the Effect thay might cum to thair wickit Purpois, thay in a Maner diſplayit a Baner, to aſſemble togider all Kynd of wickid Men, as *Papiſtes*, renegat *Proteſtantis*, Theifis, Tratouris, Murtherais, and opin Oppreſſouris. As for thair Adherentis in *Scotland*, I neid not to expreme their Namis, nor the Qualiteis of the Conſpyratouris of *Ingland*, for thay ar weill enough knowin to your Lordſchippis. Yit one I can not ouerpaſs, beyng the cheif Conſpyratour choiſin by tham to be King of *Scotland* and *Ingland*, I mene the Duike of *Norfolk*; in quhilk Act ye may ſee how the Thirſt of your. Blude blindit tham agaynſt thair awin Utilitie. Firſt, thay choſe the principall Enemie of the Religioun of *Chriſt* in this Ile, accompanyit with vther fylthie Idolateris, to change the Stait of the Kirk in baith Realmes, by cuttyng of the twa Princes, ſeyng that, thair Authoritie ſtandyng, the Conſpiratouris could not cum to thair Intent. Next thay reſpectit, in that proude Tyranne, the Vertewis that wer commoun to him and tham, as Arrogancie, Crueltie, Diſſimulatioun, and Treſoun; for euin as thay had, this lang Tyme in *Scotland*, fought the Deith of thair righteous Prince; ſa he in *Ingland*, followyng the Traide of his Anteceſ-

ſouris,

ſouris, diveris Tymes attemptyng Treſoun, wald haue put downe the Quene of *Ingland*. Heir alſo appeiris the *Hamiltounis* Crueltie agaynſt the Nobilitie of thair awin Natioun, in ſeiking thair profeſſit and perpetuall Enemie of *Scotland* (as his Bage beiris Witnes) quha ſhould haue ſpilt the reſt of the noble Blude of *Scotland* in Peace, that his Anteceſſouris could not ſpill in Werr; by quhilk Electioun, beyng aſſurit that na *Scottis* Hart can loue tham, ſa can they loue nane of you, agaynſt quhome thay haue vſit ſo many treſounablll Actis. Thay do ſchaw alſo how Crueltie and Auarice haue blindit tham, thay can not ſe, in bringyng a Tyrane to haue Power ouer tham, ſeyng thay, pretending neireſt Clame to the Crowne, ſhould be neireſt the Danger. And yit, for all this, could theſe Men be weill contentit, if by any Meanis thay could attene to thair Intent, by Spoyle and Rubberie, as thay did quhen as thay wer placid in ſupreme Authoritie; or by makyng of you Slaues, as they did, in Selling of thair Quene, begyn that Practiſe, quhairin howbeit the Inhumanitie was great, yit was it not in ſupreme Degre of Cruelteis; but it is na moderat, tollerable, nor accuſtomat Thyng that thay ſeike: It is the Blude, firſt, of our innocent Kyng, euen ſic as hath bene preſervit by wyld Beaſtis, nixt the Blude of all his trew Seruandis and trew Subiectis indifferentlie. For quhat Defence can be in Nobilitie, or quhat Suirtie agaynſt tham that haue murtherit a Kyng, and ſeikis Strangeris to murther ane vther Kyng? Quhome ſall thay ſpare for Vertew and Innocencie, that latelie executit, and yit defendis the Murther of the Regent; or quha will be ouerſene for Law, Degre, or baſe Eſtait, in Reſpect of thay that conductit out of *Tuidaill* to ſlay Maiſter *Iohn Wood*, for na vther Caus, but for beyng a gude Servand to the Crowne, and to the Regent his Maiſter, and had eſpyit out ſum of thair Practiſis?

If this Thirſt of Blude of theſe *Lochlechis* might be impute to haiſtie Hounger, or any ſudane Motioun, quhilk cauſis Men ſum Times to forget thair Dewtie, there might yit be ſum Hope that, ſic a Paſſioun ouerpaſt, thay wald with Tyme remember thame ſelfis, and after Power amend Faultis paſt, or at leiſt abſtene in Tyme to cum; but thair is na ſic Humanitie in thair Nature, nor na ſic Pietie in thair Hartis; for, not content with a Kyngis Blude, thay gaip for his Sonnis Murther; nor ſatisfiyit to haue ſlayne the Regent, they keipit the Murtherar in the Duikis Hous in *Arrane*. Maiſt like thinkyng, as, if thay honourit not the Doar, thay ſhould not be knawin as Counſallouris of the Deid, and wald tyne the Glorie of that nobill Act. And, beſydes all this, thay ar not onlie contentit to mantene *Scottis* Tratouris, but alſwa receifis *Inglis* Tratouris, and ſettis vp a Sanctuarie of Treaſoun, a Refuge of Idolatrie, a Receptacle of Theifis and Murtheraris.

And howbeit the bullerant Blude of a King and a Regent about thair Hartis, quhair of the Luſt in thair Appetite geuis tham litil Reſt, daily and hourlie makyng new Prouocation; yit the ſmall Space of Reſt quhilk thay haue, beſide the Executioun of thair Crueltie, thay ſpend in deuyſing of generall Vnquyetnes throw the hole Countrie; for, not content of it that thay tham ſelfis may ſteale, brybe, and reif, thay ſet out Ratches on euery Side, to gnaw the Pepillis Bonis, after they haue conſumit the Fleſche, and Houndis out; one of tham, the *Clangregour*, ane vther the *Grantie*, and *Clauchattan*, an vther *Balcleuch* and *Fairnyherſt*, ane vther the *Johnſtounis* and *Armeſtrangis*; and ſic, as wald be hald in the halyeſt amangis tham, ſchew playnlie the Affectioun thay had to baniſh Peace and ſteir up Troublis, quhen thay bendit all thair fyue Wittis, to ſtop the Regent to go firſt North, and ſyne South, to puniſh Thift and Oppreſſioun; and, quhen they ſaw that their Counſall was not authoriſit, in geuyng Impunitie to all Miſordour, thay ſpend it in puttyng downe of hym that wald haue put all in gude Ordour.

Thair is a Kynd of theſe Theifis euin odious to mair gentill Theifis, quhilk, callyng tham ſelfis great Gentilmen, ſpoyllis Trauellaris, Cadgearis, and Chapmen by the Way, and ranſounis pure Men about *Edinburgh* for xx. Schillyng the Heid; quhilk Vice can not procede of Vengeance of Enemeis, but rather of Loue and Pleſure in Wickitnes. This Kynd of Men dois not onlie diſhonour to Nobilitie in ſteillyng, and to Theifis in purſpyking, but alſo to the whole Natioun of *Scotland*, geuing Opinioun to Strangeris, that ſum of the *Scottis* be of ſa law Courage, that Men amangis tham, aſpiring to the hieſt Eſtait of a Kingdome, haue crouchit tham ſelfis in the mayſt law Ordour of Knaifis.

Now, my Lordis, ye may conſider, how thay, that ſlayis ſa cruellie Kyngis and thair Lieutennentis, will be mercyfull to you; and, quhen

quhen thay ſall haue put you downe, that craiſis Reuenge of the Kyngis Blude, ye may vnderſtand how few dar craif Iuſtice of your Slaughter. Ye may ſe how cruell thay will be in Oppreſſioun of the Poore, hauing cut of you, quhilk, beyng of the mayſt nobill and potent Houſis of this Realme, ſufferis throw your Sleuthfulnes euery Pairt of this Countrie to be maid worſe then *Liddiſdaill*, and *Annanderdaill*; and not onlie ſufferis the Purſpykaris of *Cliddiſdaill* to exerciſe Thift and Reif as a Craft, but nuriſis and authoriſis, amangis you, the chief Counſellaris of all Miſordour, as ane Edder in your Boſum. Of all this ye may lay the Wyte on na vther, but vpon your ſelfis, that haue ſufficient Power to repres thair Inſolencie and Proudnes, hauying in your Hand the ſame Wand that ye have chaſtiſit tham with of befoir; for ye haue your Protectour the ſame God this Yeir, that was the Yeiris paſt, vnchangeabill in his eternall Counſellis, conſtant in Promeis, potent in Puniſing, and liberall in Rewarding; ye haue your trew Freindis and Seruandis, that wer with you of befoir; ye ar delyuerit of diſſimulat Brethren, that had thair Bodyis with you, and thair Hartis with your Enemeis; that ſubſcribit with you, and tuik Remiſſioun of your Aduerſaris; that ſtuide with you in Battell, luikyng for Occaſioun to betray you, had not God bene your Protectour, Ye haue a great Number of new Freindis alienat from tham, for their manifeſt Iniquitie in Deid, Wickednes in Worde, and Treaſoun in Hart; ye haue of the ſame Enemeis that ye had then ſa many, as hes thair Hartis herdinnit, and thair Myndis bent agaynſt God and lawfull Ingraitis; ye haue the ſame Actioun that ye had then, accumulat with recent Murther and Treſoun, to prouoke the Ire of the Eternall agaynſt tham. How far God hath blindid tham, blind Men may ſe, that, hauying ſa euill ane Actioun, and ſo many Enemeis at Hame, yit be houndyng out of ſmall Tratouris of thair wickid Conſpyracie, Men execrable to thair awin Parentis, quhome amangis vtheris thay haue diueris Tymes ſpoylit; be houndyng out, I ſay, of ſic Perſounis, to burne, murther, reif, and ſteill. Thay prouoke the Quenis Majeſtie of *Ingland*, to ſeik Vengeance of thair Oppreſſioun agaynſt hir Realme and Subiectis; quhilk Vengeance Iuſtice and Honour craiſis of hir ſa inſtantlie, that ſche can not ceis but perſew tham, thair Reſſettaris and Mantenaris, vntill ſche git ſic Exempill to vtheris, that, althoght thay will not reſpect Vertew, yet, for Fear of Punitioun, thay ſall be content to lyue in Peace with Nichbouris; quhairin her Heighnes hath alredy renewit the Memorie of hir experimentit Liberalitie, and tender Loue to this Natioun, ſeiking, on hir proper Charges and Trauell of hir Subiectis, the Punitioun of ſic, as we on our Charges ſhould haue puniſhed; I mene not onlie of our Tratouris, but alſo Reſſettaris of hir Maiefteis Tratouris, and in doing of this ſeikis Pacificatioun amangis tham that violatid Peace with hir without Prouocatioun; ſeueryng the Puniſchement of ſic ar giltie in offendyng, from the Subiectis that hes not violatid the Peace. And, as ſche kepis Peace and Iuſtice amangis hir awin Subiectis in *Ingland*, ſa vnrequyrit ſche offerid Support to the ſame End in *Scotland*, and not onlie geuis Remedie to our preſent Calamiteis, but cuttis the Roote of Troublis to cum, and preuenis the wickid Counſall of ſic, as prouokis *Ingliſmen*, and ſoliſtis *Frenchmen* to cum in this Realme, to the End that, theſe twa Natiounis enterit in Barres, the ane agains the vther, thay may ſaciat thair cruell Hartis of Blude, thair obſtinat Will of Vengeance, thair bottomles Couatiſe of Spoyle and Thift.

Thairfoir, ſeyng God haue ſo blindit your Enemeis Wittis, my Lordis, be in gude Hope that he ſall alſo caſt the Spreit of Fear and Diſperatioun in thair indurat Hartis, and proſper your gude Actioun, to the quhilk he comfortis you with his redy Helpe, exhortis you by his Worde, and conſtrainis you by the Dewtie of your Eſtait, and Neceſſitie of preſeruying of your Lyfis and Honouris. For, Promeis beyng neglectit, Faith violatid, Subſcriptioun ſet at noght, thair is na meane Way left but outher to do or ſuffer; and, ſeyng that baith ar miſerabill, amangis ſic as ſhould be Freindis, yit better it is to ſlay iuſtlie, then to be ſlayne wrangfullie. For the Executioun of Iuſtice, in puniſing the Wickid, is approuid by God and Man; and Sleuthfulnes, in Defence of Iuſtice, can not be excuſed of Treſoun. And, beſides that God ſchawis him ſa mercyfull and liberall to you, in ſending you Freindis, by procuiring of your Enemeis, alſo the Perſounis maiſt recommendit of God craiſis the ſame; for ſaikles Blude, Oppreſſioun of the Pure, and of the Fatherles, cryis continually to the Heuin for Auengeance, quhilk God committis to your Handis, as his Lieutennentis

and

and ſpeciall Officiaris in that Pairt; and, euin as he rewairdis Faith and Diligence in Obedience of his eternall Will, ſa he will not neglect to puniſche Sleuthfulnes in iuſt Execution of his Commandementis.

Thairfoir, my Lordis, as ye wald that God ſhould remember on you and your Poſteritie, quhen they ſall call on him in their Neceſſitie, remember on your King our Souerane, and on my Lord Regentis Pupillis, committit to you in Tutorie, by the Reaſon of your Office and Eſtait, anent Perſounis that ar not in Age nor Power to helpe tham ſelfis, and ar recommendit ſpeciallie to all Chriſtianis by God in his holy Scripture; and defend ſic innocent Creaturis, as may nouther do nor ſpeike for tham ſelfis, from the Crueltie of vnmercyfull Wolfis: Neglect not the Occaſioun, nor refuſe not the Helpe ſend to you by God, but recognoſe thankfullie his Fauour towardis you, that cauſis your Enemeis to procure your Helpe; neglect not the Offer of Friendis. In Cais gif ye lat ſlip this Occaſioun, ye ſall craif it in vane in your Neceſſitie. Think it na les Prouidence in your heuinlie Father, then if he had ſend you ane Legioun of Angellis in your Defence; and remember that he ſchew him ſelfe neuer mair freindfull and ſuccurable to na Pepill, than he hath done to you; and traiſt weill, if ye will perſeueir in Obedience and Recognoſcence of his Grace, he will multiplie his Benefitis to you and your Poſteritie, and ſall neuer leif you, vntill ye forget him firſt.

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# The Declaration of the moſt Chriſtian King of *France* and *Navarre*, againſt the moſt horrid Proceedings of a rebellious Party of Parliament-men and Soldiers, in *England*, againſt their King and Country. Tranſlated out of *French* by *P. B.*

*Lewis the Fourteenth*, by the Grace of God, the moſt Chriſtian King of *France* and *Navarre*, to all Chriſtian Kings, Princes, States, and People ſendeth Greeting.

WHereas we are informed, by our dear Aunt, the Queen of *England*, of the diſtreſſed Eſtate of the King her Huſband, forced upon him by a rebellious Party of his meaneſt Subjects, under the Command of the Baron of *Fairfax*, who is likewiſe countenanced by a ſmall Handful of the baſeſt of the People, crept into the Lower Houſe of Parliament, but not being a tenth Part thereof, the Worthieſt being either impriſoned, or baniſhed by the Tyranny of the Army, have a Deſign to proceed againſt the Perſon and Life of their King; which is an Action ſo deteſtable, and ſo deſtructive to the National Rights of Princes and People, who are like to be enſlaved thereby, and to know no Law, but that of the Sword, that we conceive ourſelf obliged, by the Laws of God and Man, in the Duty of a Chriſtian, as well as the Rights of a King, either to redeem from Bondage the injured Perſon of our Neighbour King and Uncle, or to revenge all Outrages already done, or hereafter which may happen to be done thereupon.

Therefore, with the Advice of our dear Mother the Queen-Regent, and Council, we do publiſh and declare our Deteſtation of all ſuch Proceedings, and vow, in the Preſence of God and his holy Angels, a full Revenge upon all Actors or Abettors of this odious Deſign, to the utter Extirpation of them, their Wives, and Children out of all Parts of *Chriſtendom*, wherein our Power, or Intereſt, can prevail, if they proceed to this damnable Fact; we conceiving it fit to root out from human Society ſuch a ſpurious and viperous Generation of Men: And we do therefore prohibit all ſuch Perſons, their Wives, and Children to come into any of our Dominions, unleſs they will be proceeded againſt, as Traitors to God and Nations.

And we do likewiſe invite all our Neighbour Kings, Princes, and States in Amity with

us,

us, or with whom we have any Difference, to an honourable Peace, that we may all join, in God's Cauſe and our own, to revenge theſe hypocritical Proceedings of enraged Villains, who, we hear, take the Cauſe of God for their Pretence to deſtroy his Ordinance.

And we deſire all our Neighbour Kings, Princes, and States to make the ſame Proclamation, we have done, againſt any of theſe, or their Adherents, from coming into their Territories; that, when, by God's Juſtice, and ours and others Endeavours, they ſhall be chaced out of their native Country, they may wander like Vagabonds, in Heatheniſh Places, with the odious Brands of *Regicides* upon them: And further to conſider, whether that, if the like Madneſs took any of their Armies, they would not implore our Helps, as now this afflicted Queen and Aunt of ours hath Occaſion to do theirs, againſt Perſons who are now twice Rebels; *firſt*, againſt their lawful Sovereign, upon Pretence of Reformation of Government; and *now* againſt the very Men and Authority, which raiſed them for that pretended Occaſion: Wherein God's Juſtice is ſo apparent, that we are confident he will bleſs this Work intended by us, and which, we hope, will be ſeconded by all Perſons of Honour and Juſtice, both at Home and Abroad, to help to ſuppreſs theſe Rebels againſt their Raiſers; who yet preſume, upon the Succeſs of their Arms, to erect their own baſe Thoughts and Fortunes above the Limits of Religion or Reaſon, to ſuppreſs that Authority which God hath ſet over them.

Signed, *LEWIS.*

And below, *Bryan*, Secretary of State.

*Publiſhed at* Paris, *the ſecond Day of* January, Stylo novo, 1649.

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A Relation of ſuch Things as were obſerved to happen in the Journey of the Right Honourable *Charles* Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord High Admiral of *England*, his Highneſs's Ambaſſador to the King of *Spain*: Being ſent thither to take the Oath of the ſaid King, for the Maintenance of Peace between the two famous Kings of *Great-Britain* and *Spain*, according to the ſeveral Articles formerly concluded on by the Conſtable of *Caſtile* in *England* in the Month of *Auguſt*, 1604. Set forth by Authority. By *Rob. Treſwell*, Eſq; *Somerſet-Herald*. *London*, printed by *Melchiſedech Bradwood* for *Gregory Seaton*, and are to be ſold at his Shop under *Alderſgate*, 1605. *Quarto*, containing forty-ſix Pages, including the Preface.

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*This curious Piece, which ſtands in the ſeventeenth Place of the Catalogue of our Pamphlets, was written by one of the Earl's Retinue* Robert Treſwell, *Eſq*; Somerſet-Herald, *and is recommended for Publication by a Gentleman at* Oxford, *who in his Letter to the Printer ſays, that,* "*It is not to be met with, except in the* Bodleian *Library* Oxon, *and in that of the Earl of* Oxford, *which is here exhibited*;

" *and that, as it will illuſtrate, as well as correct the Hiſtorians in the Reign of King* " James the Firſt, *he deſires it to be reprinted as a real Curioſity.*" *And we believe it will be acceptable to all our Subſcribers, as it gives a better Idea of the Court of* Madrid, *as well as of the general Diſpoſition of the* Spaniards, *and of ſome of the Cuſtoms peculiar to them at that Time, than can be met with in any other* Engliſh *Writer: Beſides, it muſt be allowed to be a moſt agreeable and entertaining Relation; for, among other Varieties, the Reader is here preſented with an Account of the famous Proceſſion of* Corpus Chriſti, *and of a* Bull Feaſt *and* Spaniſh *Tournament, and other Kind of Diverſions, ſuch as Maſquerades,* &c.

## *To the* READER.

*HAving collected together many general Obſervations in that honourable Journey into* Spain, *lately performed by the Right Honourable and Worthy Earl, the Earl of* Nottingham; *although, amongſt many Reaſons, which perſuaded me to be therein to myſelf ſecret, and to the World ſparing, in divulging this Treatiſe, I found eſpecially (and which I muſt of Neceſſity confeſs) my own Weakneſs in compiling the ſame and making it fit and worthy of ſo general a Reading, as by this Conſequence it muſt undergo; yet, being over-weighed with many eſpecial Motives which I could not well anſwer or contradict, I thought rather to expoſe myſelf to the favourable Cenſure of the Worthieſt and Beſt-minded (who rather reſpect a plain and home-bred Stile, yet true, than a Tale conſiſting of eloquent Phraſes, but doubtful) than, pleaſing myſelf in my own fearful Humour, give Cauſe of Offence to them whom moſt I laboured to content. The firſt of theſe Motives being, that many of my Friends, knowing me to have been by eſpecial Appointment an Attendant upon his Lordſhip in that honourable Employment, and underſtanding of the Care taken by me in obſerving ſome Particulars in the ſame, exceedingly urged me to give them a perfect Knowledge and Satisfaction thereof; which, as it was a Thing likely to be tedious, ſo could they not receive that Contentment by a brief Report, which a more ample Relation and Diſcourſe might better afford. Another was, that, for that it came to our Knowledge, how many falſe and ill contrived Reports had been bruited Abroad, after our Departure from* England, *as well derogating from that honourable Entertainment we received in General, whilſt we were in* Spain, *as from the Proceedings of his Lordſhip and his Company in ſome Particulars, I could not but (taxing myſelf of Duty to his Lordſhip, and the reſt) endeavour to ſatisfy all doubtful and unſatisfied Minds, with relating and declaring the Truth thereof. But a Third, and a more eſpecial Cauſe is, that, ſince our Return, one not well informed, having undertaken to know much of the Proceedings of that Journey, and miſtaking himſelf in his own Underſtanding, lately publiſhed a Pamphlet of many falſe and erroneous Obſervations; thereby poſſeſſing the Readers with an untrue Relation of that, the Truth whereof they ſo much deſired. Upon theſe former Conſiderations therefore, I was adviſed to tender unto your generous Acceptance my well-meaning Endeavours; which although they cannot give that Pleaſure and Content in reading you happily expect, yet ſhall they aſſure you what they promiſe: That is, a true Relation of ſuch Things, which happened in that honourable Journey. In reporting whereof, I had rather be condemned for Plainneſs, than once ſuſpected for reporting an Untruth.*

Rob. Treſwell, *alias* Somerſet-Herald

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SO ſoon as the Right Honourable *Charles* Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord High Admiral of *England*, had taken Notice from his Majeſty, that it was his Will and Pleaſure to employ him in this great Ambaſſage to the King of *Spain*, calling to Mind how honourably and richly the Duke of *Fryas*, Conſtable of *Caſtile*, and late Ambaſſador for the ſaid King, had formerly demeaned himſelf in *England*; preſently, with a moſt honourable Reſolution, neither fearing the Hazard of his Perſon, being now aged, nor regarding the Expences, that ſo great and honourable an Employment ſhould require, with what Speed he conveniently might, endeavoured to perform his Majeſty's Deſigns and Appointment herein. And therefore, by the Advice of the Council of *England*, he firſt reſolved both what honourable Perſonages, and what Number of them might be fitting, for accompanying and attending him, in this his great Employment. To whom whenas particular Letters from the Council, by his Majeſty's eſpecial Commandment, were diſpatched, to give them Notice, to prepare themſelves to attend the ſaid Noble Earl, according as his Highneſs had commanded; they ſeemed ſo willing and ready to perform their Duty and Service, therein, that his Lordſhip was far more troubled to deny many, and that of very good Sort, who voluntarily tendered their Service in good Will and Honour of his Lordſhip, to attend him in this his appointed Voyage, than he was at firſt in bethinking what Company were neceſſary to take with him. And therefore at laſt concluding of a competent Number (not without diſpleaſing many) he reſolved upon theſe whoſe Names hereafter follow:

The Earl of *Perth*.

The Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, his Son and Heir.

The Lord *Willoughby*.

The Lord *Norris*.

Sir *Charles Howard* Knight, his ſecond Son.

Sir *Thomas Howard* Knight, ſecond Son to the Earl of *Suffolk*.

Sir *John Sheffeild* Knight, Son and Heir to the Lord *Sheffeild*.

Maſter *Pickering Wotton*, Son and Heir to the Lord *Wotton*.

Sir *Richard Lewſon* Knight, Admiral of the Fleet and Vice-admiral of *England*.

Maſter *Thomas Compton*, Brother to the Lord *Compton*.

*Hans Herman Van Veiſcenbach*, a *German*, and of good Eſteem in *England*.

Sir *Robert Drewry*.

Sir *Robert Maunſel*, Treaſurer of the King's Navy, and Vice-admiral of the Fleet.

Sir *Edward Howard*, his Nephew.

Sir *Thomas Palmer*.

Sir *Edward Swift*.

Sir *William Smith*.

Sir *John Trevor*, Surveyor of the Navy.

Sir *Robert Killegrew*.

Sir *Richard Cowper*, Gentleman-porter of the King's-houſe.

Sir *George Buck*.

Sir *Guilford Slingsby*.

Sir *Adolphus Cary*.

Sir *Francis Howard*, his Lordſhip's Nephew alſo.

Sir *Sackville Trevor*, Rear-admiral of the Fleet.

Sir *Walter Gore*.

Sir *William Page*.

Sir *Giles Hoftman*.

Sir *Thomas Roe*.

Sir *John Eyres*.

Sir *Philip Cary*.

Sir *Henry Knowles*.

Sir *John Guevarra*, Knights.

Maſter *Giles Porter*, his Interpreter. Doctor *Marbeck*, Doctor *Palmer*, Phyſicians. Maſter *Pawlet*. Maſter *Cary*. Maſter *Barret*. Maſter *John Lewſon*. *Lewis Treſham*. Captain *Thomas Button*. *William Button*. *John Fearn*. *Hierom Laments*. *Henry Butler*. *John Milliſcent*. *Bernard Sanders*. *Philip Roper*. *Francis Plomb*. *Roger Tailor*. Captain *William Morgan*. *Henry Minn*. *Chriſtopher Frederick*. *Thomas Buck*. Captain *William Polewheel*. *Edmond Fittou*. *Walter Grey*. *John Atkinſon*. *Dudley Carleton*. *Edward Smith*, and many other Gentlemen of good Condition and Quality, as well his Lordſhip's private Officers and Servants, as divers, whoſe Names are not herein remembered.

The Ships appointed to attend his Lordſhip and his Company for Tranſportation of themſelves, the Followers and Neceſſaries, were theſe:

The *Bear*,
The *Due-repulſe*, } being Ships Royal.
The *Waſte-ſpight*,
The *Mary-Anne*.
The *Amity*.
The *Reſiſtance*.
The great Hoy, called the *George*.

According to Appointment, the ſaid Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen prepared themſelves to give their Attendance, whenſoever his Lordſhip ſhould take his Journey; and therefore, underſtanding that he intended to take Leave of the King on *Thurſday*, the One and twentieth Day of *March*, according to the Computation of *England*, the greateſt Number of them, being very richly apparelled themſelves, and extraordinarily appointed for their Servants, gave their Attendance at *Nottingham* Houſe, the ſaid One and twentieth Day of *March*, his Lordſhip having appointed many Barges and Boats for conveighing himſelf, the ſaid Lords, and Knights, and their Company to the Court, the King's Highneſs then being at *Greenwich*; the ſaid Earl having ordained his own Company to be in Number, as follows: Six Trumpeters clad in Orange-colour Damask, with Clokes of Cloth of the ſame Colour, and Banners of Damask with his Honour's Arms thereupon. Six Footmen in Orange-tawny Velvet alike ſuited. Six Pages, clad likewiſe in Velvet of the ſame Colour, with their Clokes ſuitable. Thirty Gentlemen with Clokes of black Velvet. Fourſcore Yeomen well apparelled with Livery Clokes of Orange-tawny Cloth, garded with Silver and blue Silk Lace. The ſaid noble Earl being thus prepared went with his ſaid Company from *Nottingham* Houſe, the ſaid *Thurſday* about Noon, and, ſo ſhooting the Bridge, arrived at *Greenwich* immediately after Dinner; and there, preſenting himſelf and his Company unto his Majeſty, was moſt acceptably and graciouſly entertained. After ſome Time ſpent in receiving his Highneſs's Commandment, as well concerning himſelf in his own Particular, as alſo touching the conducting and preſenting of Sir *Charles Cornwallis* Knight, who was appointed for to be his Majeſty's Lieger Ambaſſador with the King of *Spain*: The ſaid Ambaſſadors, Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, humbly taking their Leaves of his Highneſs, were for that Night diſmiſſed; every one taking himſelf to his Lodging, there remaining and expecting his Lordſhip's further Pleaſure to be known when they ſhould prepare to ſet forward on his Journey.

His Lordſhip, having now diſpatched his private Counſels and Intendments with his Majeſty and the Lords of the Council, gave Warning to his ſaid Company and Followers to be ready againſt *Tueſday* Morning, being the ſix and twentieth Day of the ſaid Month of *March*. Which Time he gave to prepare themſelves; for that Day he intended to ſet forward. On which ſaid Day, being both mindful and forward for his intended Journey, he was early up in the Morning, and, taking the Time of the Tide, and ſuch Company as were ready, being to the Number of Eighty Perſons, in divers Barges and Boats, paſſed from *Nottingham* Houſe to *Graveſend*, and there dined, ſtaying for much of the Company, which followed. After Dinner they rode from *Graveſend* to *Chatham*, where he lodged that Night. The ſame Night the Earl of *Marr* came from the Court, on Purpoſe to congratulate with his Lordſhip, and do ſuch like private Offices of Friendſhip. The next Day being *Wedneſday*, his Lordſhip would have gone to the Ships, which were then fallen ſo low as *Queensborough*, there riding at Anchor and ſtaying our Coming; but the Weather fell out ſomewhat foul, and the Wind contrary, ſo that he reſted at *Chatham* that Night. The next Day being *Thurſday* the eight and twentieth of *March*, before Seven of the Clock in the Morning, his Lordſhip having commanded to be ready divers Barges and Pinnaces, to carry himſelf and his Followers a-board the Ships, took his Barge, and about Ten of the Clock the ſame Day entered the Ship, called the *Bear*, lying in *Queensborough* Road as afore is ſaid, together with the *Due-repulſe*, and the *Waſte-ſpight*, which three Ships kept Company together, and lay of Purpoſe to tranſport his Lordſhip, the Ambaſſador-Lieger, and the other Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, that were of the Company and Train.

Now what by Reaſon of ſtaying for ſome of the Lords and Gentlemen, as yet not come a-board, for the better diſpoſing and ordering all Things concerning the Voyage, as alſo for placing and appointing to every Man his Room accordingly: The Weather likewiſe being not very fair to put to Sea, we anchored before *Queensborough* till *Sunday* Morning, being *Eaſter*-day, and the laſt Day of *March*. At which Time,

Time, the Wind coming about to the Weſt, and ſtanding fair to put to Sea, his Lordſhip commanded to weigh, and to ſet Sail, which was done accordingly: Sailing as far as the Tide would give them Leave, which was to a certain Road betwixt the Sands, near to the *Shore-beak*, where they reſted that Night. The next Day being very foul, and the Wind contrary, they were fain to ride it out till *Tueſday* Morning, being the Second of *April*. At which Time the Weather fell ſomewhat fair, and his Lordſhip, being deſirous to take all Advantage that might forward the Journey, commanded to weigh again and put to Sea; but, the Wind being very ſlack, he was becalmed, and ſo driven to a Flat near the *Spits*, where, for that the Tide was much ſpent, and the Flood coming on, they caſt Anchor about One of the Clock in the Afternoon, there ſtaying, in Expectation of Wind, till *Wedneſday* Morning; when, although there was little or no Wind ſtirring, yet his Lordſhip ſet forward, tiding it as far as they could that Night. The next Day, being *Thurſday*, early in the Morning, the Wind coming ſomewhat towards the North, his Lordſhip cauſed to weigh Anchor; and ſo, with Expence of Time and much Pains, the Ships recovered *Dover* Road, where they anchored as well for the receiving in of many of the Company, as alſo for taking in freſh Water and Victuals. So ſoon as the Fleet was diſcovered, and coming near *Dover* Road, as well the Forts and Blockhouſes as the Caſtle of *Dover* ſaluted them with many Shot, his Lordſhip anſwering them again, both out of his own Ship, and out of the reſt alſo with the like.

That Night, the Lords and Gentlemen, for whom they made Stay at *Dover*, came a-board; and that Night alſo his Lordſhip minded to have ſet forward, had not the Hoy called the *George*, by ſpending of her Maſt, in her Paſſage from *Queensborough* to *Dover*, cauſed a longer Abode.

Now for that the ſaid Hoy was appointed to carry Proviſion and Neceſſaries for the Fleet, and could not be ſo ſoon made ready again for Service, as was deſired; and for that the Wind, ſtanding at North-eaſt, was a fair and fit Wind, for going forward, his Lordſhip adviſed with Sir *Richard Lewſon*, the Admiral of the Fleet, that ſome Courſe might be preſently had to forward the Journey; Sir *Richard* therefore, with great Care and extraordinary Pains, labouring all that Night, being ſeconded by Sir *John Trevor*, Surveyor of the Navy, unladed the ſaid Hoy of all ſuch neceſſary Proviſions as they were like to uſe in the Voyage; and having, that Night and the next Morning, diſperſed her Luggage, ſome in one Ship, and ſome in another; and being returned to the Ships, about Ten of the Clock, a Warning-piece was given, and about two Hours after they weighed, and ſailed all that Day, being *Friday* the fifth Day of *April*, until the next Day, being *Saturday*, and then, being becalmed, were fain to caſt Anchor again. That Night the Wind coming fair, they weighed Anchor, and ſo ſailed all that Night, till the next Day; the Wind again altering, they lay at Anchor till towards the Evening, and then ſet forward, ſailing until Ten of the Clock the next Day, and then caſt Anchor. About Ten of the Clock in the Evening, they weighed Anchor again, and ſo ſailed, with a fair Wind, that Night and the next Day. On *Wedneſday*, as we ſailed, his Lordſhip commanded to hale a Bark, which was diſcovered to be a Bark from *Barnſtable* in *Devonſhire*, and came from *Bayonne* in *France*, who declared, for News, that there was a young Prince born in *Spain*. Now it ſhould ſeem his Lordſhip had received Underſtanding, by Letters from the right Honourable the Viſcount *Cramborn*, his Highneſs's Principal Secretary of State, delivered to him whilſt we lay at Road before *Dover*, That his Coming was expected, and Proviſion made for him and his Company, by the King of *Spain*, at Saint *Anderas*. His Lordſhip having ſent his Proviſion of Horſes, Coaches, Litters, Hangings, and other his rich Furniture and Neceſſaries, together with his Harbingers, and other Officers, to the *Groyne*, in ſeveral Hoys appointed for that Purpoſe, the King's Ship, called the *Advantage*, being their Convoy: His Highneſs preſents likewiſe, under the Charge of *Thomas Knoell*, one of his Majeſty's Equeries, an appointed Meſſenger, for the Delivery thereof to the King of *Spain*, in their ſaid Company. And being uncertain, whether the King's Deſigns were as well known to the ſaid Harbingers, and the reſt, as to himſelf, he commanded Captain *Morgan*, and one Maſter *Pett*, a Maſter Shipwright, and a very good Mariner, to go on Board the *Reſiſtance*, being a Ship of *London*, and one appointed for Carriage of Proviſion in this Journey, to make

what

what Way they poſſibly could for the *Groyne*, to command the ſaid Ship's Proviſions and People, to meet him in the Mouth of the Harbour, thence to bear in his Company for St. *Anderas*: But the ſaid Ship was becalmed, as was the reſt of the Fleet likewiſe, and could make no Way, but kept Company with us till *Sunday* Morning; after which Time we had no more Sight of her, till her Coming to the *Groyne*, which was the next Day after our Arrival there.

On *Monday* Morning early, the Land was diſcovered by the Fleet, and, about Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, they arrived into the Road of the *Groyne*, being a very ſafe and pleaſant Harbour.

We were no ſooner deſcried from the Land, but the Governor of the Town, Don *Lewis de Carilla de Toledo*, Seignior *Peynte Corde de Carazena*, and Governor of *Galicia*, had commanded to make ready for entertaining his Lordſhip; which was moſt royally performed, being, upon Entrance into the Harbour, firſt ſaluted from a Fort, on the North-ſide the Town, with twenty great Pieces of Ordnance; then, from the Fort lately built upon the Rock, with ſix-and-twenty Pieces of great Ordnance; and, from the Town and Caſtle, with thirty great Pieces of Ordnance at leaſt. His Lordſhip coming to Anchor, with the reſt of the Ships, gave them their whole Broadſides. Immediately upon his Lordſhip's Arrival, the Governor of the Town ſent the four principal Officers, Commanders of the Town, together with his Brother Don *John de Pacheco*, and Don *Lewis de Carilla de Toledo*, his only Son, to give his Lordſhip the Welcome; wherein they demeaned themſelves ſo exceeding kindly, and with the moſt affable and reſpective Speeches that might be, excuſing their ſlender Entertainment, by Reaſon of their late Underſtanding of his Lordſhip's Coming to the *Groyne*, for that they had Intelligence, his Lordſhip meant to have gone to St. *Anderas*. After a ſhort Time ſpent in Compliment with theſe Commanders, the Governor himſelf, being accompanied with divers Perſonages of Worth, came a-board in a Barge, which ſeemed to have been made of Purpoſe for this Uſe. The Rowers and Mariners thereof, being clad in blue Silk Caſſocks and Caps, and the Barge covered with blue Velvet, and newly painted, reported to his Lordſhip, that the King his Maſter had eſpecially written to him in theſe Words: That he ſhould have Reſpect what Perſon he was that was coming Ambaſſador, from whom he was come, and to whom he was ſent; and that he ſhould do every Thing for the Honour of theſe three Perſons, without ſparing any Thing that might be fit for his Lordſhip's Entertainment: And therefore, the Governor intreated his Lordſhip to go on Land, which he refuſed to do that Night; but, being much importuned, he promiſed to go on Shore the next Day. During the Governor's Abode on the Ship, there came many on Board likewiſe, and they of all Conditions; Doctors of Law, Churchmen, Friars, and of all other Sorts of People; who all ſeemed much to wonder and admire the Greatneſs and Neatneſs of that Galleon, as they termed her, exceedingly commending and applauding the ſame. At the Departure of the ſaid Governor from the Ships, his Lordſhip gave many Pieces of Ordnance, which were again received and anſwered from the Town and Forts; the whole Town indeed being but a Hold and Fort, but very ſtrong. That Night they ſent from the Town, unto his Lordſhip, a Preſent of Fiſh and Fruit, Bread, and ſuch like Commodities as the Country yielded, excuſing that they were not able to ſhew their Love in better Sort unto his Lordſhip, for that *Monday*, the Day of his Arrival, being St. *Mark*'s-day with them, and the Fiſhermen, as then, not going to Sea, and alſo having feaſted, as that Day, for Joy of the Birth of the young Prince, they were the more unfurniſhed of a better Preſent, and more fit for his Entertainment.

On *Tueſday* the Sixteenth Day of *April*, his Lordſhip prepared to go on Shore to his Lodging, which was prepared for him at the Governor's Houſe; which Houſe is the whole Pleaſure of the Town, for that it overlooketh the whole Harbour, and is ſeated in the Heart of the Town. The Governor likewiſe having taken great Care to receive his Lordſhip in the moſt honourable Manner; and therefore had, upon Intelligence of our coming to the *Groyne*, cauſed to be built a Bridge of Timber above forty Yards long, and painted the ſame yellow, red, and blue, and garniſhed the ſame with many Penſils of Silk, of like Colours, very formally, and planted the Way into the Town with Boughs of Bays and Orange Trees, and ſtrewed the ſame with Ruſhes and Flowers.

ers. The whole Company of the Town, and many more of the Country, being, as was ſuppoſed, drawn thither for this Purpoſe only, all ready to give his Lordſhip Entertainment after the beſt Faſhion; when the Time came that his Lordſhip might conveniently land, for until Three of the Clock after Noon the Flood was not, upon which he muſt of Neceſſity land, the Governor ſent divers of the Commanders of the Town to give Notice, that he, and other the Magiſtrates of the Town, would attend upon the Bridge; his Lordſhip thereupon took his Barge, carrying, in the Head thereof, an Ancient of white Silk, with the Picture of the Sun in the upper Part thereof, his Motto or Word being *Deſir Na Repos*, written in Manner of a Beud, within the ſame, and ſo came, in a very honourable Manner, to the Bridge, where ſtaid for him the ſaid Governor, Judges, and Magiſtrates of the Town, entertaining the *Engliſh* as they landed, whilſt the Muſick, being Shagbots and Hoboys, and placed for that Purpoſe upon the Bridge, plaid ſweet and delectable Melody; and ſo the *Spaniards* intermingling themſelves with the *Engliſh*, according to their Degrees, ever giving the right Hand to the *Engliſh*, paſſed into the Town in Order as follows: Firſt went four of his Lordſhip's Servants, who were appointed Marſhals for his Train; after followed certain of his Officers in his Houſe and Chamber, in their Liveries; next after followed the Gentlemen, his Servants and eſpecial Officers, in their Liveries of black Velvet; then followed the Eſquires and Knights, every one according to his Degree; then, with our Lords and Nobles, divers *Spaniſh* Commanders and Judges of the Kingdom of *Galicia*. At their Entrance into the Town, there was ſhot off an exceeding great Volley of Shot, both great and ſmall, and ſo they paſſed all on Foot to the Conde's Houſe; and, at the Entrance of his Lordſhip into the Houſe, there were ſhot off a great Number of Chambers, being for that Purpoſe, as it ſhould ſeem, planted over-againſt the Conde's Gate. His Lordſhip, being thus received, was exceedingly well appointed and lodged. That Night, what by Reaſon of the Littleneſs of the Room, and the Muchneſs of the Company, he was both lated, and could not but be much troubled at his Supping; wherein the Conde and his Officers did make manifeſt their exceeding Care and Reſpect to have all Things to content his Lordſhip, and the Company with ſo much Attendance and Obſervance, as it was rather a Trouble and Offence to any well-minded to ſee their extraordinary Pains taken in their Service, than Cauſe of Exception in any Wiſe, eſpecially for that it did appear, there was provided what the Country could any Way afford.

There his Lordſhip reſted from that Time forward, ſometimes riding abroad to take the Air on Horſeback, other Times in his Carroch, and ever with much Applauſe and Admiration of the People; ſo that it could not but give him much Contentment to obſerve how welcome he ſeemed generally to the whole Country. In his Paſſages abroad he took Occaſion to ſhew his Bounty to the Poor, which in that Place abound greatly, many of them being very miſerable Creatures to ſee, and wherewith his Lordſhip was in Mercy and Charity much moved, not ſparing his Purſe one Hour in the Day; for, beſides what he gave Abroad, he never ſhewed himſelf in his Gallery, but he provided good Sums of Money to give for Relief of thoſe miſerable poor People, who indeed, during his Abode there, made little Account of other Living, than of his Relief.

Whilſt we reſted in the *Groyne*, a certain Mariner, being one of the *Repulſe*, and having, upon *Wedneſday* the Seventeenth Day of the preſent Month of *April*, brought on Shore ſome Company, and ſtaying in Town until, amongſt lewd Company, he became tippled, that thereby he gave Offence in his Behaviour, by violent ſtriking of one of the Churchmen of the Town; although it was not directly complained of by any, either of the Church or of the Town, yet, by Chance, came to his Lordſhip's Knowledge, who, for that he received ſuch extraordinary kind and liberal Uſage, both for himſelf and his Followers, and that generally from all, if no other Cauſe might move him but that, was much offended therewith, and therefore thought good to take due Puniſhment of that ſo foul a Fault, commanding that preſent Inquiry ſhould be made through all the Ships, who of them had been on Shore; at laſt finding the Offender, he committed him preſently to the *Bilboes*, there to remain till the next Day, which was *Friday*, at which Time he appointed Sir *Richard Lewſon*, his Admiral and Marſhal, to call unto him the other Admirals and Captains of the Fleet, and thoroughly

thoroughly to examine the Offence, and accordingly to proceed without any Reſpect or Favour. They calling before them the ſaid Offender, and finding indeed that the Fellow was drunk, and by no Means could remember whether he had ſtruck the ſaid Churchman or no; and although the Manner of his Striking was ſo ſlight, and the Party ſaid to be ſtruck ſo vile in Reputation of the whole City, as they generally pitied any Man ſhould once be called in Queſtion for ſo baſe a Perſon; the ſaid Commiſſioners and Jury proceeded, and, finding him guilty of ſtriking the ſaid Churchman, being contrary to Law and his Lordſhip's former Decrees in that Behalf, adjudged him to be preſently hanged. Here it is to be underſtood, that the Matter could not be ſo privately carried, but many of the Town, and ſome Churchmen alſo, had made Means to get Aboard, and ſaw the Proceeding ſo auſtere and reſolute, that preſently they ſollicited the Conde, and the honourable Condeſſe his Wife, upon any Condition, to hinder the Execution. Whereof, when the Conde, but eſpecially the Condeſſe and her Daughter, had taken Notice, they never left intreating his Lordſhip to recall his averred Sentence and Judgment; and which to do, his Lordſhip could not, without offering much Unkindneſs, refuſe or deny. Many Reaſons were alledged by the Conde and the Condeſſe, that the Party offended was a Man vile in Reputation, and eſteemed as a Man half Lunatick; that the Offence was not a malicious or determinate wilful Offence, and therefore, the Premiſſes conſidered, his Lordſhip could not but with more Judgment paſs it over, than ſo ſeverely proſecute the Execution of Juſtice upon ſo mean a Cauſe, eſpecially ſince no Information or Complaint was by the Party offended, or by any other of the Court, proſecuted on his Behalf. His Lordſhip, thus urged, granted he ſhould be delivered unto the Conde, to be uſed as he thought good, and therefore commanded he ſhould be brought on Land, and delivered unto him; which was done, one of the Maſters going along with him, and the Boatſwain leading him with a Halter about his Neck; who, when he came before the Conde, fell on his Knees, and would have made much Proteſtation; but the honourable Conde took him up, took off the Halter from his Neck, and commanded him to be carried to eat in the Buttery, for that the doleful Looks of the Man moved much Pity in the Conde.

On *Tueſday*, the three and twentieth Day of *April*, according to the Computation of *England*, his Lordſhip ſolemniſed the Feaſt of St. *George*; which was done in a very ſolemn Manner, and with the more Regard, for that the Townſmen, taking Notice of his Intendment to feaſt, came in Troops to ſee and obſerve the Faſhions of *England*: His Lordſhip, therefore, having deſired Sufferance of the Conde to uſe his own Officers for that Day, appointed to be ſerved after the Faſhion of *England*, both in Service and Diet. And, whereas the Conde had, for his Lordſhip's State, ſet up a Cloth of State with his proper Arms, his Lordſhip commanded to ſet up a State of his own, being rich of Bawdkim, without Arms, other than the Arms of his Highneſs with St. *George*'s Croſs, as is the Cuſtom; his own Arms was placed a good Diſtance off, upon the Hangings, and on the Right-hand of the Cloth of State, for that both the Room was moſt convenient, as alſo it was thought the Conde would have dined with his Lordſhip, as he was deſired. After private Prayers in his Chamber, and that moſt of his Company was come to him, and Dinner being ſerved in accordingly, his Lordſhip came forth, in his Robes of St. *George*, to meet the Conde: But the Conde, fearing to do any Thing that might impeach the Honour of his Maſter, or be preſent to hear any Thing pronounced, which might offend him, in Reſpect of the Honour of his Maſter, after that he had ſtaid to ſee his Lordſhip waſh, and ſit at the Table, prayed Leave, and ſo went to his private Lodging. At the Coming in of the ſecond Courſe, according to the Faſhion of *England*, the King's Stile was proclaimed, in three ſeveral Languages, by *Somerſet*-Herald, crying, *Largeſſe*, who had a liberal Reward for the ſame: And ſo his Lordſhip, being ſerved very honourably by Perſons of the better Sort, and very richly in Diet and in Plate, ended his Dinner, ſitting alone at the Table; but divers other Lords, Knights, and Eſquires ſitting in the ſame Room, at two other Tables by.

After Dinner, the Conde came to congratulate his Lordſhip, ſeeming much to repent him, that he kept not him Company at Dinner, ſince he had underſtood by his Brother (who ſtood all Dinner-time there, and well obſerving

ſerving all) that there was not any Thing, that might give the leaſt Cauſe of Offence, or Exception. Therefore the Conde diſcovered, that he much deſired to keep him Company at Supper; which he did, his Lordſhip ſitting, as he did at Dinner, under the Eſcutcheon of his own Arms, the Conde on the ſame Side, but on the Left-hand of the Cloth of State, and at the lower End of the Table. Whilſt they ſat at Table, much Company came in to ſee them; divers Ladies, and other Gentlemen of the better Sort, coming privately to obſerve the Faſhion of our State, which his Lordſhip performed moſt honourably and orderly, to the Glory of our Nation, and to no ſmall Honour of himſelf.

*Wedneſday*, the four and twentieth Day of the ſaid Month of *April*, about Noon, there came a Gentleman from the Court, who gave Notice to the Conde and his Lordſhip, that, that Night, Don *Blaſco de Arragon*, Nephew to the Duke of *Terra Nova*, one that had been formerly in *England* with the Conſtable, would be there; who, indeed, about Seven of the Clock that Night, came accordingly to ſalute his Lordſhip, from the King his Maſter, and to give Underſtanding, both of the Preparation for his Lordſhip and his Company upon the Way, as alſo what Order ſhould be preſently taken for their more ſpeedy Journey.

*Tueſday*, the thirtieth of *April*, there was appointed a Communion on Ship-board, to the which reſorted divers Knights and Gentlemen, and as many as could conveniently come to the ſame.

On *Wedneſday* and *Thurſday*, his Lordſhip treated with the Conde, the ſaid Don *Blaſco*, and Don *Jaſpar de Bullion*, the *Apoſentador*, Mayor to the King; which ſaid *Jaſpar de Bullion* was lately come from the Court, of Purpoſe to provide for his Lordſhip and his Train, with Commiſſion from the King to ſee them furniſhed of all Neceſſaries for their Journeying.

In this Conference (notwithſtanding it had been formerly underſtood, there ſhould be no Want of Means or Neceſſaries for his Lordſhip and his People, in their Journey to Court) it appeared, that, the Company being numbered by the Poll to be ſix-hundred and fifty Perſons of all Sorts, beſides their Carriages, which were very many, the Country could by no Means ſupply the whole Number; therefore it was thought good to leſſen them, as much as conveniently they might, reſolving to leave divers of his Lordſhip's own People aboard the Ships, till they return: Some alſo were diſpatched for *England*, with the Carroches, Litters, and Mares, and ſuch other his Furniture, as, by Don *Blaſco* was underſtood, he ſhould have little Uſe of. And for that, beſides Riding-mules, we underſtood there were ſent thither by the King four Litters, and four Coaches, which ſtaid for us at *Villa Franca*, for the more Eaſe of his Lordſhip, when he pleaſed, and for the Relief of any Gentleman, that might happen to be ſick upon the Way; which, in ſo long and tedious a Journey, was likely to be: And indeed, as it happened, moſt of them were put to Uſe, one Coach and one Litter being appointed for his Lordſhip's own Uſe; another Coach and Litter appointed to the Ambaſſador-Lieger; and another ſerving ſometimes one, and ſometimes another, as Occaſion ſerved, and they deſired.

*Thurſday*, the ſecond Day of *May*, there was prepared in the Market-place a certain Piece of Ground, railed in ſquare, the Space of twenty Yards, or more; with Scaffolds built of Purpoſe about the ſame, wherein the *Engliſh* were very ſufficiently appointed and placed, for the Seeing of theſe Sports. His Lordſhip and other Noblemen were placed in ſeveral Windows, in a very fair Room in the King's State-houſe, being for that Purpoſe hung with rich Arras, and ſeveral Cloths of State over the Windows, on the Wall on the Outſide the Houſe. They being come to their Standings, the Ladies and better Sort of the Town being likewiſe placed in a convenient Room for that Purpoſe, they began their Sports after this Manner: *Firſt*, There was brought in a Caſtle, wherein a Lady was incloſed, and kept by four Monſters. The ſaid Caſtle being placed in the Midſt of the Squadron, there appeared four Knights armed, with their Pages going before them with Drums and Fife, playing; who preſently aſſailed the Caſtle, ſurpriſed the Monſters, relieved the Lady, and ſo ſet Fire to the Caſtle; this Device being, as we underſtood of it, as much to ſhew the Strangeneſs of the Fire-works, which indeed were many, as for any other Reaſon, which we obſerved by the ſame.

Then came *Venus*, *Pallas*, *Juno*, *Cupid*, every one led ſeverally by Savages; after whom followed four other armed Knights, in Colours painted blue and white. Then came a third

a third Company, being four in Number, in coloured Armours likewiſe, with Croſſes on their Breaſts, in Shew like Knights of *Malta*; bringing in with them a Chariot, wherein the Chief ſat *Peace*, *Plenty*, and other Virtues, being likewiſe planted in the ſame, with their ſeveral Names written on their Backs; after whom likewiſe followed four other Knights armed, with Trumpets ſounding. When they had all appeared, they fell to Barriers, according to the Direction of certain Gentlemen appointed to marſhal the ſame. Some of our *Engliſh* Lords and Knights being intreated by the *Spaniards* to aſſiſt them therein alſo, they encountered one another ſingle, firſt by two, after increaſing their Number, according to the Pleaſure of the Judges and Marſhals; when they had broken their Staves (or at leaſt done their beſt to break them) retiring, fell to it again with their Swords, according to the Manner of Barriers, five Blows a-piece. In a Scaffold, directly oppoſite againſt the Place wherein the Lords ſtood, ſat the Judges of theſe Sports, amongſt whom the Lord *Howard* of *Effingham* was intreated by the Magiſtrates of the Town to be one; which Judges, upon every Encounter, gave Reward to the beſt Deſerver, as, Scarfs, Gloves, Choppinmors, Ribbons, and ſuch like, which were, by the Knights, thankfully received, and beſtowed as Favours upon their Miſtreſſes; at laſt the Knights encountered *pell-mell* one another, and, as it ſeemed, in a very furious Manner. But, the Bar being made in Faſhion like a Trough, and many Fire-works being cunningly contrived in the ſame, it duly took Fire; and ſo with Flame and Smoke they were parted.

Theſe Sports ended, there was a Banquet carried up to his Lordſhip, and other the Lords and Ladies, which were in another Room next adjoining, being indeed both plentiful and coſtly, and ſerved in by the chief Gentlemen of the Country and Town. The Banquet ended, and Night coming on, there were brought into the ſame Place divers Fire-works; one in the Faſhion of a Chariot, another like the Wheel of Fortune, another like a Caſtle, and ſuch like, guarded and attended with divers Wild-men, with Clubs and Wheels, with ſeveral Fire-works; Men riding with Spears in their Hands, all containing Squibs and Fire-works, with which they ran at one another, as in Manner of Tilt. The Diverſities of the Fire-works were many, and, for the Strangeneſs and Manner of Performance thereof, generally commended, and ſo well liked, as two Hours, ſpent in that Paſtime, ſeemed but a Moment.

*Friday*, the third Day of *May*, his Lordſhip, having his Company furniſhed with convenient Mules for Riding, as alſo for Carriage of their Trunks and Neceſſaries, about Eleven of the Clock, accompanied with the Governor and other the Magiſtrates of the Town, ſet forward on his Journey: Don *Blaſco de Arragon* and Don *Jaſpar de Bullion*, the chief Harbinger for the King, accompanying his Lordſhip, for the Purpoſes aforeſaid. In the Paſſage from the Town, the Waits and Shaghots were placed, playing all the While; at our Departing from the Town, and our Leave-taking of the Governor, they gave a ſmall Volley of Shot out of the Town. His Lordſhip being half a Mile out of the Town, and yet within Sight of the Ships, as they lay at Road, the ſaid Ships took their Leave alſo of us, with many Pieces of Ordnance.

The ſaid Governor, as before is mentioned, is named Don *Lewis de Carilla de Toledo*, &c. and is of the Country of *Caſtile*, but appointed here by the King, as Governor of the *Groyne* and all the Country of *Galicia*; a Man of very mild and affable Behaviour, very courteous, and moſt reſpective of the *Engliſh* in general, as, by the great Care and good Uſage of us, whilſt we lodged in the *Groyne*, appeared.

That Night, being, as is aforeſaid, the third Day of *May*, according to the Computation of *England*, we rode to *Bytaunce*, being diſtant three Leagues from the *Groyne*; where his Lordſhip and his Company were well entertained and lodged.

*Saturday*, the fourth Day of *May*, we rode from *Bytaunce* to a certain Town called *Villa Alva*, ſix Leagues, where our Entertainment was ſuch as the Town could afford, by reaſon of the Means thereof.

*Sunday* the fifth Day of *May*, we rode forward to a very fair Town, called *Lugo*, being diſtant from *Villa Alva* ſeven Leagues: The Alcaid, and other Officers of the Town, meeting his Lordſhip, about half a Mile without the Gates, and accompanying us into the Town, the Street being decked with Boughs, and the Walls of their Houſes garniſhed with their beſt Hangings and Furniture. In the Way coming thither, his Lordſhip received Letters

Letters of Intelligence and Congratulations from the Conde at the *Groyne*, which he accepted very kindly.

The Meſſenger being diſpatched from *Lugo*, and rewarded with a Chain of Gold of good Value, on *Monday* we rode to a certain Town called *Terra Caſtella*, diſtant from *Lugo* eight Leagues.

*Tueſday*, the ſeventh Day of *May*, we travelled all the Morning up to a high Mountain by the Space of ſix Leagues, and dined at a little Village called *Cebrera*, where we received ſuch Entertainment, unexpected, as was altogether in an Arbour of green Boughs, made of Purpoſe, of ſuch a convenient Length, that it received his Lordſhip and all the better Sort of his Train. And after Dinner we rode to a certain Town called *Villa Franca*, being diſtant ſix Leagues, where his Lordſhip was received with the Townſmen, the Streets, all the Way where we paſſed, being garniſhed with Boughs, and ſtrewed with Herbs and Flowers; Muſick being likewiſe placed near the Houſe where his Lordſhip ſhould lodge.

*Wedneſday*, for that the Company were ſomewhat weary, his Lordſhip diſpoſed himſelf chiefly to Reſt; chiefly, for that the Ambaſſador-Lieger complained of Sickneſs, as alſo to relieve the Mules, forbearing to travel in ſo foul Weather as it fell out to be the ſame Day.

*Thurſday*, the ninth Day of *May*, we rode by a Town called *Conguſta*, to *Beubibre*, to Bed, where his Lordſhip was lodged in a Caſtle of the Conde *de Alvaliſta*, but very old and mean. The Town being ſo poor, and Men alſo, as if the Officers of his Highneſs had not then, as indeed they did, taken more than ordinary Pains and Care, it had not been poſſible to have lodged half the Company.

*Friday*, the tenth Day of *May*, we came to *Aſtorga*, being a City walled and ſtanding in a pleaſant and champaign Country, and containing in it many Churches, amongſt which one is a Cathedral, two Friaries and two Nunneries. A Mile without the Town we were met with the Alcaid and Officers of the Town; over the Gates hung divers Guidons and Banners of Silk; one of them being a large white Banner of Damaſk, in Faſhion of a Guidon, and placed in the Midſt of the reſt; Muſick likewiſe playing all the Way as we paſſed, the Houſes garniſhed with their beſt Hangings, and the Street ſtrewed with Herbs and Flowers.

*Saturday*, the eleventh Day of *May*, his Lordſhip having had Underſtanding of the Fairneſs of the Caſtle there, belonging to the Marquiſs of *Aſtorga*, and being deſired by Don *Blaſco*, to take a View thereof, in paſſing out of the Town, alighted to ſee the ſame: The Houſe, indeed, being a very ſtrong Caſtle, and having in it a very fair Gallery, with many goodly Pictures and Pieces of Painting, both large and coſtly; and alſo a rich Library, with many fine Rarities in the ſame. After we rode four Leagues to a certain Town called *La Ban'eſa*, where, in the Way coming, we were met with divers Gypſies (as they termed them) Men and Women dancing and tumbling much after the *Moriſco* * Faſhion, which continued till we came to the Town.

*Sunday*, the twelfth Day of *May*, we rode eight Leagues to a Town called *Benavente*, where, a Mile without the Town, the Alcaid and chief Officers of the Town met us, bringing with them a Company of Gypſies likewiſe, ſinging and dancing, playing, and ſhewing divers Feats of Activity, conducting his Lordſhip to the Conde of *Benavente*'s Houſe, where he lodged that Night.

*Monday*, we rode forward eight Leagues, to a certain Town called *Villa Garcia*, where we were received with a Morrice Dance of certain comely Gentlemen, being in Number eight; as alſo with eight Boys, attired like Satyrs or Shepherds, with Shepherds Hooks, who, as they danced, played with the ſame after the Faſhion of *Mattachyna*.

In this Town is a very fair College, wherein is only taught the Rules of *Grammar* and Grounds of the *Latin* Tongue; it containeth about ſix-hundred Scholars: The Church a very fair Church, very richly ſet out, with many goodly Pieces of Painting; the Altar and Quire exceeding rich and fair. From hence his Lordſhip received Order, by the King's Officers, to go to a certain Town called *Cimancas*; which, though it was rather further in Diſtance than *Valladolid*, yet, for that his Lordſhip ſhould not come late, nor his Company over wearied, this Town was appointed to receive him before our Coming to the Court. Other Reaſons were given, that is, in the right Way, between *Villa Garcia* and *Valladolid*, a Bridge was lately broken, whereby of Neceſſity we muſt have paſſed; and alſo that the

* Or *Mooriſh*.

King desired we should enter through the high Street, and the best Part of the Town; which we did, and, therefore, appointed our Way by *Cimancas*: Accordingly we came to *Cimancas* on *Tuesday*, at Night, somewhat late, being overtaken with extraordinary foul Weather, and greatly annoyed with the same.

In the Way between *Villa Garcia* and *Cimancas*, we passed by a very fair Monastery of Monks of the Order of St. *Benedict*, being not long since built, but exceeding fair and rich, whereunto there is belonging, inclosed, as much Ground as the Wall thereof, being of Stone, is in Circuit, a League or better; within which is all Kind of Game Royal, as Pheasants, Partridges, Hares, Conies, and such like. The Church here is very curiously and workmanlike built, and garnished with many curious Pieces of Painting, with Copes very rich and very curiously wrought.

That Night, at Supper, his Lordship had Notice, that it was the King's Pleasure we should rest at *Cimancas* all *Wednesday*, and not till *Thursday* come to the Court.

On *Wednesday*, after Dinner, there came from the Court Don *Juan de Suniga*, eldest Son to the Conde *de Villa Mediana*, Ambassador in *England*; as also, Don *Pedro de Tassis*, the new appointed Ambassador for *England*, accompanied with divers others; who, having congratulated his Lordship, staying with him some half Hour or thereabouts, departed.

That Night we understood that it was the King's Pleasure his Lordship should come to Court on *Thursday*, whereupon every one, taking Notice thereof, made Preparation accordingly.

*Thursday*, being the sixteenth Day of *May*, we staid till after Dinner expecting to receive more particular Directions from Court; at which Time there came, to attend his Lordship thither, the Marquis of *Camerassa*, Don *Pedro de Suniga*, Don *Juan de Tassis*, Don *Blasco de Arragon*, and divers other Knights and Gentlemen of the King's House and Chamber, bringing with them divers Coaches, so that his Lordship was entertained by Don *Blasco* and the Marquis in the first Coach; the Ambassador-Leiger, by some others in the Second; other Knights and Gentlemen filling as well the other Coaches, which came along from the *Groyne*, as those which were brought from Court by these Lords. After we had travelled about four *English* Miles (for from *Cimancas* to Court it was accounted but six) and having been met with many of the better Sort in their Coaches, his Lordship was moved by Don *Blasco* and the rest, to go into a certain Banqueting house, which stood upon the Highway, as well to see the Delicacy of the Orchards and Gardens, as to taste of the Variety of Fruits within the same: But we rather suppose, to make Stay for such Nobles, as were appointed by the King to give Meeting to his Lordship, and were not, as yet, come forward: During his Lordship's Stay in this Garden, there was a Horse presented unto him from the King, which the King himself used to ride on. After they had staid there, by the Space of a long Hour or more, there came from the Town divers Noblemen, the Chief whereof was the Duke of *Fryas*, Constable of *Castile*, the King's late Ambassador in *England*; the Duke of *Infantasgo*, the Duke of *Alberquerques*, the Duke of *Cea*, the Duke of *Sesa*, the Duke of *Pastrava*, the Marquis of St. *Germain*, the Conde of *Chincou*, the Conde of *Punion en Rostro*, the Marquis *de Lavanessa*, the Conde of *Aguillar*, the Conde *de Beroja*, the Conde *de Nieua*, the Conde *de Cornua*, the Conde *de Paredes*, the Conde *de Lodoja*, the Marquis *del Carpio*, the Marquis *de Tavera*, the Marquis *de Villa Nueva*, the Conde *Apala*, Conde *de Salinas*, Marquis *de Ceralva*, Marquis *de Fuentes*, Marquis *de Alcanes*, Conde *de Galves*, the Admiral of *Arragon*, and many other Lords and Knights in great Number. His Lordship setting forward in very good Order, accompanied with a great Multitude of Nobles, Knights, and Gentlemen, as is aforesaid: The Weather being all that Time extraordinarily hot, suddenly, to the great Disordering of all the Company, there fell so great a Shower of Rain as the like was not seen of long Time before, and continuing till the Company could get to the Town; notwithstanding which, his Lordship kept still on Horseback, accompanied with many of the Chief of the Company, and riding forward to his appointed Lodging, which was in a very fair House of the Conde of *Salinas*, and not far from the Court; an infinite Number of People, eight-hundred Coaches, filled with Ladies, were gotten out of the Town to meet and see his Lordship and his Company, all which took Part of this great Shower, to their no little Discomfort.

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The Order of our going into the Town was appointed as follows: Firſt rode two Trumpets, all the Sumpter and Carriages being about two Hours before ſent into the Town; after whom followed certain Gentlemen's Servants to the Knights and Lords; as alſo the Lieger Ambaſſador's Servants in Liveries very fair to the Number of ſixty: Then followed ſix Trumpets of his Lordſhip's in Suits of Damask, holding their Trumpets in their Hands, but not ſounding: Then came divers Gentlemen of good Sort, with whom alſo followed his Lordſhip's Gentlemen and principal Officers in their Liveries of black Velvet, to the Number of thirty: Then followed the Eſquires, Knights, and Lords, every one according to their Degree, being accompanied with ſeveral *Spaniſh* Knights and Lords; after whom came his Lordſhip, accompanied with the Nobles afore-mentioned; which Order, for that the Rain fell ſo exceedingly, could not be continued as was meant; but, by reaſon thereof, divers made what Haſte they could to their Lodging, and yet were thoroughly wet before they could get thither: His Lordſhip accompanied, as before, and entering into the Town at the Gate called *La Puerta del Campo*, paſſed through the chief Parts of the Town and along by the Court-Gate; the King, Queen, and Ladies (as it was ſaid) ſtanding in ſeveral Windows to take View of the Company; about Six of the Clock came to the Place appointed for his Lordſhip's Lodging.

That Night came divers Noblemen, as alſo the *Mayordomo* to the Queen, to viſit his Lordſhip from her Highneſs, which was wondered at by the *Spaniards* themſelves; for that (if they ſpeak true) they never knew the like Favour done to any Ambaſſador whatſoever.

The next Day, being *Friday* the ſevententh Day of *May*, there came to viſit his Lordſhip the Duke of *Lerma*, Don *Franciſco Govees de Sandoval*, *&c.* a Man of eſpecial Regard and Account with the King, accompanied with divers Dukes and Condes.

Thither alſo, that Day, came the Duke of *Medina de Ryoſeco*, a Youth of ten Years of Age, Admiral of *Caſtile* by Inheritance, accompanied with divers other Lords and Men of great Account.

Upon *Saturday*, the eighteenth Day of *May*, in the Morning, the King ſent the Conde *d'Guklues*, and divers others of his Privy Chamber, to viſit his Lordſhip the ſame Day.

The firſt Audience ſomewhat before Dinner, his Lordſhip had Intelligence, that the King's Majeſty intended to give him Audience in the Afternoon; whereof the *Engliſh* Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, taking Notice, prepared themſelves to give their Attendance, although not in ſo good Faſhion as they deſired, and would, had they had Underſtanding thereof over Night: His Lordſhip therefore ſtaying his Highneſs's Pleaſure, about Three of the Clock in the Afternoon.

The Conſtable, accompanied with twenty Noblemen, or more, whereof three or four of them were of the Grandees of *Spain*; and divers other Men of Dignity and Eſteem in that Court, bringing with them many Coaches, came to conduct his Lordſhip, and the Company, to the Court; many People were gathered in the Streets to ſee the Paſſage of his Lordſhip and his Company. The Number of the Coaches was about twenty; but, notwithſtanding many of our Noblemen and Knights rode upon their rich Foot-cloths, the King's Guard waited even from the uttermoſt Gate of the Palace, to the Preſence-chamber Door, being all newly ſuited in coloured Velvet, yellow and red, but in ſeveral Habits; that thereby they might be the better diſtinguiſhed, being in Number Three-hundred, whereof there were One-hundred *Switzers*, One-hundred *Spaniſh* Horſemen, and One-hundred *Walloons*. At the Palace-Gate ſtood divers Noblemen, Knights, and Gentlemen, amongſt whom was the Duke of *Infantaſgo*, the Marquis of *Vellada*, and others, all appointed to receive and give his Lordſhip Entertainment, and to conduct and guide the Company up into the Preſence, where the King ſat under a rich Cloth of State, and by him ſtood eight Grandees of *Spain* covered*. The Care theſe Lords took to give Contentment to the *Engliſh* was ſo great, that we might eaſily perceive, they ſpared not to put out of the ſaid Room all Manner of People of what Condition ſoever, on Purpoſe to make Way, and give Place even to the meaneſt of the *Engliſh*, which would preſs in to ſee the King, not keeping out any, of how mean Condition ſoever.

His Lordſhip having delivered his Mind

* It is not lawful for any to ſtand covered in the Preſence of the King, except he be a Grandee.

in

in Oration, by the Mouth of Mr. *Giles Porter*, his Interpreter, as alſo the King's Majeſty's Letters, into his Highneſs's own Hands: The King, deſcending from his Chair, gave Entertainment to his Lordſhip with moſt kind and affable Behaviour, appointing him to ſit down by him, and that very near; which eſpecial Favour was much obſerved, and reported as a Thing never uſed to any Ambaſſador before that Time. Some ſhort Time ſpent in Conference with his Lordſhip, his Highneſs was pleaſed to take Notice of ſuch Nobles and Gentlemen, as accompanied his Lordſhip in this his long and painful Journey; and thereupon required they ſhould draw near, which they did, each after other, to do their Reverence, and, as they ſay, *Beſar las manos* *, which was only in bowing low to the Ground, without touching either Hand or Foot, or any other Part of his Garments: This done, his Lordſhip took his Leave, and the King appointed the Conſtable and others to conduct his Lordſhip and Company to the Queen's Side; where, in a very fair Preſence, ſat her Highneſs, with the Infanta by her, under a rich Cloth of State, accompanied with many Ladies and Maids of Honour, divided on either Side the ſame Room, a good Diſtance each from the other, ſtanding cloſe by the Wall, almoſt from one End of the Chamber to the other. The Gentlemen, Knights, and Lords going along, and before his Lordſhip, were received by the *Mayordomo* to the Queen, and ſo conducted to her Preſence.

After ſome Conference and Compliment, his Lordſhip taking Leave of her Majeſty, for that it began to be late, all the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen were called up to the Queen, as formerly they had been to the King; every one after other, bowing himſelf in Obeyſance, and kiſſing the Skirt of her Highneſs's Kirtle, departed; being conducted by the ſaid Dukes and Lords which both brought them to the Court, and accompanied them back again to his Lodging.

*Sunday*, the Nineteenth Day of *May*, the King's Majeſty went in Proceſſion, firſt going into the Church near the Palace, called St. *Paul*'s, and after, through the Town, to a Church called St. *Mary*'s, in Manner as follows:

Firſt went many Friars ſinging, bearing among them divers Croſſes, Banners, and other ceremonious Relicks of the Church, the Sacrament being likewiſe carried by four Church Officers.

Then followed divers Noblemen, according to their Degrees.

Next, before the King's own Perſon, went the younger of the Princes of *Savoy*.

Then the King himſelf in Perſon: After whom followed the Cardinal, being Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, and with him the Prince of *Savoy*, the elder Brother. Then followed together the Prince of *Morocco*, the Emperor's Ambaſſador, the Ambaſſador of *France*, and the Ambaſſador of *Venice*; after whom followed divers Gentlemen of the King's Chamber, and the reſt of the Train. After Dinner, there was Preparation made for the Chriſtening of the Prince, and, for that the Court ſtood from the Church, there was ſet up, on Purpoſe, for a more cloſe and convenient Paſſage, a very large Scaffold adjoining to the End of a long Gallery, and to the Church likewiſe, the Timber whereof was all covered with Cloth of Gold very rich, and the Scaffold being high, was a good Means to give Sight to all the People. The Manner of their Coming to Church was in this Sort: The King's Trumpets were placed near and before the Church, in ſeveral Companies, always ſounding, and one anſwering the other: About Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, there appeared, deſcending by the Scaffold, aforementioned, to go into the Church of St. *Paul*'s, which, as is likewiſe ſaid, adjoins to the Scaffold, the Knights, Lords, and Grandees, going before; and ſome Dukes of eſpecial Name, bearing divers Ceremonies † likewiſe; as the *Salera* or *Salt* borne by one, the Taper of Wax by another, the Chriſm by another; then the Crown, borne by the Conſtable, before whom went the King at Arms. The Prince was borne by the Duke of *Lerma*, in his Arms, but tied to him with a rich Scarf, or Band; he was aſſiſted by the Prince of *Savoy*, and the Conde of *Miranda*. Then followed the Infanta in a Chair, as it ſhould ſeem, made for that Purpoſe, and borne by divers Gentlemen of the King's Bed and Privy-chamber, on their Shoulders, aſſiſted by the younger Prince of *Savoy*. At the Church Door the Cardinal ſtaid for them in his *Pontificalibus*, accompanied with three Bi-

* i. e. *To kiſs his Hand.* † To be uſed in the *Romiſh* Form of *Baptiſm.*

ſhops,

ſhops, and other ſpecial Officers of the Church, the Singing-Men going before, and ſo conducting them to the Font, which was richly prepared, and covered with a Canopy of Cloth of Gold; the Cardinal performed all the Ceremonies according to the Order of their Church; and ſo with Church-muſick, Noiſe of Trumpets, and many other Wind Inſtruments, they finiſhed their Ceremonies, returning in ſuch Manner as they went, being accompanied alſo with moſt of the great Ladies of the Kingdom, and thoſe of the Court.

He was chriſtened *Phillippe Domingo Victor*.

His Godfather was the elder Prince of *Savoy*, of whom he took his Name, *Victor*.

His Godmother was the Infanta, his Siſter.

His Lordſhip was placed conveniently in the Houſe of the Conde *d'Rubadavia*, in the Morning, both to ſee the Proceſſion, as alſo the Going of the Prince to Chriſtening: But, ſo ſoon as they were paſſed by, he, with ſome others, were privately conveighed through a Gallery, on the Back-ſide of a Monaſtery, into the Church, to a Place appointed on Purpoſe for him and the Lords that were of his Company.

On *Monday* in the Afternoon, the Ambaſſador-Lieger was, by his Lordſhip, preſented to the King, and by him graciouſly received and allowed. That Day, in the Afternoon, came divers Ambaſſadors to viſit his Lordſhip; as firſt, Don *Franciſco de Meſchite*, Ambaſſador for the State of *Venice*; as alſo the *French* Ambaſſador, Monſieur Baron *de Barault Chevalier*, who, after ſome ſhort Stay, departed. At the Time of the *French* Ambaſſador's being there, came likewiſe the Ambaſſador Reſiaunt for the Emperor. His Lordſhip ever ſhewing much Affability and Courteſy, and accompanying them on their Way to their Coaches, this kind Behaviour of his, being greatly obſerved, cauſed an extraordinary Reſpect, and an exceeding Love of all Men towards him.

That Night alſo, came to viſit his Lordſhip the Cardinal of *Toledo*; being a very ſtately Prelate, well deſcended, very rich, in his Carriage very courteous; and in his Expence liberal, as by the Apparelling of his Pages and Servants, and by his rich Sumpter-Cloths, Hangings, and ſuch like, might well appear.

*Tueſday*, the One and Twentieth of *May*, his Lordſhip was conducted by Don *Blaſco* unto the Church called St. *Mary*'s, to ſee the Ceremony and State of the Queen's Churching, whither the King and Queen came together, the King riding on Horſeback, and the Queen in a very rich Chariot of Cloth of Gold; drawn by four Horſes, all trapped and harneſſed with Cloth of Gold; in which Chariot, likewiſe, ſat the Infanta. Next followed, in another Chariot, the young Prince, in the Arms of an ancient Lady. After followed two other Carroches of black Velvet, wherein ſat divers Ducheſſes, Counteſſes, and other great Perſonages, Widows.

Then followed four other Carroches, all of one Faſhion, wherein ſat ſeveral Ladies, the Queen's Maids.

This was the firſt Day of the Queen's going Abroad, and, as we accounted it, her *Churching-day*.

This Day his Lordſhip was invited to Dinner to the Conſtable's, where he was accompanied by the Duke of *Alberquerque*, the Duke of *Ceſa*, and others. The Manner of Feaſting being not uſual in *Spain*, our Company, being many, could not all receive that Contentment which the Conſtable deſired to give in general. For, the Country conſidered, it is much to be marvelled, how they could do what they did; but it plainly appeared, nothing was left undone for Want of Coſt, and that all Preparation was made, that the Country could any Way afford for their Entertainment.

*Wedneſday*, his Lordſhip was viſited by the Conde *de Lemos*, accompanied with divers Noblemen, and Men of good Quality.

That Day, likewiſe, and *Thurſday*, his Lordſhip viſited as well the Ambaſſadors, aforementioned, as alſo divers other Lords and Ladies in the Town.

*Friday*, the Four and Twentieth Day of *May*, *Thomas Knoell*, Eſq; his Highneſs's Servant and Meſſenger for the Delivery of certain Preſents to the King of *Spain*, expecting and attending the King's Pleaſure therein, was ſent for by Don *Blaſco* to come and bring the ſaid Preſents into a private Garden belonging to the Duke of *Lerma*, where the King and Queen came in Perſon to receive the ſame. The Preſents were ſix Horſes (three for the King, and three for the Queen) with Saddles and Cloths very richly embroidered and coſtly; two Croſs-bows with Sheaves of Arrows; four Fowling-pieces, with their Furnitures, all very richly garniſhed, and inlaid with fine Plate of Gold; and one Couple of Lime-hounds,

hounds, of an extraordinary Goodneſs: Which Preſents were acceptably received, the King and Queen very much obſerving and admiring the Richneſs and Faſhion thereof.

On *Saturday*, the Five and Twentieth Day of *May*, there came to viſit his Lordſhip the Biſhop *Saluſtius Taernſius*, Biſhop of *Montepolitan* in *Hetruria*, and Ambaſſador for the Duke of *Florence*. After Dinner came, likewiſe, to viſit his Lordſhip, Don *Juan do Bourch* Conde *de Figaroa*, Preſident of *Portugal*, with his four Sons. That Day, alſo, came to viſit him, together with the Conſtable, the Conde *de Olivares*, accompanied with divers Marquiſſes and Earls. This Conde was one of them that was in *England*, in the Time of Queen *Mary*. The ſame Day, in the Afternoon, his Lordſhip viſited the Queen, and delivered her a fair rich Jewel, as a Token from the Queen of *England*.

*Sunday* and *Monday*, his Lordſhip went Abroad to viſit divers Nobles that had formerly been with him, as alſo ſpending ſome Part of the ſame Time, in concluding with the Council of *Spain*, of Matters concerning his Ambaſſage; and of all Things neceſſary for the effecting and performing the ſame.

*Tueſday*, the Eight and Twentieth Day of *May*, his Lordſhip, and all the reſt of the Company, were invited to Dinner to the Duke of *Lerma*'s, where they were moſt honourably entertained, receiving there all Contentment that might be; for, beſides the Plenty of his Chear, the Manner of the Entertainment could not be bettered. At the Table, his Lordſhip was accompanied with the Duke of *Lerma*, the Duke of *Infantaſgo*, and the Duke of *Alberquerque*.

They were attended upon at this Feaſt, by divers Nobles, Marquiſſes, and Earls, with many Knights and Gentlemen of the King's Privy-chamber, and few others.

And beſides the ſeveral Sorts of Muſick, during the Time of Dinner, his Lordſhip, and the reſt, having received what could be poſſibly given at the Table, they were carried down into a fair Court, paved with ſquare Stone, in the Midſt whereof was a Fountain of clear Water: The whole Court covered with Canvas to defend and keep off the Heat of the Sun, which at that Time ſhone extremely. In this Court, was, of Purpoſe, a Stage erected, with all Things fitting for a Play, which his Lordſhip, and the reſt, were invited to behold: The King and Queen being in private, likewiſe, Spectators of that Interlude. To write, of every Particular of the Duke's Entertainment, were too much; for he took exceeding Care to perform all Things with the greateſt State, as well appeared in this: That, for that the Kitchen was croſs a ſquare Court, there were ſet up high Poſts of Timber, with Canvas ſtrained, to cover and defend the ſame, in the Paſſage of the Meat from the Dreſſer; the Ground being likewiſe covered with Hangings of Leather, that no Duſt ſhould ariſe, whilſt the Service paſſed by. At this Feaſt, ſeveral Healths were drank to the Kings of *Great Britain* and *Spain*, and to the happy Continuance of the Peace; begun by the Duke of *Lerma*, ſeconded by his Lordſhip, and performed by all the Company at the Table. Many Ladies of great Account came privately to ſee and obſerve his Lordſhip, and the Company, as they ſat at Meat, well allowing and applauding the Plenty and Bounty uſed at this Feaſt, being, indeed, ſuch a one, as the like was not ſeen in *Spain*, many Years before.

*Wedneſday*, his Lordſhip concluded with the Conſtable, and *Alexander Rovida*, Senator of *Millain*, as concerning all Matters touching the Taking of the King's Oath.

*Thurſday*, the Thirtieth Day of *May*, being *Corpus Chriſti* Day, the King went in Proceſſion, and, for that he would be ſeen by the *Engliſh*, the Courſe was appointed by the Gate where his Lordſhip lodged. The Manner was as follows:

Firſt, came eight great Giants, three Men, three Women, and two *Moors*, whith a Taber and Pipe playing, and they dancing. Then followed certain Pilgrims clad in Blue. After whom came many Croſſes, being in Number Twenty-five, or Twenty-ſix, borne and attended by the Officers of the ſeveral Churches to which they belonged. Amongſt whom were alſo mingled divers Pictures of Saints; as St. *John*, St. *George* killing the Dragon, St. *Michael*, St. *Francis*, St. *Andrew*, St. *Dominick*, St. *Martin*, the Picture of *Chriſt* in ſeveral Forms, *Mary Magdalen*, and our Lady, in divers Faſhions alſo. Many holy and precious Relicks, Friars Morrice-dancers, in Manner of Gypſies, Beaſts with Fire-works, Wild-men, and ſuch-like Toys, as it ſhould ſeem to draw the People more readily with Admiration. After theſe followed

ed divers other Church Relicks, Friars *Auguſtines*. Other Friars of the Order of St. *Francis*, with their Relicks. Many Churchmen with lighted Tapers in their Hands; the King's Pages bearing Torches: Then the Sacraments * borne by four Church-men in rich Copes; then the Lords and Grandees of *Spain*; then followed the King, bearing a lighted Taper of Virgin-Wax; after whom followed the Cardinal, the Emperor's Ambaſſador, the *French* Ambaſſador, and the *Venetian* Ambaſſador; the Prince of *Savoy*, the Prince of *Morocco*, and others, all bearing their Tapers lighted in their Hands.

The ſame Day his Lordſhip ſtaid till Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, until his Highneſs's Pleaſure were known, that he was pleaſed as that Day to take the Oath formerly agreed on between them. About which Time there came to his Lordſhip Don *Blaſco de Arragon*, who brought Word that the King expected his Lordſhip's Coming to the Court as that Day; and therefore, for the more convenient Paſſage of the Nobles and Gentlemen, that were to attend him thither, Order was taken, that all ſhould be ſupplied with Gennets that wanted, and would ſend to the King's Stable for the ſame. Every Man being furniſhed, his Lordſhip ſet forward to the Court, the Conſtable, and Don *Pedro de Suniga*, being ſent to accompany his Lordſhip thither, as alſo divers other Knights and Lords, whoſe Names, for the Suddenneſs of their Coming, and the Number of them being ſo many, could not be had. His Lordſhip's own Gentlemen were in ſeveral Coaches afore, and ſtaid at the Court-Gate, expecting his Lordſhip's Coming thither, where likewiſe great Preparation was made; divers Noblemen and others ſtaying there to receive his Lordſhip and his Company. Amongſt whom were the Duke of *Lerma* and ſome other Grandees, and thoſe of the greateſt Lords in *Spain*.

His Lordſhip, being thus received, was conveighed up through a long Gallery into a Preſence, and ſo into another inner Room; the Gentlemen, Knights, and Lords ever going before in very good Order. In which Room his Majeſty ſtaid for the Coming of his Lordſhip, receiving him with affable and kind Congratulation, and took him along with him by his Side: The King's Serjeants at Mace going firſt, after following all the Grandees and Lords of *Spain*, one among another; then the four Kings of Arms in their Coats of Arms; then the Duke of *Lerma*, bearing the Sword naked, wherein one Thing is eſpecially to be noted, that the Duke bare not the Sword upright, as is the Cuſtom of *England*, but bare it lying upon his right Shoulder; ſo the King and his Lords went together into a very fair Banqueting-Houſe, very lately built, the Ambaſſador-Lieger, the Lords, and divers others following.

The King ſitting in his Eſtate, his Lordſhip and the Ambaſſador-Lieger were placed upon his Left-hand; the Grandees and other Noblemen of *Spain* being ſeated on the other Hand, two Degrees lower. Before the King was brought a little Table, whereon lay the Bible and a Crucifix upon it. The Archbiſhop of *Toledo* read the Oath with a reaſonable loud Voice; at one Part of the Oath, his Lordſhip held the King's Hands between his; to which Oath the King ſware kneeling, and laying his Hand upon the Book, and afterwards ſubſcribed to the Articles and Agreements drawn and concluded by both Kings.

*Friday*, the one and thirtieth Day of *May*, his Lordſhip dined early, for that there was that Day appointed a Sport, which they call, *Inego de Toro*, and alſo, *Inego de Canas*; and, for that his Lordſhip and all his Company, from the Meaneſt, to the Higheſt, ſhould have the Pleaſure of the Sights, there were ſome appointed to ſee every *Engliſhman* furniſhed of convenient Room; which they did, Don *Blaſco* himſelf taking an eſpecial Care and Reſpect thereof. About the Midſt of the Day, came the King and Queen riding on Horſe-back with many Lords and Ladies all on Horſe-back likewiſe, after the *Spaniſh* Faſhion, every Lady accompanied with one or other Man of Worth; his Lordſhip was placed in the Standing with the King and Queen, and the other Lords were placed not far off. There were that Day killed fourteen Bulls; the Manner whereof was in this Sort: *Firſt*, the Market-place, being very ſquare and of a great Largeneſs, was round built with Scaffolds very ſtrong; the Ground covered very thick with Sand, ſo that they were fain divers Times to bring in many Carts of Water, both to allay the Duſt, as alſo to cool the Reflexion of the

* The *Hoſt* only under a Canopy, borne by four Prieſts.

Sun upon the Place. In which, none were appointed to be, but ſuch as were deſigned to play the Sports. The Bull being turned out, they ſhot Sticks with ſharp Pins and Pricks, which might ſtick faſt in his Skin, thereby the more madding him; he ſeemed to be moſt valiant that durſt affray the Bull in the Face, and eſcape untouched; but ſome eſcaped not well, for it coſt them their Lives. There was another Manner of ſtriking the Bull in the Face with ſhort Spears, to the which went divers Lords and Gentlemen very well mounted, their Pages following them with divers Hand-ſpears for that Purpoſe; wherein many ſhewed good Valour; and ſtruck the Bull very cunningly and manly; but yet ſome of their Gennets paid dear for it, being both hurt and killed. To this Sport came two Gentlemen one after another, and, as it was reported, ſupplying the Places of Champions to the King, riding on Horſes blinded; and ſo taking their Stand, waiting for the Coming of the Bull againſt them, very manly with a Spear of good Length and Strength, ſtruck him in the Head, and eſcaped without Hurt, though not being without Danger.

After this, began their Sports of *Inego de Canas*, wherein the King himſelf was an Actor. Firſt came riding twelve Drummers with Kettle-drums playing; then followed thirty Trumpeters all clad in red and white Silk Coats; then followed twelve *Açemulaes*, or great Mules, with Coverings of red Velvet, bearing Bundles of Canes, tied and chained with great Hooks of Silver; then followed the King's Gentlemen, and Pages, richly ſuited, being to the Number of two and thirty or thereabouts. After them were led by ſeveral Grooms Six and twenty riding Horſes richly covered.

For the two Princes of *Savoy* were ſhewed: Firſt two Pages riding, bearing on their Arms Targets all white; after whom were led three Horſes covered with Capariſons of black Velvet, embroidered richly with Pearl; then followed twelve other Horſes, clad likewiſe in black Velvet, but embroidered with Silver.

For the Duke of *Lerma*, were led ſix Horſes with Capariſons of White and Red; the Grooms and Pages attending, and all alike ſuited.

For the Conſtable, were led four and twenty Horſes of Service covered with White and Green, his Pages and Grooms alſo alike ſuited.

The Number of Horſemen, that ſhewed themſelves in theſe Sports, were Fourſcore, whoſe Names hereafter follow, according to a Note thereof delivered by one of good Worth, and of eſpecial Reſpect with the King.

### 1. *Quadril.*

The King. —— The Duke of *Lerma*.
Duke of *Cea*. —— Conde *de Gelves*.
Marquis of St. *German*. —— Don *Hen. de Goſeman*.
Conde *de Mayald*. —— Don *Petro de Caſtro*.
Marquis *de la Veneſſa*. —— Don *Garcia de Figuroea*.

### 2. *Quadril.*

Don *Diego de Sandoval*. —— Don *Antonio de S. Fago*.
Don *Alonſo Lopes de Mella*. —— Don *Diego de Sebro*.
Don *Lewis de Alcarath*. —— Don *Galvan*.
Don *Diego Nino*. —— Don *Pedro de Arietta*.
Don *Diego de Lieva*. —— Don *Hieronomo de Sandoval*.

### 3. *Quadril.*

Duke of *Infantaſgo*. —— Don *Diego Sarmiento*.
Conde *de Baraſa*. —— Conde *de Paredes*.
Conde *de Corunna*. —— Conde *de Lodoſa*.
Conde *de Nieva*. —— Don *Juan de Taſſis*.
The Admiral of *Arragon*. —— Don *Lewis Enriques*.

4 *Quadril.*

## 4. *Quadril.*

The Conſtable of *Caſtile.* —— ——— Marquis *de Cuelar.*
Conde *de Aguillar.* —— ——— Marquis *del Carpio.*
Don *Bernardino de Velaſco.* ——— ——— Don *Franciſco de Velaſco.*
Don *Antonio de Velaſco.* ——— ——— Don *Alonſo de Velaſco.*
Don *Manuel de Cuniga.* ——— ——— Don *Andreas Velaſques.*

## 5. *Quadril.*

The Duke of *Alva.* ——— ——— Conde *de Salinas.*
Marquis *de Villanueva.* ——— ——— Don *Martin Valerio.*
Don *Pedro de Cuniga S. de Flores.* —— —— Don *Manuel de Alencaſtro.*
Marquis *de Tarara.* ——— ——— Don *Diego Piementel.*
Conde *de Ayala.* ——— —— ——— Marquis *de Cerralva.*

## 6. *Quadril.*

The Duke of *Paſtrana.* —— ——— Conde *de Coſentagua.*
*Comendador* Mayor *de Monteſa.* ——— —— Don *Carlos de Borſa.*
Marquis *de Fuentes,* ——— —— ——— Don *Lewis Nino.*
Don *Pedro de Fonſeca.* —— —— ——— Don *Ferdinando de la Cerda.*
Don *Bernardino de Rozas.* ——— ——— Don *Juan Vicentela.*

## 7. *Quadril.*

Conde *de Alvaliſta.* —— ——— ——— Don *Bernardino de Toledo.*
Don *Ferdinando de Toledo.* ——— ——— Don *Antonio de Toledo.*
Don *Philippo de Valencia.* ——— ——— Don *Franciſco Conguſta.*
Don *Lewis de Gozman.* —— —— ——— Don *Juan de Gozman.*
Marquis *de Alcanes.* —— —— ——— Marquis *de Fales.*

## 8. *Quadril.*

The Prince of *Savoy.* —— —— ——— The Prior of *Ivan.*
Marquis *de Doſte.* —— —— ——— Don *Diego de las Marinas.*
Don *Franciſco de Cordova.* —— ——— Don *Juan de Heredia.*
Don *Alvard de Mendoza.* ——— ——— Don *Pero Mune.*
Don *Franciſco Finea.* ——— ——— Don *Pedro de Licamo.*

At their firſt Appearance, they came riding in by Couples two after two, very ſwiftly, richly attired with their Targets on their Shoulders, holding and ſhaking long Staves, ſuch as the *Moors* or *Arabians* are deſcribed to uſe. When they were all come, they divided themſelves to Sides, every Side into four Squadrons, every Squadron being Ten in Number; when they were ready, holding their Staves in their Hands, the King's Side gave the firſt Charge; the other Side undertaking the ſame, and charging on them likewiſe; thus they continued ſtill chacing one another, Squadron upon Squadron, throwing their Canes one after other, by the Space of a long Hour or better; and ſo their Sports ended.

*Saturday*, the Firſt of *June*, his Lordſhip was invited by the King to ſee a Muſter of armed Men, in a Place, called *El Campo*, being Lances, light Horſemen, and Carbines, to the Number of Two-thouſand, whereof the Duke of *Lerma* was the General. His Lordſhip

ſhip ſtood with the King and Queen; the reſt of the *Engliſh* were placed in a Scaffold, built for them of Purpoſe, which ſaid Soldiers, being divided, made ſome Shew of Sallies each upon other, very pleaſing and warlike; and, after a few Skirmiſhes, drew themſelves into a Ring, and, marching along under the Window where his Majeſty ſtood, departed.

*Sunday*, *Monday*, and *Tueſday* were uſed as Days of Reſt after their great Feaſts, and ſpent only in Viſitation and Matters of Compliment with one or other.

*Wedneſday*, his Lordſhip diſpatched Sir *John Trevor* for *England*, with Letters of Intelligence to his Highneſs, who took with them the *Advantage*, which lay at St. *Anderas* with the reſt of the Ships.

*Thurſday*, the Sixth Day of *June*, his Lordſhip was appointed both to dine and ſup early, which he did, becauſe both his Lordſhip, as alſo all other the *Engliſh* Lords and Gentlemen, were invited to ſee a Maſk; about Six of the Clock, therefore, came Don *Blaſco* to conduct his Lordſhip and the reſt through a private Gallery of the King's, which joined to his Lordſhip's Lodging, to the appointed Place, which was the new-built Banqueting-houſe formerly ſpoken of, by them termed the *Granſala* *, where was appointed very convenient Room for his Lordſhip and the reſt of his Followers. The Room was garniſhed with three-hundred and twenty Lights of Wax, all ſet in Standards of Silver of divers Faſhions, ſome great and ſome ſmall. After two or three ſeveral Songs, ſung by divers Voices in Parts, placed ſeverally in the ſame Hall for that Purpoſe, the Maſk appeared, and began as follows:

Firſt came thirty Muſicians, clad in long Garments of Taffaty, garniſhed well to the Shew, playing on ſeveral Inſtruments; after whom followed ſix Virgins dancing, one bearing in her Hand a Sun, another a Branch of Olive-tree, another an Anchor, another a Sword with two Points, on either Point a Bunch of Flowers.

Then followed a Chariot, made of an antique Faſhion, being drawn by two live Horſes, but exceeding little; in the upper Part whereof ſat the Infanta, with a Scepter of Gold in her Hand, with the Picture of a Dove on the upper End thereof; at her Feet ſat two Virgins, who attended her; on either Side went divers Pages, bearing Torches of white Wax.

At the upper End of the Hall was appointed a very rich State, all of Maſon's Work, aſcending up by Degrees, richly gilded and garniſhed with divers Statues, all gilt over; in which were planted three Chairs, two great and one leſſer, and that between the other two; in which middle Chair the Infanta, being taken out from her Chariot, was placed; the two Virgins near her, and the other ſix upon the Degrees at the Foot of the Eſtate. At the nether End of the ſaid Hall ſtood the Maſkers in a Gallery contrived for the Purpoſe, who, upon the Drawing of a Curtain, appeared as it were in Clouds; the Number of them were eight-and-twenty Knights and Ladies, beſide Torch-bearers, whereof the King and Queen were two, the reſt all Grandees and Men of great Honour, the Ladies were all the Queen's Maids. The ſaid Gallery being built in Manner of an Arch, and fully ſet with Looking-glaſſes, with the Light of the Torches ſhone as if it had been garniſhed with an infinite Number of Stars; the Muſick playing, the Maſkers deſcended by four and four at a Time, on a Stage made in Faſhion of a Cloud, and ſo dancing to the upper End of the Hall; before they could return back, other four appeared, and ſo joined altogether, until the Number came forth, and then danced altogether in good Form and Meaſure.

After divers Dances and Meaſures appointed of Purpoſe for this Shew, the King and Queen, and ſo likewiſe all the Company, unmaſked themſelves; the King and Queen taking their Seats in the Places and Chairs beforementioned, before whom were divers Galliards danced by the ſeveral Lords and Ladies unmaſked; the Earl of *Perth* and the Lord *Willoughby* were invited, and danced likewiſe: The King and Queen divers Times ſallied out from their Chairs of State, and danced openly. At laſt they began a ſalling Dance, which was begun by the Duke of *Lerma*, holding a Torch lighted in his left Hand. The Manner was, every Man called forth two Women, chuſing one eſpecial, conducted the other to her Place, and left the Choſen to call out two Men, who, likewiſe delivering the Torch to one eſpecial, conducted the other to his Seat. Thus it

* or, *Great-Room*.

paſſed

paſſed to and fro amongſt many of the great Lords and Ladies; at laſt the King was called, and his Lordſhip likewiſe *; but, the Torch being given to the King, his Lordſhip was again brought to his Seat. The King called forth the Queen and another, and, after a few Traverſes, when the Time came he ſhould have choſen and delivered up his Torch, he delivered it to a Page ſtanding by, and ſo the Sports ended.

*Friday*, the Seventh of *June*, his Lordſhip was appointed to take Leave of the King, and ſo to ſet forward on his Journey for *England*; therefore taking Notice of his Lordſhip's Deſire of Return, he ordered he ſhould have Audience in the Afternoon. In the mean Time his Highneſs ſent, by Don *Pedro Suniga* and ſome others, divers Chains of Gold, to the Number of Fourteen, or thereabouts, to ſome of the King's Servants, and his Lordſhip's chief Officers; having likewiſe before ſent, by Don *Pedro Cuniga*, unto the Lords and many other Knights, and eſpecial Men of his Lordſhip's Company and Train, ſeveral Jewels and Chains, very rich. About Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, his Highneſs ſent to his Lordſhip a very rich Preſent of Jewels, both for himſelf and his Lady, which were preſented to him by Don *Blaſco*, and brought by the Maſters and Officers of the Jewel-houſe, who were by him well gratified and rewarded.

Not long after, the Conſtable and others came to give his Lordſhip Knowledge of the Conveniency of the Time for our Coming to the Court; whereupon his Lordſhip, accompanied with the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen of his Train, in ſeveral Coaches, went to the Court, where they were received by divers Lords and Officers of the Court at the Palace-gate, from whence the King's Guard made a Paſſage even to the King's Chamber: The King ſtaid to receive his Lordſhip in a Gallery, which was long, but narrow, with whom his Lordſhip had Conference in private, for the Space of three Quarters of an Hour; and, fearing to give Offence by Tedioufneſs, made Motion to his Highneſs, that the Lords, and others of his Company, might likewiſe take their Leaves; the King very well pleaſed therewith, the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen took their Leaves, being generally well reſpected of his Majeſty. To conclude all, his Lordſhip took his Leave alſo, receiving many gracious and kind Words from his Majeſty, as alſo a Ring with a Diamond, ſaid to be of the Value of three-thouſand Pounds, which he put upon his Lordſhip's Finger; and, as he ſaid, in Token of wedding him in true Love perpetually, commanding the Duke of *Infantaſgo* to conduct his Lordſhip and the reſt to the Queen in like Manner, to take their Leave of her Majeſty.

Being brought to the Queen, where ſhe ſat under a Cloth of State, with the Ladies and Maids of Honour about her, for that it was late, his Lordſhip made no long Stay; after a ſhort Time ſpent in Compliment, he took his Leave of her Highneſs, as alſo did all other the Lords and Knights of the Train, to whom the Queen moſt reſpectively bowing herſelf, with much Favour and Grace, gave them a kind Farewel.

His Lordſhip, now thoroughly furniſhed of all convenient Means for his Journey, about Five of the Clock the ſame Day, being *Saturday*, and the eighth Day of *June*, ſet forward, being accompanied in his Coach with the Conſtable, and divers other Noblemen in other Coaches, accompanying his Lordſhip a Mile or more out of the Town, where they, taking their Leaves, departed. That Night we rode ſix Leagues, to a Town called *Duenas*. The next Day, being *Sunday*, we rode nine Leagues, to a Town called *Fromiſta*; where, for that Don *Blaſco* and others were behind, his Lordſhip thought good to ſtay all *Monday*, leſt the Weather, being very hot, might too much trouble them in riding Poſt, and that were to come after. That Night Don *Blaſco* overtook his Lordſhip at *Fromiſta*.

*Tueſday*, the Eleventh of *June*, his Lordſhip dined at *Oſorno*, and ſomewhat late after Dinner rode to *Herrera* to Bed, where he was lodged in a fair Houſe of the Conſtable of *Caſtile*. Within this Houſe are placed divers Pillars, with Letters engraven after the Manner of the *Roman* Inſcription; and ſo they plainly appear to be Monuments of the *Romans*, and left as Relicks of their being in that Country.

*Wedneſday*, the Twelfth of *June*, his Lord-

* The Earl of *Nottingham*.

ſhip

ſhip rode from thence eight Leagues, and lodged at a Town called *Aguillar de Campo*; the Marquis of *Aguillar* being Lord thereof.

*Thurſday*, we rode forward ſeven Leagues, to a Town called *Rynoſo*; a Town ſeated in the Midſt of the Mountains.

On *Friday*, his Lordſhip rode to *Villa Concha* to Dinner, being three Leagues, and very ill Way; after Dinner, we rode four Leagues further, to a Town called *Villa Civil*, to Bed; being the worſt Way, and the worſt Place of Entertainment, we had in the whole Country of *Spain*, being indeed ſeated amongſt Mountains, which harbour many Bears, Wolves, and other wild Beaſts, and wherewith the Country round about is much troubled.

*Saturday*, the fifteenth Day of *June*, we came to St. *Anderas*, being diſtant from *Villa Civil* ſeven Leagues, where his Lordſhip was received by the Magiſtrates and Officers a Mile out of the Town. All the Streets were ſtrewed with Ruſhes and Herbs, and decked with Boughs; and, at his Entrance into the Town, they gave him many great Ordnance, with a Volley of ſmall Shot.

That Night the Ambaſſador-Lieger, Don *Pedro de Cuniga*, who accompanied the King to *Burgos*, came alſo to St. *Anderas*, where, during the Time of his Stay, his Lordſhip expreſſed his Bounty, by rewarding Don *Blaſco*, the *Apoſentador*, and all the King's other Officers and Servants, with great Chains of Gold, fair Jewels of good Value, and large Sums of Money, to their general Contentment.

*Sunday*, *Monday*, and *Tueſday*, his Lordſhip reſted at St. *Anderas*, as well for that the Horſes ſent by the King, his Lordſhip's own Horſes, and the Ambaſſador-Lieger's Horſes, came not till *Tueſday*, as alſo for furniſhing the Ships with freſh Water and Victuals for his Return for *England*: And on *Sunday* in the Afternoon his Lordſhip invited the *Apoſentador*, Mayor, Don *Blaſco de Arragon*, and others, Aboard the Ships, where he made them a very great Banquet, and, at their Going off, ſaluted them with many Pieces of Ordnance.

His Lordſhip having, on *Wedneſday* the Nineteenth of *June*, with all Expedition that conveniently might be, ſhipped the Horſes, and ſupplied the Ships with all needful Proviſions, about Three of the Clock in the Afternoon came Aboard his Ship called the *Bear*, lying at Road a long *Engliſh* Mile from the Town, bringing alſo with him Don *Pedro de Cuniga*, who tarried and ſupped with his Lordſhip that Night. After Supper, his Lordſhip commanded his Barge to convey him to his appointed Lodging, which was in the *Repulſe*, where he entered, the Trumpets ſounding, and being ſaluted with many Shot of great Ordnance.

In the ſame Road his Lordſhip anchored till *Thurſday*, and upon *Thurſday* we put to Sea; but, for that the Tide was ſpent, and the Wind falling out contrary, after an Hour or two's Sailing, we were driven to caſt Anchor, reſting that Night till the next Tide; at which Time his Lordſhip hoiſted Sail and put to Sea, and, with ſcant Wind, ſailed *Friday* and *Saturday*. On *Sunday* the Weather fell out very foul and ſtormy, inſomuch as the *Waſte-ſpight* ſpent in that Storm her Main-maſt, but eſcaped further Danger. *Monday*, *Tueſday*, and *Wedneſday*, we ſailed but with very unconſtant Winds, being many Times becalmed. On *Thurſday*-afternoon the Land was deſcried, but very far off: That Day and Night we ſailed within Sight of Land; and, upon *Friday*, about Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, we came to an Anchor before *Portſmouth*, but ſomewhat far into the Sea. That Night alſo came the *Waſte-ſpight*, who made great Means to come ſo ſoon, having ſpent her Main-maſt, as is aforeſaid. Some of our Company made hard Shift that Night to go on Shore, enduring the Hardneſs of the Weather, which fell out all that Evening.

On *Saturday* Morning early, his Lordſhip went in his Barge to the *Repulſe*, wherein Don *Pedro* was, and, knowing that the ſaid Don *Pedro* much deſired to be on Land, having indeed endured much Sickneſs at Sea, took him into his Barge, and ſo, with the Company of ſome other Boats and Pinnaces, came on Shore at *Portſmouth*, before Eight of the Clock in the Morning, where they were received with many Shot of great Ordnance from the Caſtles, Forts, and Walls of the Town. On the Shore ſtood Sir *Lewis Lucas*, Knight, accompanied with the Mayor and Officers of the Town, ready to receive the ſaid Ambaſſadors, being, as it ſhould ſeem, appointed ſo to do by the King and Lords of the Council. That Day every one haſtened to get off their Luggage from the Ships, preparing to go forwards likewiſe on their Way toward *London*.

The

The next Day, being *Sunday*, his Lordſhip reſted there, went to the Church, and heard a Sermon publickly.

*Monday*, his Lordſhip having, as well by Means of the King's Officers and Servants, who were ſent for the Purpoſe thither, as by his own Care, provided for all Neceſſaries to ſupply him in his Journey towards *London*, about Eleven of the Clock ſet forward, riding in his Carroch, and taking the ſaid Don *Pedro* along with him; and ſo came that Night to *Alton*, where they lodged.

*Tueſday*, the Second of *July*, his Lordſhip rode from *Alton*, and lodged that Night at *Guilford*, having taken ſpecial Care, both that Don *Pedro*, the Ambaſſador-Lieger, whom his Lordſhip had brought along in Company, ſhould be reſpectively provided for himſelf, as was fitting; as alſo all other his Followers moſt plentifully ſupplied for all Neceſſaries in their Travel, and that freely, without Charge or Expence to any of them.

*Wedneſday*, they rode forward towards *Kingſton*, where the Conde *de Villa Mediana* and others ſtaid, expecting the Coming of the ſaid Ambaſſador; and where alſo his Lordſhip had bountifully provided for their Entertainment in general.

*Thurſday*, his Lordſhip having appointed the Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, and ſome others of the better Sort, to accompany the ſaid Ambaſſador, and the Conde *de Villa Mediana* to *London*, he himſelf, with the reſt of his Company, rode for *Windſor* Caſtle, where as then the King lay, for his Pleaſure of Hunting; who, there preſenting themſelves to his Majeſty, were of him moſt graciouſly entertained and welcomed. At which Time alſo his Lordſhip received further Order from his Highneſs, when he would be pleaſed to give Audience to the ſaid Ambaſſador, and to admit him to his Royal Preſence, according to Appointment; which was accordingly performed, at the Court at *Whitehall*, on *Sunday*, the fourteenth Day of the ſaid Month of *July* following.

Now, for that it doth not fully appear by this former Relation of his Lordſhip's Travel and Journey, how honourably and with what Reſpect he and his whole Company were received and entertained, ye ſhall underſtand, That, *firſt*, upon our Landing at the *Groyne*, the Governor of *Galicia*, as is afore rehearſed, and, as it ſhould ſeem, by direct Order from his Majeſty, upon the former Arrival of certain Ships, wherein were the Horſes and other Preſents, ſent from his Majeſty to the King of *Spain*, had drawn together much People, and that of the better Sort of the whole Country, on Purpoſe to make Shew both of the Strength of the Country, as alſo to be the more ready to do Service, in ſupplying the *Engliſh* with all Neceſſaries; and, for this Purpoſe alſo, their greateſt Care was, that, during our Abode there, there might appear no Want of any Thing. His Lordſhip, as is aforeſaid, was lodged in the Governor's Houſe, which of itſelf was very little, and not able to give Entertainment to ſo great a Company. Therefore eſpecial Care was taken, that every Man might, according to his Eſtate, be lodged as conveniently, and as ſufficiently, as the Place would give Leave; the Town being much decayed, by Reaſon of the late Wars, nor as yet re-edified ſince the Sackage thereof by Sir *John Norris* and Sir *Francis Drake*: But we muſt acknowledge, that, for the greateſt Part, every Man was lodged there, without Exception. The Care for Lodging was not ſo much, as was their exceeding Care, they had for Proviſion, Victuals, and Viands to ſerve the Company, that Country of *Galicia* being indeed very mountainous and unfruitful. And therefore, although his Lordſhip was very ſufficiently provided for at the Governor's Houſe, and that ſince the Room there, being little, could not by any Means ſupply all, Order was taken, that, in every Houſe, wherein any *Engliſhman* lodged, Proviſion of Diet was made for him and his Servants, at the King's proper Coſt; wherein of Neceſſity we muſt obſerve both the great Charge, as alſo the great Care, that was taken to ſupply all Neceſſaries in the beſt Faſhion: Notwithſtanding which, there was daily provided ſo large a Table, as conveniently could be, for all ſuch Knights and Gentlemen, as would at their Pleaſure come to attend and keep his Lordſhip Company at Meat; this Entertainment beginning the firſt Day of our Arrival at the *Groyne*, which was the ſixteenth Day of *April*, and continuing all the Time of our being in the *Groyne*, which was till the Third of *May* following; what Time we ſet forward on our Land-journey, being then likewiſe furniſhed of Mules, both for Riding and Carriage, all upon the King's Charge.

The Number of Mules, ſent to his Lordſhip for Riding and Carriage, were eight-

hundred

hundred, or thereabouts, whereof twenty-four were great Aſs-mules, of the King's Proviſion, and appointed for his Lordſhip's own Carriages; beſides the Mules for the *Spaniards* themſelves, and their Neceſſaries, which were eſteemed above four-hundred. The Muletters, to regard theſe Mules, were numbered to be above three-hundred.

The Company of *Engliſh* were accounted ſix-hundred and fifty. Beſides theſe, the King ſent many of every Office in Court, ſome with the *Apoſentador*, Mayor, aforementioned, as divers others *Apoſentadors*, or Harbingers; Stewards, Uſhers for the Chambers, Sewers, and Officers for the Table; Officers of the Ewery, Pantry, Cellar, Chaundry; forty of the *Spaniſh* Guard to ſerve the Table, Paſtry-cooks, and ſuch like. Every of theſe being particularly furniſhed with ſuch Neceſſaries as belonged to his Office, as we might well perceive; for that, through the whole Journey, they were fain to carry by Mules, from Place to Place, all the ſaid Neceſſaries for their Service; as, Plate, Linnen, Bedding, Hangings, Chairs, Tables, Forms, Paſtry-boards, Kitchen-furniture, Racks, Spits, Pans, and ſuch like; as alſo moſt of their Proviſion of Meal, Wine, Oil, Vinegar, Herbs, Fruit, Sweet-meats, and ſuch other: Wherein the ſaid Officers did ſo carefully and wiſely behave themſelves, that it appeared there wanted no Will in them, either in Care or Pains, to give Contentment to the whole Company of the *Engliſh*. This Charge of the King's endured until the Return of his Lordſhip to the Ships at St. *Anderas*, with very little Difference, either of Meats or Service, at any Time. Whither, for that the Way from the *Groyne* was by Experience found to be both long and ill, his Lordſhip had formerly directed the Ships to go there to abide and ſtay his Return, being indeed not above Half the Way from *Valladolid*, in Compariſon of his Journey from the *Groyne*. Both in our Going and Return, we might well obſerve how joyful our Coming ſeemed to the common People, both by their Manner of Behaviour, which was courteous, as alſo by their Speeches, which were moſt kind; who, for that they found by Experience the ill Reports made heretofore of our Nation altogether untrue, admiring our Civility and good Behaviour, being clean contrary to that which had been formerly preached unto them by their Churchmen and Friars, we received that kind Congratulation and Uſage, that was poſſible for them to give, and us, as Strangers and Travellers, to receive. Inſomuch as well we obſerved, as we paſſed, the Country had taken exceeding Care to make the Ways both eaſy and pleaſing for us to paſs, digging down Hills in many Places, and mending the Ways with Timber, Stones, and Earth, no Doubt, to their great Pains and Charge.

By which it moſt plainly appeared, with what Joy and Comfort they received the Peace generally, manifeſting the ſame as well by their Deeds as Words; and, no Doubt, performed much more Thankfulneſs to their King, for Procuring it, than they would make Shew of Joy to us, for Obtaining it.

And yet, what Words might expreſs, that might we daily hear; for we might obſerve, how they preached the ſame in Pulpits, and ſpake of the ſame, even in their open Plays and Interludes, making, as they ſaid, many Feaſts and Joys for the bleſſed Peace.

The Bounty of the King in Gifts, as well to his Lordſhip, as to divers other of his Followers, together with the great Charge his Highneſs was at, during our Abode there, gave us not ſo good Contentment in general, as did the good Eſteem and Behaviour, we found in all, from the Higheſt to the Meaneſt, upon every Occaſion miniſtered to them to ſhew the ſame, either in particular, or in general: His Lordſhip receiving all very thankfully, and not without a reciprocal Shew of his Bounty and Good-will again, being indeed of his Purſe not ſparing, and (with Pardon be it ſpoken) as liberal, in his Degree, as was neceſſary: Whoſe Carriage and Behaviour, during the whole Journey, being ſuch, and, upon good Intelligence, ſufficiently known to his Majeſty, who employed him, and by him is both graciouſly allowed and accepted; he himſelf hath Cauſe ſufficient of Gladneſs, and no other Cauſe of Exception in any Sort. So, concluding with the Bleſſing of our Saviour, *Beati Pacifici*, let us pray to Almighty God to make his Majeſty as careleſs of War, as he, from Time to Time, in his great Judgment, ſhall find Peace to be neceſſary; his People and Subjects ever obedient to all his Deſigns and Appointments, either in War, or Peace; and his Majeſty himſelf bleſſed with long Life, Health, and Ability to undergo either, as it ſhall ſeem beſt to the Divine Majeſty. *Amen.*

*The*

# The INTRODUCTION.

The two following Narratives contain an Account of all the Parliament-men in *Oliver Cromwell*'s Uſurpation, and ſhew which Way they all got their Money.

*The former Narrative, particularly, gives an Account of the Chooſing, Coming together, Secluding Some, and of the Sitting of the Reſt of* Oliver's *Parliament; as alſo of the Things that did attend them, and the Acts that were paſſed by them; amongſt which, what could be more oppreſſive, than that wicked and unjuſt Act for* New Buildings, *by which many, that for ſixteen Years before, had paid twice the Value of their Houſes in* Taxes, *were obliged to pay a Year's Rent more, or ſubmit to be plundered, have their Eſtates ſequeſtered, and their Perſons caſt into Priſon? This was attended with another Act, eſtabliſhing an* Exciſe *for ever; which, with the Cuſtoms it ſettled upon the Crown, or Perſon reigning, was a ſtanding Revenue to enable the Government to keep the People in perpetual Slavery: After this, it was alſo enacted, that the People ſhould pay a Tax for three Years in Time of Peace, under a Pretence to pay the Soldiers; and, as if that did not ſuffice to empty the Purſes of the Subject, this ſame Parliament ordained a three Months Tax to be paid twice over: And, to mention but one more, here paſſed an Act to erect a* High Court of Juſtice *for the Preſervation of the Protector's Perſon; but, in Reality, with a Deſign to give him Power at Pleaſure, under the Sanction of Law, to take away the Fortunes and Lives of all ſuch as he either feared, ſuſpected, or diſliked.*

*This firſt Narrative alſo gives you a Catalogue, and ſome Hiſtorical Account, of one hundred and eighty-two of the Members of that unworthy Aſſembly; who were either Sons, Kinſmen, Servants, or attached to the Protector's Intereſt and Fortunes, by Places of Profit, Offices, Salaries, or other Advantages, which were all paid by the Publick; and, to their great Diſtreſs, amounted to one Million ſixteen thouſand three hundred and ſeventeen Pounds, ſixteen Shillings, and Eight-pence Sterling, and upwards* per Annum.

'*Whereby it doth appear, ſays a certain Author of that Time, what fine Suckers they* 'are of the Riches and Fatneſs of the Commonwealth; and how unlikely they were '(*being ſo packed for his Intereſt, and ſo well ſeaſoned with the Salt of his Palace*) to 'bring forth the ſo much prayed *for,* engaged, fought, *and* bled for *Rights and* 'Liberties of the People."

*Then follow a few Queries, and a Catalogue of the* Kinglings, *or Names of thoſe Seventy that voted for the* Kingſhip, *with the Counties which they repreſented: After this is mentioned, how the Government, then to be eſtabliſhed, was carried in the Houſe but by three Voices: And this is attended with a Liſt of thoſe Members of that Aſſembly, who, though they gave not their Vote, either for* Kingſhip, *or the then Government, by the humble Petition and Advice, and pretended to be againſt and diſſatisfied with both, are ſharply and juſtly reproved for* Betraying *the* Truſt *committed to them by the People; and ſo this firſt Narrative concludes with ſome general Queries:*

*The* ſecond Narrative *records ſome of the moſt remarkable Paſſages, which occur in* [illegible]*r* ſecond Seſſion, *with the End and Diſſolution of the Whole, after two or three W*[illegible]*s Sitting; as alſo ſomething of another* Houſe, *intended for a* Houſe of Lords, *conſcribing forty-three of its Members; though it was not long before that the Chief of that new Form of Government had declared,* It would never be well, neither ſhould *England* ever ſee good Days whilſt there was left one Lord in the Nation. *Yet now new Lords muſt be made by the Dozens to aggrandize the Lord Protector, and make him appear like a King, though ſo much Blood and Treaſure had been lately ſpent againſt a* Negative Voice *in the King and Lords.*

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A Narrative of the late Parliament (ſo called) their Election and Appearing; the Seclusion of a great Part of them; the Sitting of the Reſt: With an Account of the Places of Profit, Salaries, and Advantages which they hold and receive under the preſent Power; with ſome Queries thereupon, and upon the moſt material Acts and Proceedings paſſed by them: All humbly propoſed to Conſideration, and publiſhed for Information of the People, by a Friend to the Common-wealth, and to its dear-bought Rights and Freedom. *Anno* 1657, *Quarto*, containing ſixty-three Pages.

IT is not unknown unto all intelligent and obſerving People what great Stickling and underhand Dealing was put in Practice by the Court-Party, in driving on Intereſts and Deſigns, about Chuſing this laſt pretended Parliament; in improving the Major-generals to that Purpoſe (who were not wanting in the Matter) as alſo by writing of Letters to the Sheriffs, who were (ſome of them) very officious in that Service; whereby ſeveral worthy Patriots had very foul and unequal Terms offered them, not being ſuffered to be put in Nomination; juſtifying their Proceedings to be no other, than according to Order they had ſo to do: *Middleſex*, *Cheſhire*, *Berkſhire*, and the City of *Canterbury*, may ſerve for Inſtances inſtead of others: Neither were the Clergy behind, in Endeavours for the Advancement of their own Intereſt, as appeared by Meetings, held in very many Counties, to agree and make Choice beforehand among themſelves, and then promote their Choice againſt the Election-Day; and, upon the Day appearing, like ſo many Captains, or Leaders, cried up the Parties, they had choſen before to ſerve their Intereſt: But what Cauſe the People have to rejoice, and give them Thanks for this Service, doth already in Part appear; and further may, when they ſhall feel the Burthens of Exciſe and Cuſtoms, with the many Fetters and Snares attending the ſame, as alſo a Tax backward, to be paid over again; and another for three Years together, never the like in *England* before, together with a new Project to raiſe Money out of all ſuch Houſes, for ten Miles Diſtance without the Walls of the City of *London*, that, from thirty-ſeven Years paſt, to the Twenty-ninth of *September* laſt, have been built upon new Foundations; with other Acts ſerving Deſigns, but not one for the Eaſe of the People, or the Puniſhment of thoſe who have wronged and abuſed them; by which Acts, theſe Gentlemen, and thoſe that choſe them, make themſelves acceſſary to, and, as much as in them lies, guilty of all this hard Bondage, that now is, or may further come upon us.

The

The Gentlemen choſen to ſit in this Aſſembly, accordingly, made their Appearance, and gave Attendance at *Weſtminſter*, in order to that Service, where a great Number of them find themſelves ſecluded the Houſe, and not ſuffered to enter in to do their Duty; who having waited a Day or two without Succeſs, many of them made an Addreſs to their Fellow-Members, ſitting in the Houſe, for their Admittance: Some of the Names of thoſe Gentlemen, ſo kept out of the Houſe, here follow:

Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*,
*Thomas Scott*
*Herbert Morley*
*John Bulkley*
*John Birch*
Colonel *Fenwick*
*Anthony Erby*
*Thomas Liſter*
*Thomas Birch*
*Thomas Sanders*
*Henry Darley*
*John Weaver*
*Alexander Popham*
*Francis Thorp*
*Anthony Aſhley Cooper*
*John Southby*
*Richard Greenvil*
*Thomas Adams*
*Richard Brown*
*Richard Darley*
*Thomas St. Nicholas*
*William James*
*John Boyſe*
*Charles Hill*
*John Jones*
*William Wolley*
*Richard Radcliff*
*William Savill*
*Theophilus Biddulph*
*Henry Mildmay*
*Harbottle Grimſton*
*William Welby*
*Charles Huſſey*
*Edmund Harvey*
*John Sicklemore*
*William Doyly*
*Ralph Hare*
*John Hubbard*
*Oliver Raymond*
*Jeremiah Bentley*
*Philip Woodhouſe*
*John Buxton*
*William Bloyſe*
*William Gibbs*
*Thomas Southerton*
Sir *Thomas Bows*
*Edward Harlow*
*John Hanſon*
*Clement Throgmorton*
*Henry North*
Sir *John Wittrong*
*George Courthop*
*Samuel Goſt*
*John Buckland*
*Robert Long*
*John Northcot*
*John Young*
*John Doddrige*
*Henry Hungerford*
*Edward Yooker*
*William Morrice*
*John Haile*
*Edward Tukner*
*Challen Chute*
*Daniel Shatterden*
Sir *Thomas Styles*
*Richard Beale*
*Walter Moyle*
*Walter Vincent*
*John Gell*
*Henry Arthington*
*Henry Tempeſt*
*James Clavering*
*John Stanhope*
*Pen. Whaly*
*Abel Barker*
*Samuel More*
*Thomas Minors*
*Samuel Jones*
*Edward Hooper*
*Richard Winneve*
*John Fagg*
*Thomas Rivers*
*Henry Peckham*
*Charles Lloyd*
*John Thurbone*
*William Fiſher*
*John Gore*
*Rowland Litton*

The Anſwer of the Gentlemen in the Houſe to the fore-mentioned Addreſs, was to this Effect, *viz.* That thoſe Gentlemen muſt addreſs themſelves to the Council.

Upon the Unſatisfactorineſs and Injuſtice of which Anſwer theſe Gentlemen, rather than they would yield to ſo great a Violation of Parliamentary Power, reſolved to depart to their own Countries again, which accordingly they did.

Upon this Breach made in the Houſe, and Giving up the Rights and Intereſt of the *Engliſh* Nation in Parliament to be judged without Doors, by an inferior Power; divers Gentlemen then ſitting in the Houſe, who being endued with Principles of Juſtice and Righteonſneſs, and Love to the Nation's Freedom, immediately withdrew, and others would not enter into the Houſe at all, but departed to their ſeveral Habitations.

Upon all which, it is propoſed and queried:

1ſt. Whether ſince the Conqueſt there was ever ſuch a Blow given (by a People owning themſelves a Parliament) to the Intereſt and Freedom of the *Engliſh* Nation, as the ſuffering to be ſecluded from them (by an inferior Power) ſo great a Number of Members choſen by the People to ſit, as their Repreſentatives in Parliament, without any Cauſe ſhewn for ſuch a Proceeding?

2. How this upſtart Protector and his Council, of a little more than three Years Standing, ſhould come to be impowered to do thoſe Things, which a King and his Council, of more than four-hundred Years Deſcent, could not, nor durſt not do: And whether the late, together with the former Force put upon the Houſe, by excluding ſo many of their Members, be not a Crime twenty-fold beyond that of the late King's, in going about to ſeclude the five Members, ſo highly diſ-reſented in that Day by the People, and afterwards attended with ſo great Feud and Bloodſhed?

3. Whether, till this unworthy Generation, there ever were ſuch a Company of falſe-hearted, low-ſpirited, mercenary *Engliſhmen* ſitting in that Houſe before, that would at once ſo eaſily give up the Right, Intereſt, and Freedom of this Nation, in ſuffering their Fel-

low Members to be rent from them, and judged without Doors? As if there were a juſt Power at preſent upon Earth, higher and greater than the good People's Repreſenters in Parliament; which, by all well-affected People, in the Army and elſewhere, was ſo generally acknowledged the ſupreme Authority.

4. Whether theſe Perſons, in thus doing, as alſo in confirming (as it were) this Uſurpation by a Law, in ſettling the Government in a ſingle Perſon and his Council, with a Houſe of Lords as it was before; giving him a Negative Voice, and the Power of diſpoſing the Militia and Navy, Things formerly ſo much * complained of, and oppoſed, as the Effects of Tyranny and Uſurpation in the late King, together with many other Things done by them, tending to oppreſs and enſlave the People, have not, as much as in them lies, pulled upon themſelves, and the three Nations, the Guilt of all the Blood of the late Wars, acknowledged by the Army and others, to be ſhed in removing the foreſaid Evils; as likewiſe to make void and fruitleſs the vaſt Sums of Money and Treaſure expended upon that Account?

5. Whether the aforeſaid Gentlemen are not therefore to be eſteemed, by all true hearted *Engliſhmen*, as † Betrayers of, and Traitors to the Cauſe of God, and their Country's Liberties, and a Company of Salary-men; Sons, Servants, Kinſmen, and Lawyers, *&c.* purpoſely packed to inthrone their Protector's ſingle Intereſt, rather than a Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*, lawfully called and conſtituted to carry on the good old Cauſe, *viz.* The Promoting of Reformation, and Vindication of the People's Liberties?

6. Whether ſome of thoſe Gentlemen who were ſecluded, with others that were injuriouſly hindered from being choſen, have not been more faithful to the Cauſe formerly contended for, and better Patriots to their Country; and ſuch who leſs deſerve why they ſhould be rejected, than ſuch as Mr. *Glyn*, Mr. *Nicholls* (two of the eleven Members, who, endeavouring to ſettle the ſame Things upon the King, they have now pretended to do upon their Protector, were counted falſe to God and the People) Sir *Charles Ouſley*, and Commiſſioner *Fines*?

7. And whether Mr. *Thomas*, *St. Nicholas*, Colonel *Dixwell*, &c. were not as capable, and every Way more likely to counſel and adviſe for the Good of their Country, than the Sons of Major-general *Desbrow*, of Mr. *Lawrence*, Preſident of the Council, and of Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, as yet both in Years and Experience Children?

8. Doth not this Picking a lukewarm Neuter from one Place, a Cavalier from another, and young Youths of no Principle from another, and Packing them with his Kindred, Sons, Servants, and Salary-men, and a Sort of conquered *Scotchmen*, a Thing formerly ſo much ‡ feared and complained of in the late King, now plainly declare, that his Pretence in diſſolving the old Parliament, for not making Proviſion in their Act for a new Repreſentative to ‖ keep our Preſbyters and Neuters, was falſe; and that it was rather done as a farther Step, whereby he might aſcend into this preſent Greatneſs, than for the Preſervation of the Cauſe, which, at that Time, was ſo highly pretended to?

9. Or is this Practice, in the leaſt Meaſure, agreeing with that Spirit pretended unto in the Choice of the Little Parliament, or with that Profeſſion made by him in his Speech to them, *viz.* That they had not allowed themſelves, in the Choice of one Perſon, of whom they had not this good Hope, there was § Faith in *Jeſus Chriſt*, and Love to all the Saints: And that they judged it their Duty to chuſe none but godly Men of Principles, Men knowing and fearing the Lord; who had made Ob-

* See a Repreſentation of the Army, and large Petition, in a Book called *Looking-glaſs*, *p.* 5, 10, 12, 13. And in *Alb. Remonſt. p.* 25, 26. A Letter *p.* 40. An Act of Parliament, after beheading of the King, *p.* 44. of the ſame Book; and a Declaration 19 *July* 1650, *p.* 47. and Declaration 1 *Auguſt* following, *p.* 49, 50. And a Declaration after the old Parliament was diſſolved, *p.* 54 of the ſame Book, all procured in that Day by the now Protector, ſo called, and the then honeſt Part of the Army.

† See *Looking glaſs*, *p.* 47. in a Declaration, *July* 19, 1650; the Army confeſs ſo much themſelves.

‡ See *Looking-glaſs*, *p.* 22. in Remonſtrance at *Albans*.

‖ See *p.* 58, of the ſame Book, in his Speech to the Little Parliament.

§ See *Looking glaſs*, *p.* 59, 61, and 63. in the Speech he made to them, in his own and Officers Names.

ſervations

ſervations of his marvellous Diſpenſations; ſuch as he had formed for himſelf, becauſe he expected not Praiſes from others, and theſe the only fit Men to be entruſted with the Cauſe, and no others; and therefore went in that extraordinary Way, and not in the Way of the Nation, becauſe, till the Spirit was more poured forth, the People would not be in a Capacity to chuſe ſuch Men, *&c.* Now whether the late Picking and Chuſing, as is before expreſſed, a Party of Men of ſuch a Spirit, and under ſuch Qualifications, as this preſent Parliament, ſo called, is of, be not a notorious Deſtroying of that Profeſſion and Principle then owned, and ſeemingly practiſed? Let all honeſt and unbyaſſed Men judge.

*Here follows the trueſt and beſt Account, that as yet can be gotten, of the Names of thoſe Gentlemen, who continued in the Houſe, and have Places of Profit, Offices, Salaries, and Advantages, in the Commonwealth: Together with the Names of the Sons, Kinſmen, Servants, and others, who are under Engagements unto, and have Dependence upon the* Protector, *ſo called, who, being ſo well ſeaſoned with the Salt of his Palace, according to* Ezra, iv. 14. *muſt needs be devoted to his Intereſt, wherein their own is wholly involved.*

*Of the Council.*

MR. *Lawrence*, as Preſident, One-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*.

Major-general *Lambert*, as one of the Council, one-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*; as Major-general of the Army, Three-hundred and ſixty-five Pounds; as Colonel of Horſe, Four-hundred and ſeventy-four Pounds ten Shillings; as Colonel of Foot, Three-hundred and ſixty-five Pounds; and, as it is reported, had the General's Pay, Three-thouſand, ſix-hundred, and forty Pounds *per Annum*; as Major-general of ſome Countries, Six-hundred ſixty-ſix Pounds, thirteen Shillings, and four Pence; in all, Six-thouſand five-hundred, and eleven Pounds, three Shillings, and four Pence. Theſe Places he had, but whether he hath the Conſcience to receive thus for them, or gives any away to thoſe that act under him, is beſt known to himſelf; he is alſo a Lord of the *Cinque Ports*.

Lieutenant-general *Fleetwood*, as one of the Council, One-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*; as Lord-deputy of *Ireland*, Three-thouſand, ſix-hundred, and forty Pounds *per Annum*; as Colonel of Horſe in *Ireland*, Four-hundred ſeventy-four Pounds, ten Shillings; as Colonel of Foot there, Three-hundred ſixty-five Pounds; as Colonel of Horſe in *England*, Four-hundred, ſeventy-four Pounds, ten Shillings; as Major-general of ſome Counties, Six-hundred ſixty-ſix Pounds, thirteen Shillings, and four Pence; in all, Six-thouſand, ſix-hundred, and twenty Pounds, thirteen Shillings, and four Pence: It is ſaid he remained Lieutenant-general of the Horſe in *England*. It is ſuppoſed he hath all theſe Places, but whether he receives all the Pay, or gives any to thoſe that act under him, himſelf beſt knows: He married the Protector's Daughter.

Major-general *Desbrow*, as one of the Council, One-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*; as General at Sea, One-thouſand ninety-five Pounds; as Colonel of Horſe, Four-hundred ſeventy-four Pounds, ten Shillings; as Major-general of the Weſtern Countries, Six-hundred ſixty-ſix Pounds, thirteen Shillings, and four Pence; in all, Three-thouſand, two-hundred, thirty-ſix Pounds, three Shillings, and four Pence *per Annum*: It is ſaid he is one of the *Cinque Port* Lords. He married the Protector's Siſter, whereby he is doubly engaged to ſerve his Brother's Intereſt.

Colonel *Montague*, as one of the Council, One-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*; Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, One-thouſand Pounds; as General at Sea, One-thouſand ninety-five Pounds; in all, Three-thouſand ninety-five Pounds *per Annum*.

Colonel *Sydenham*, as one of the Council, One-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*; one of the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, One-thouſand Pounds; in all, Two-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*; beſides the Government of the *Iſle of Wight*.

Colonel *Fines*, as one of the Council, One-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*; Commiſſioner of the Great-ſeal, One-thouſand Pounds; as Keeper of the Privy-ſeal, ſuppoſed worth One-thouſand Pounds more; in all, Three-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*.

Sir *Charles Ouſley*, as one of the Council, One-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*.

Mr. *Strickland*, as one of the Council, One-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*; and is Captain of the Gray-coat Foot-guard at *Whitehall*.

Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, as one of the Council, One-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*; Chamberlain at Court, and Steward of *Weſtminſter*.

Major-general *Skippon*, as one of the Council, One-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*; as Major-general of the City, it is ſuppoſed he hath Six-hundred ſixty-ſix Pounds, thirteen Shillings, and four Pence, according to his Brethren, Major-generals of the Counties.

Mr. *Rouſe*, as one of the Council, One-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*; as Provoſt of *Eaton* College, Five-hundred Pounds; in all, Fifteen-hundred Pounds.

Colonel *Philip Jones*, as one of the Council, One-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*; he either is, or was his Maſter *Cromwell*'s Steward, or Overſeer, of his Lands in *Wales*, and is *Cuſtos Rotulorum* of two or three Counties there.

Mr. *John Thurloe*, Secretary of State, and chief Poſt-maſter of *England*, Places of a vaſt Income; he may juſtly be ſaid to have a great Hand in bringing all this abominable Wickedneſs, Slavery, and Oppreſſion, that hath been for above theſe three Years, to this very Day, upon the Nation.

*Here follow the Names of thoſe Lawyers that continued in the Houſe, who have Advantages from the State, who are placed in the Van of the Soldiers, as the more honourable Perſons; their General having lately laid aſide, and delivered up his Sword, to put on the Gown.*

SIR *Thomas Widdrington*, as Speaker of the Houſe, Thirty-five Pounds a Week, which is One-thouſand, eight-hundred, and twenty-nine Pounds *per Annum*; as Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, One-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*; in all, Two-thouſand, eight-hundred, and twenty-nine Pounds *per Annum*; and hath beſides, for every private Act, five Pounds, and for every Stranger that is naturaliſed, or made a free Deniſon; and hath gotten for that already, as is ſuppoſed, near One-thouſand five-hundred Pounds; he is Recorder of *York*. Having theſe great Engagements upon him, he can do no other, if it be required, than put on the King's old Robe upon his Lord Protector.

Lord *Whitlock*, as Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, One-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*: His Son is a Captain in the Army, and lately made a Knight; he muſt needs ſerve the Court Intereſt.

Lord *Liſle*, one of the Commiſſioners of the Great-ſeal, One-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*.

Mr. *William Lenthal*, Speaker of the old Parliament formerly, as Maſter of the Rolls, ſuppoſed worth Two-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*.

Mr. *Prideaux*, as Attorney-General to the State, five Pounds for every Patent, and five Pounds for every Pardon; and by the Liberty of Pleading within the Bar, together with Two-thouſand Pounds he gets by great Fees, it is ſuppoſed to amount to, in all, near Six-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*.

Mr. *Glyn*, one of the eleven Members formerly impeached by the Army of Treaſon, now Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*; for which he hath One-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, beſides other Advantages; a Man of Principles fitted for the Intereſt of Monarchy.

Mr. *Ellis*, as Sollicitor-General to the State, hath, as is ſuppoſed, near Three-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*.

Mr. *Parker*, as one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*, One-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*.

Baron *Nicholas*, the ſame Place and Salary.

Baron *Hill*, the ſame Place and Salary.

Mr. *Lechmere*, Attorney of the Duchy; his Advantage thereby is not well known.

Mr. *Nathaniel Bacon*, as one of the Maſters of Requeſts, Five-hundred Pounds *per Annum*.

Mr. *Francis Bacon*, the like Place and Salary.

*Liſlebone Long*, lately one of the Maſters of Requeſts; and, the better to carry on his Maſter's Intereſt among the low-ſpirited Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council in the City, is now made Recorder of *London*, ſuppoſed worth Two-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, and is alſo a new Knight to the new Court.

*Miles Fleetwood*, one of the Clerks of the Privy-ſeal, ſuppoſed worth between Three and Four-hundred Pounds *per Annum*.

Mr. *Robert Shapcot*, one of the Commiſſioners for executing that abominable, oppreſſive, wicked

wicked Act for the new Buildings; his Salary is as yet unknown.

*Thomas Bamfield*, Recorder of *Exon.*
*Thomas Weſtlake*, Town-clerk.
Mr. *Liſter*, Recorder of *Hull.*
*Guibbon Goddard*, Recorder of *Lynn.*
*Lambert Godfrey*, Recorder of *Maidſtone.*
Colonel *Matthews*, Recorder of *Malden.*

*The Names of the Officers belonging to the Armies of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *and their Gariſons, and ſuch as are of the Country Troops, and the late created Major-generals.*

*Of the Army in* England.

COlonel *Whaley*, as Commiſſary-general of the Horſe, One-hundred, ſeventy-three Pounds, fifteen Shillings and four Pence *per Annum*; as Colonel of Horſe, Four-hundred ſeventy-four Pounds, ten Shillings, beſides other Advantages in the Regiment; as one of of the Major-generals of the Counties, Six-hundred ſixty-ſix Pounds, thirteen Shillings, and four Pence; in all, One-thouſand, four-hundred, and fourteen Pounds, eighteen Shillings, and four Pence *per Annum.*

Colonel *Groſvenor*, as Quarter-maſter General, Four-hundred, nineteen Pounds, ten Shillings *per Annum*; and, it is ſaid, hath Captain of Horſe's Pay: And, the better to carry it in the Choice at *Weſtminſter*, the Soldiers were bid pull off their red Coats, and put on others, and to give their Vote for him; which is contrary to Article the Eighteenth of the old decayed Inſtrument of Government, which allows none, that is not worth Two-hundred Pounds, to chooſe Parliament-men.

*George Downing*, as Scout-maſter General, Three-hundred and ſixty-five Pounds *per Annum*; as one of the Tellers in the *Exchequer*, Five-hundred Pounds; in all, Eight-hundred and ſixty-five Pounds *per Annum*: It is ſaid he hath the Captain's Pay of a Troop of Horſe; formerly Scout-maſter againſt Cavaliers and Moſs-troopers, but now againſt the Saints, and ſends Spies amongſt the Churches.

Mr. *Marieth*, as Judge-advocate of the Army, Two-hundred ſeventy-three Pounds, fifteen Shillings *per Annum.*

Captain *Blackwell*, as Treaſurer of the Army, Six-hundred Pounds *per Annum.*

Colonel *Ingoldsby*, as Colonel of Horſe, Four-hundred and ſeventy-four Pounds, ten Shillings, *per Annum*, beſides other Advantages in the Regiment; he is Protector's (ſo called) Kinſman, and will make no Scruple to do whatever he will have him.

Colonel *Hacker*, as Colonel of Horſe, the ſame Pay, and Advantages in the Regiment.

Colonel *Winthrop*, of Horſe, the ſame.

Colonel *Robert Lilburn*, as Colonel of Horſe; and Six-hundred ſixty-ſix Pounds, thirteen Shillings and four Pence, as one of the Major-generals; in all, One thouſand, one-hundred, and forty-one Pounds, three Shillings, and four Pence.

Colonel *Berry*, as Colonel of Horſe, and one of the Major-generals, the like Pay.

Major *Packer*, as Colonel of Horſe, and Major-general, the like Advantage.

Colonel *Goff*, as Colonel of Horſe, and Major-general, the like: This is he that, with Colonel *White*, brought the Soldiers, and turned the honeſt Party, remaining behind in the Little Parliament, out of Doors.

Colonel *Bridges*, as Colonel of Horſe, and a Major-general, the ſame Advantage with the others. This is he, who, it is reported, dealt treacherouſly with his Colonel *Okey*, to get his Place.

Major *Hains*, as Major of *Fleetwood*'s Regiment of Horſe, Three-hundred fifty-eight Pounds, eighteen Shillings, and four Pence; and, as a Major-general, Six-hundred ſixty-ſix Pounds, thirteen Shillings, and four Pence; in all, One-thouſand, twenty-five Pounds, eleven Shillings, and eight Pence *per Annum.*

Major *Butler*, of Horſe, and, as Major-general, the ſame Advantage.

Major *Wareing*, if not Major of Horſe, he is Captain of the County Troop, and a Farmer of the Exciſe in the Country.

Captain *Baines*, as Captain of Horſe, Two-hundred ſeventy-three Pounds *per Annum*, beſides other Advantages in the Troop; as one of the Committee of Preſervation of the Exciſe and Cuſtoms, Three-hundred Pounds; in all, Five-hundred ſeventy-three Pounds *per An.*

Captain *Fox*, Captain of Horſe, and Governor of *Pendennis* Caſtle; he married the Protector's, ſo called, Kinſwoman.

Captain *Scotten*, Captain of Horſe, Two-

hundred ſeventy-three Pounds *per Annum*, beſides other Advantages in the Troop.

Captain *Lilburn*, of Horſe, the like Advantage.

Major *Jenkins*, ſo called, Captain of a Troop of Horſe, the like Advantage.

*Officers belonging to the Regiments of Horſe in* Ireland.

COlonel *Reynolds*, as Commiſſary-general of Horſe, Two-hundred ſeventy-three Pounds *per Annum*; as Colonel of Horſe, Four-hundred ſeventy-four Pounds, ten Shillings; in all, Seven-hundred forty-ſeven Pounds ten Shillings *per Annum*; and is now General of the *Engliſh* Army under the Diſpoſe of the Protector's Brother and Confederate, Cardinal *Mazarine* in *France*, and is one of the new made Knights.

Colonel *Zanchy*, as Colonel of Horſe, Four-hundred ſeventy-four Pounds ten Shillings *per Annum*, beſides other Advantages, and lives much in *Fleetwood*'s Houſe.

Sir *Theophilus Jones*, as Major of Horſe, Three-hundred fifty-eight Pounds, eighteen Shillings, and four Pence *per Annum*, beſides other Advantages.

Major *Morgan*, of *Fleetwood*'s Regiment, the ſame.

Major *Owen*, as Major of Horſe, the ſame.

Major *Redman*, as Major of Horſe, the like.

Colonel *Abbot*, Colonel of Dragoons.

*Officers belonging to the Regiments of Foot in* England, *that ſat in the Houſe.*

COlonel *Baxter*, as Captain of a Foot Company, One-hundred forty-ſix Pounds *per Annum*, beſides other Advantages in the Company; as Major-general of *Middleſex*, Six-hundred ſixty-ſix Pounds, thirteen Shillings, and four Pence; as Lieutenant of the *Tower*, Two-hundred and fifty Pounds. The Benefit of ten Warders Pay, who had a Livelihood by it; he having ſo procured, that, as they die, or are otherwiſe laid aſide, the Two-hundred Pounds *per Annum*, which paid them, comes into his Pocket, beſides a Fee, or Fine, impoſed upon all Perſons, brought as Priſoners into the *Tower*, according to their Quality; and hath the Benefit of the Wharf, and Letting of Houſes in the *Tower*, and ſeveral other Advantages, which are oppreſſive, amounting to, in all, as is conceived, about Two-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*. He is one of the new made Knights, and one of the Commiſſioners for ſuppreſſing the Printing-preſſes, as the Biſhops Panders in the King's Days; one that makes Men Offenders, and caſts them into Priſon, for Words he hath drawn forth from them in examining againſt themſelves: A Lyar, one that deals more injuriouſly with the Lord's People, keeping, many Times, their neareſt Relations and Friends from coming to them, witneſs that faithful Friend to the Cauſe of God and his People, Major-general *Overton*, amongſt others, then Heathens, *Acts* xxiv. 23. and yet, ſince this, is he taken in to be a Member of Mr. *Griffith*'s Church.

Colonel *Pride*, as Colonel of Foot, Three-hundred ſixty-five Pounds *per Annum*, beſides other Advantages; and hath alſo great Advantage by Brewing for the State; one of the ſimple and new made Knights, and his Daughter married to the Protector's Nephew.

Colonel *Clark*, as Colonel of Foot, Three-hundred ſixty-five Pounds *per Annum*; as a Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, Five-hundred Pounds *per Annum*; in all, Eight-hundred ſixty-five Pounds *per Annum*; and one of the Committee of the Army; he married *Thurloe*'s Siſter, and is deeply engaged to uphold the Court-intereſt.

Colonel *Salmon*, as of Foot, and Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, Eight-hundred ſixty-five Pounds *per nnum.*

Lieutenant-colonel *Kelſey*, as Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, Five-hundred Pounds *per Annum*; as one of the Major-generals, Six-hundred ſixty-ſix Pounds, thirteen Shillings, and four Pence; in all, One-thouſand, one-hundred, ſixty-ſix Pounds, thirteen Shillings, and four Pence, beſides the Government of *Dover*-caſtle.

Colonel *Biſcoe*, as of Foot, Three-hundred ſixty-five Pounds *per Annum*; this is he who ſtood at the Parliament-door, with Colonel *Mills*, to keep all the Members out who had not Tickets.

Colonel *White*, of Foot, the like Pay, beſides other Advantages in the Regiment, as the other; this is he who, with Colonel *Goff*, brought Soldiers, and turned the Members, left behind in the Little Parliament, out of Doors.

Captain *Howard*, formerly Captain of the Life-guard, as Colonel of Foot, Three-hundred ſixty-five Pounds *per Annum*; and, as Captain of a County-troop, One-hundred Pounds;

in

in all, Four-hundred ſixty-five Pounds *per Annum*; beſides the Government of *Berwick*, *Carliſle*, and *Tinmouth*; a printed Book ſays he is a Major-general.

Major *Sanders*, of Foot, and Governor of *Plymouth*-fort, and *Iſeland*.

Captain *Wagſtaff*, as Captain of Foot, One-hundred forty-ſix Pounds, beſides the Advantage of his Company, and as Captain of a County-troop, One-hundred Pounds; in all, Two-hundred forty-ſix Pounds *per Annum*.

*Officers belonging to the Regiments of Foot in* Scotland, *that ſat in the Houſe.*

COlonel *Fitz*, as Colonel of Foot, Three-hundred ſixty-five Pounds *per Annum*, and Governor of *Inverneſs*.

Colonel *Mitchel*, the like Pay, beſides other Advantages in the Regiment.

Colonel *Talbot*, Colonel of Foot, the like.

Colonel *Cooper*, as Colonel of two Regiments of Foot, one in *Scotland*, the other in *Ireland*, Seven-hundred and twenty Pounds *per Annum*, beſides other Advantages in the Regiment; and the Government of *Carrick-fergus*, and a great Part of the Country in the North of *Ireland*; it is reported he hath three or four Places.

Judge-advocate *Whaly*, of the Army in *Scotland*, Two-hundred ſeventy-three Pounds fifteen Shillings *per Annum*, beſides other Advantages; he is Commiſſary-general *Whaly*'s Brother.

*Officers belonging to the Regiments of Foot in* Ireland, *who either did, or might ſit in the Houſe; and ſuch as are in Civil Employment there.*

SIR *Hardreſs Waller*, as Major-general of the Army, Three-hundred ſixty-five Pounds *per Annum*; as Colonel of Foot, Three-hundred ſixty-five Pounds; in all, Seven-hundred, thirty Pounds *per Annum*, beſides other Advantages.

Colonel *Huſon*, Colonel of Foot, and Governor of *Dublin*, with other Advantages.

Colonel *Fooke*, Colonel of Foot, and Governor of *Drogheda*.

Colonel *Henry Ingoldsby*, a Colonel of Foot, beſides other Advantages, and is the Protector's, ſo called, Kinſman.

Colonel *Sadler*, Colonel of Foot, beſides other Advantages.

Sir *Robert King*, Commiſſary of the Muſters, a Place of good Advantage; he is lately deceaſed.

*Theſe following Perſons for* Ireland, *but one, have the Names of Officers, but are none.*

COlonel *Bridges*, Captain of a Foot-company.
Lieutenant-colonel *Newbrough*.
Lieutenant-colonel *Berrisford*.
Lieutenant-colonel *Treyle*.
Major *Aſten*.
Captain *Halſie*.

*Perſons not thought meet to be in Command, though they much deſire it; and are of ſuch poor Principles, and ſo unfit to make Rulers of, as they would not have been ſet with the Dogs of the Flock, as* Job *ſpeaks in another Caſe,* Job xxx. 1. *if the Army, and others, who once pretended to be honeſt, had kept cloſe to their former good and honeſt Principles.*

COlonel *Jephſon*, a Man of no better Principles than the former; but, for his good Service in voting for a King, is lately ſent Ambaſſador to *Sweden*.

Mr. *Vincent Gookin*, one of the Letters of Land in *Ireland*, Three-hundred Pounds *per Annum*.

Mr. *Ralph King*, the like Place and Salary.

Mr. *Bice*, Recorder of *Dublin*.

*The Names of thoſe Colonels, Lieutenant-colonels, Majors, Captains, and Governors of Towns, that are not of the marching Army, which ſat in the Houſe.*

COlonel *Norton*, a Regiment, or ſome Companies of Foot, and Governor of *Portſmouth*.

Colonel *Rogers*, Governor of *Hereford*, Captain of a County-troop; what Company of Foot, and other Advantages, it is not certainly known.

Colonel *Bingham*, Governor of *Guernſey*.

Colonel *Coppleſton* hath a County-regiment,

made

made High-ſheriff for three Years together, ſuppoſed worth to him Three or Four-hundred Pounds *per Annum*, one of the new made Knights, and a great Cavalier formerly.

Colonel *Cox*, Captain of a County-troop, for that One-hundred Pounds *per Annum*.

Colonel *Ireland*, Captain of a County-Troop.

Colonel *John Gorges*, Captain of a County-troop.

Major *Hawkſworth*, Governor of *Warwick*-caſtle, one or two Companies of Foot, beſides other Advantages.

Major *Bowreman*, Deputy-governor of the *Iſle of Wight*; he hath Command of *Sandown* and *Weymouth*-caſtles, one or two Companies of Foot; his other Advantages not certainly known.

Captain *Fiennes* hath a County-troop.

*William Braddon*, the ſame Command and Pay.

Captain *Crofts*, the like.

Captain *Whitegrave*, the like.

Captain *Ludlow*, the like.

*James Heely*, Lieutenant to that Troop.

Captain *Maſon*, Lieutenant to *Hereford*-troop, and would get higher, if he could; a poor inconſiderable Creature, that ſays, His Lord muſt beſtow ſome good Place upon him, or elſe he cannot ſerve him.

## *The Names of the Governors of Towns, Caſtles, and Commanders of the Militia Forces in* Wales, *and ſuch as have Civil Employments, who ſat in the Houſe.*

COlonel *Dawkins*, Governor of *Caermarthen*, one of the Deputy Major-generals, Captain of a Militia-troop.

*Evan Lewis*, Captain of a County-troop.

*Hugh Price* of *Guernſey*, Captain of a Militia-troop, and Governor of *Red*-caſtle.

*John Price*, Receiver-general of *South-Wales*, and a great Treaſurer formerly, now one of the Admiralty, or a Commiſſioner of Appeals.

*Bennet Hoskins*, Deputy, or puny Judge in *Pembroke*, *Caermarthen*, and *Cardigan* Shires.

*Griffith Bedward* hath a great Place in the Wine-Office at *Weſtminſter*.

Colonel *John Carter*, by Judge *Glyn*'s Intereſt, had lately Three-thouſand Pounds voted him by the Houſe, for old Arrears, to be paid out of the Prize-goods.

Colonel *James Phillips*, one of the Committee of the Army; what other Place is not known at preſent.

## *The Names of ſuch, who did or might ſit in the Houſe, that belong to the Admiralty and Navy.*

GEneral *Blake*, as General at Sea, One-thouſand ninety-five Pounds *per Annum*, beſides other Advantages; lately deceaſed.

Mr. *Hopkins*, one of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, Five-hundred Pounds *per Annum*, lately deceaſed.

Major *Beak*, of *Coventry*, as Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, Five-hundred Pounds *per Annum*.

Captain *Hatſell*, as Commiſſioner of the Navy at *Plymouth*, Three-hundred Pounds *per Annum*.

Mr. *Smith*, as Commiſſioner of the Navy, the like.

Colonel *Rauſe*, Vice-admiral of the North and South Coaſts of *Cornwall*, a Place of good Value.

*Charles George Cock*, as one of the Judges of the Admiralty, Five-hundred Pounds *per Annum*; and as Commiſſioner of the Prerogative-court, Three-hundred Pounds; in all, Eight-hundred Pounds *per Annum*.

Major *Gudley*, as an Officer of the Ordnance, near Three-hundred Pounds *per Annum*; as Captain of a County-troop, One-hundred Pounds *per Annum*; and Deputy Major-general to *Kelſey*.

## *The Names of ſuch, who have Civil Employments, who ſerve for* Scotland.

LORD *Broghill*, as Preſident of the Council there, One-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, beſides other Advantages; as Colonel of Horſe in *Ireland*, Four-hundred ſeventy-four Pounds, ten Shillings; in all, One-thouſand, four-hundred, ſeventy-four Pounds, ten Shillings; he was formerly not thought meet to be truſted with the Government of a Town in *Ireland*, becauſe looked upon as an old Proteſtant, and no thorough Friend to the

honeſt

honeſt Intereſt, yet, through the late Defection, is received into this great Truſt.

Colonel *Whetham*, as one of the Council in *Scotland*, it is ſuppoſed Five-hundred Pounds *per Annum*.

Sir *William Rhodes*, as one of the Council, the like.

Mr. *Deſbrow*, Major-general *Deſbrow*'s Brother, as one of the Council, the ſame Salary.

Mr. *Smith*, a Judge in *Scotland*, Six-hundred Pounds *per Annum*.

Mr. *Swinton*, the like Place and Salary.

Judge *Lawrence*, the like.

Sir *James Mackdowell*, one of the Commiſſioners at *Leeth*, about Three-hundred Pounds *per Annum*.

Colonel *Henry Markham*, one of the Commiſſioners for letting Lands in *Ireland*, Three-hundred Pounds *per Annum*.

Sir *John Weimes*, Tenant to the State of the Salt-pans near *Leeth*, and hath a good Advantage thereby.

*Others ſerving for* England, *ſitting in the Houſe, that have Civil Employments and Salaries from the State.*

SIR *William Roberts*, as one of the Committee for Preſervation of Exciſe and Cuſtoms, Three-hundred Pounds *per Annum*; as Comptroller of the *Exchequer*, Six-hundred Pounds; in all, Nine-hundred Pounds *per Annum*. He is a Commiſſioner at the *Wine-office*, and one of the Committee of the Army.

*Dennis Bond*, as Comptroller of the Receipts of the *Exchequer*, Five-hundred Pounds *per Annum*.

Captain *Stone*, as Teller in the *Exchequer*, Five-hundred Pounds *per Annum*, and great Fees beſides; as Receiver-general of the Taxes, Three-hundred Pounds; as Comptroller of the Exciſe and Cuſtoms, Four-hundred Pounds; in all, Twelve-hundred Pounds *per Annum*; He is a Commiſſioner at the *Wine-office*, and one of the Committee of the Army beſides.

*Gervis Bennet*, one of the Committee for Preſervation of Exciſe and Cuſtoms, Three-hundred Pounds *per Annum*; hath alſo a great Place in the *Wine-office*, and is one of the Committee of the Army.

Mr. *Upton*, as one of the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms, ſuppoſed worth near Eight-hundred Pounds *per Annum*.

Mr. *Nowell*, Scrivener, Partner with *Thurloe* in the *Poſt-office*, ſuppoſed of great Advantage, and is deeply engaged with the Court-intereſt.

Colonel *Blake*, Receiver of the Revenues, Three-hundred Pounds *per Annum*.

Mr. *Bedford*, the like Place and Salary.

Mr. *Butler*, the like.

Mr. *Hildſley*, Commiſſioner of the *Prerogative-office*, Three-hundred Pounds *per Annum*, and one of the Committee of the Army.

Mr. *Lucy*, the like Places and Salaries.

*Chriſtopher Liſter*, one of the Tellers of the *Exchequer*, Five-hundred Pounds *per Annum*.

Colonel *Thomas Gorges*, one of the Commiſſioners for the New Building: His Advantage thereby cannot yet be known, till he and his Brethren have racked the Conſciences, flayed off the Skins, and broken the Bones of the poor People, making them ſwear againſt themſelves.

Sir *John Thoroughgood*, one of the Truſtees for Diſpoſing Augmentations towards Miniſters Maintenance: His Salary is not well known.

Colonel *James Chadwicke*, one of the Judges of the *Peverell-court*, at *Nottingham*, an old oppreſſive Office, lately revived.

Mr. *Cary*, of *Weſtminſter*, Commiſſioner at *Haberdaſhers-hall*, and Deputy-ſteward of *Weſtminſter*, lately deceaſed.

*Anthony Smith*, Maſter of an Hoſpital and a Regiſter, ſuppoſed worth Two-hundred Pounds *per Annum*.

*Robert* (or *William*) *Fenwick*, Maſter of an Hoſpital.

Mr. *Thomas Mackworth*, Farmer of the Exciſe in *Lancaſhire*, by ſpecial Order.

Maſter *Clud*, one of the Committee of the Army.

*John St. Aubin*, a Salary-man; but what Place he hath I cannot learn.

*The Names of the* Protector (*ſo called*) *his Sons, Kindred, Servants, and others, who have received Favours from him, and are thereby engaged for his Intereſt.*

MR. *Richard Cromwell*, his eldeſt Son, Chancellor of *Oxford*.

Mr. *Claypole*, his Son-in-law: He married his Daughter, and is Maſter of the Horſe; a Place of great Advantage.

Colonel *John Jones* married the Protector's Siſter, and is Governor of the Iſle of *Anglеſey*.

Captain

Captain *Nicholas* married the Protector's Niece, and is Governor of his Caſtle at *Chepſtow*; hath one or two Companies of Foot, beſides other Advantages; is alſo Captain of a Militia-troop, and Treaſurer-general of all *South-Wales*.

Captain *Blake* married his Niece, and is Captain of his Life-guard of Horſe; Five-hundred and eleven Pounds *per Annum*.

Sir *Francis Ruſſel*, whoſe Daughter the Protector's ſecond Son married, was Chamberlain of *Cheſter*, formerly by the Earls of *Derby*; ſuppoſed to be worth Five-hundred Pounds *per Annum*.

*Edmund Giles* married his Kinſwoman, and is one of the Maſters of the *Chancery* in Ordinary; a Place of great Value.

*The Names of his Servants ſitting in the Houſe.*

MR. *Maidſtone*, Steward of the Houſe; a Place of great Advantage.

Mr. *Waterhouſe*, Steward of his Lands; a Place of great Profit.

Sir *Edward Herbert*, intruſted as an Overſeer or Bailiff of his Lands in *Wales*.

*The Names of the* Protector (*ſo called*) *his Kinſmen, not known to have any Place as yet, that ſat in the Houſe.*

MR. *Desbrow*, Major-general *Desbrow*'s Son.

Mr. *Henry Cromwell.*

Mr. *Gobert Barrington.*

Mr. *Richard Hampden.*

Sir *John Trevor.*

Mr. *Trevor*, his Son.

Mr. *Francis Ingoldsby.*

Mr. *Edw. Dunch.*

Mr. *Dunch*, who and the Protector's eldeſt Son married two Siſters.

Sir *Richard Everard*, a good Huntſman.

Mr. *Robert Williams*, of *Wales*.

Not one of theſe ſuch Men of Principles, as was formerly pretended to be endeavoured after; neither indeed are the greateſt Part of the whole Convention any better: For which Carriage of Things, I am confidently perſuaded, the Lord, by one Diſpenſation or other, will make the Man in Power, and his Counſellors hereunto, aſhamed. For, if this Practice be good, the former (wherein the Lord ſet to his Seal of Approbation, by his eminent and glorious Preſence with them, which was contrary hereunto) was evil.

*The Names of others, ſitting in the Houſe, having Engagements from the Protector upon them.*

ALderman *Pack*, one of the new-made Knights, for the good Service he did the Protector and his Family, by his Preſenting the Bill for Kingſhip: It is ſaid, he obtained from the Protector, by his Petition or Requeſt, a Diſcharge from an Account of Sixteen-thouſand Pounds, which he and the reſt of the then Commiſſioners were liable to make good, for ſo much run out of Caſh, in the Time of their Commiſſion for the Cuſtoms.

Alderman *Foot*, a new-made Knight.

Alderman *Dickinſon*, of *York*, one of the new-made Knights.

*Anthony Nichols*, one of the eleven Members, High-ſheriff of *Cornwal*, and, as is reported, lately received a Reward from *O. P.*

Mr. *Kiffin*, who, having received former Courteſies, by Means of *O. P*, and his Confederates, as to prohibited Goods, and in other Reſpects, is thereby engaged to become his Vaſſal, and to command a Company of Foot in the new Militia, to ſupport his Tyranny, whilſt the Saints and others are impriſoned for Oppoſing it.

Mr. *Lawrence*, the Preſident of the Council's Son, who muſt do as his Father.

Mr. *Waller*, Sir *Hardreſs Waller*'s Son, and is naturally engaged to ſupport his Father's Intereſt.

Mr. *Keeling*, one of the Maſters of the *Trinity-houſe*, and his Relations at Court.

In all, One-hundred eighty-two.

If there be any Miſtakes (as it is very probable there are) in the Computation of the forementioned Offices, Places, or Salaries, you may pleaſe to underſtand, there was not in the leaſt a Deſire, or Deſign, to do any Thing untruly thereby, to make the Men, or Things, appear worſe, than in Truth they are; there having been all the Ways and Means, that with Honeſty, Wiſdom, and Safety might be uſed, to attain a right Underſtanding, in every Particular: But, if, through any Failure herein, thoſe, who are moſt concerned,

ceerned, do find themſelves aggrieved, knowing they are not, in every Punctilio, dealt right with; the only Way, for their own Vindication, and Satisfaction of others, will be, to give a more perfect and brief Account hereof themſelves; which with much Eaſe they may do in a little Time; theſe Things, thus laid down, being reported of them.

Upon the foregoing Premiſſes it is further propoſed and queried,

1. Whether the Self-denying Ordinance, made by the Long Parliament, were in Force, or minded by theſe Gentlemen? A Thing ſome of them ſo approved of, and were inſtrumental, in that Day, to promote and carry on. May it not be deſired they would better conſider, and put it in Practice, when they meet again, ſeeing they have revived all Acts and Ordinances, not contrary to their Model of Government, *aliàs*, Inſtrument of Bondage to the *Engliſh* Nation?

2. Whether Men, ſtanding under ſuch mercenary and ſelf-intereſted Obligations and Dependencies upon a ſingle Perſon, as theſe Men do, and who, like ſo many Horſe-leeches, have ſucked and drawn into themſelves the expected Fruit of all the Blood and Treaſure expended in the late War, againſt leſs Tyranny and Oppreſſion in the King, than they have now ſettled in their Protector, are fit Perſons to be Legiſlators, Law-makers, Framers of Governments and Oaths, and Leviers of Money on the People? And whether, in the Eye of Reaſon, any other can be expected from them, but that they will endeavour, all they can, to uphold that Intereſt they are hired to ſerve, and whereby their own Incomes and Salaries may be continued? For, doth not the Scripture ſay, *Deut.* xvi. 18. That *a Gift blinds the Eyes of the Wiſe, and perverts the Words of the Righteous.* And, *Prov.* xvii. 8. *A Gift is a precious Stone in the Eyes of him that hath it, and, whitherſoever it turns, it proſpers.* And, *Prov.* xviii. 16. *A Man's Gift maketh Way for him, and brings him before great Men.*

3. Whether, for more than One-hundred Years laſt paſt, it hath been heard, or known, that any Number of *Engliſhmen*, ſitting in that Houſe, did in any Wiſe conſent (eſpecially in a Time of Peace) as theſe unworthy Perſons have lately done, to levy a Tax, for three Years together, upon the People; and, as if that were not enough, to order a Three-months Tax to be paid twice over? Together with the Exciſe (a Tax ſo much abhorred, and created only by the Neceſſity of War) which, with the Cuſtoms, is impoſed *in perpetuum* upon the Nation, and made an hereditary and ſtanding Revenue to the Crown?

4. What Equality, or Juſtice, is there in that Act of Union, whereby the *Scots* Nation comes to be incorporated with this Nation, ſo as to have equal Privileges and Power, by their intereſted mercenary Men (as their preſent Truſtees are) to become Lawgivers, Framers of Governments and Oaths, and Leviers of Taxes of the free People of the *Engliſh* Nation, who were lately at ſo great Coſt and Charges in reducing and bringing them under, that they might not be in a Capacity to hurt or damage them? And whether theſe Gentlemen, ſent from the aforeſaid Nation, have not ſo far over-ruled, as to ſave themſelves, by putting the Burthen on the *Engliſh*? Having raiſed upon the *Engliſh* Nation the Three-years Tax, from Thirty-thouſand Pounds *per* Month, to Thirty-five Thouſand; whereby the *Scottiſh* Nation is reduced, from Ten-thouſand Pounds *per* Month, to ſix. Is the Dividend equal? Is not the *Scottiſh* Nation undervalued, as of little Worth, which formerly bore ſo high? Do not the *Engliſh* loſe and ſuffer by that Nation? And were it not better to be without it? And all ſuch Gentlemen in Parliament, that have no more Senſe or Reſentment, what Burthens they lay on this Nation, ſo they may keep their Places and Salaries?

5. Whether the Judges and Commiſſioners of the *Chancery*, together with ſuch who have great Places in Adminiſtering of Law to the People, and very great Advantages and Profits thereby, be not likewiſe to be excepted againſt, as to Parliamentary Truſt? It being moſt ſure, that they will hardly be diſpoſed to make ſuch Laws and Governments, as may diminiſh the Splendor or Mercenarineſs of their Profeſſion, ſeeing they are known to be Men who, from Time to Time, have always advanced their own Trade, as their preſent Height doth witneſs; who, to the great Diſhonour of the Nation, while they profeſs themſelves the Miniſters of Juſtice and Righteouſneſs to the People, do, under that Pretence, greaten and inrich themſelves in the Oppreſſions and Miſeries of the People.

6. And why is it, that the Diſpenſers of the Law, as well as the * Teachers of the Goſpel, ſhould not be made uncapable to ſit and act in Parliament, ſeeing there alſo is an old muſty Act to prohibit them ſo to do? But, it ſeems, their Envy at the free Diſpenſing of the Goſpel, on the one Hand, and their Gain by the Law, on the other, hinder them, that they cannot ſee, or take Notice of it.

7. The like may be queried concerning the Swordſmen's Capacity to ſit, whilſt in Pay; eſpecially to decree and vote in Levying of Money, for three Years together, and of other unheard-of oppreſſive Ways, deviſed and practiſed for no other Uſe, than to pay themſelves their Wages and Salaries, now they do no Work, unleſs it be to undo what they did before, and to reduce the well-affected People of this Nation unto their firſt Condition of Slavery, to be ruled by mere Will and Pleaſure.

*Here follows a Catalogue of the Kinglings, or the Names of thoſe Perſons, who voted for † a King; the trueſt that as yet can be gotten, with the Names of the ſeveral Counties for which they ſerve.*

Bedfordſhire.
Mr. *Samuel Bedford*

Berkſhire.
*Edmund Dunch*
*John Dunch*
Mr. *Trumball*
Mr. *Hide*

Buckinghamſhire.
Ld. Commiſ. *Whitlock*
Colonel *Ingoldsby*
Mr. *Richard Hampden*
Mr. *Francis Ingoldsby*

Cheſhire.
Mr. *Richard Leigh*
Mr. *Peter Brook*

Cambridgeſhire.
*John Thurloe*, Secretary
Sir *Francis Ruſſel*
Mr. *Robert Weſt*

Cornwall.
Mr. *Richard Carter*
Mr. *John Buller*

Cumberland.
Captain *Howard*
*George Downing*
Mr. *Briſcoe*

Derbyſhire.
*Gervas Bennet*

Devonſhire. o

Dorſetſhire.
Attor. Gen. *Prideaux*
*Dennis Bond*
Colonel *Bingham*
Colonel *Fitz-James*

Durham County.
Capt. *Thomas Lilburn*
Mr. *Anthony Smith*

Yorkſhire.
Doctor *Bathurſt*

Eſſex. o

Glouceſterſhire.
Captain *Stone*

Herefordſhire.
Captain *Maſon*

Hertfordſhire.
Earl of *Saliſbury*
Sir *Richard Lucy*

Huntingdonſhire.
Colonel *Mountague*
Mr. *Henry Cromwell*

Kent. o.

Leiceſterſhire.
Colonel *Hacker*

Lincolnſhire.
Captain *Fiennes*

Middleſex.
Sir *William Roberts*

Weſtminſter.
Colonel *Groſvenor*

London.
Alderman *Foot*
Alderman *Pack*

Monmouthſhire. o

Norfolk.
Colonel *Wood*
Colonel *Wilton*
Major *Burton*

Northamptonſhire. o
Nottinghamſhire. o
Northumberland. o

Oxfordſhire.
Col. *Nathaniel Fiennes*
M. *William Lenthal*
Mr. *Miles Fleetwood*
Sir *Francis Norris*
Mr. *Jenkinſon*
Mr. *Crook*

Rutlandſhire. o

Shropſhire.
Mr. *John Aſhton*

Staffordſhire.
Sir *Charles Ouſeley*
Mr. *Nowell*, Scrivener
Captain *Whitgreave*

Somerſetſhire.
Recorder *Long*
Colonel *John Gorges*
Mr. *Robert Aldworth*
*John Aſh*, junior

Southampton.
Lord Commiſ. *Liſle*
Mr. *Smith*, Commiſſioner of the Navy.
Major *Bowreman*

Suffolk.
Mr. *Francis Bacon*
Mr. *Nathaniel Bacon*
Mr. *Robert Brewſter*

Surry.
Sir *Richard Onſloe*
Mr. *John Goodwin*
Mr. *Duncomb*
Mr. *Drake*
Mr. *De la noy Southwark*

Suſſex.
Sir *John Trevor*

Warwickſhire.
Mr. *Clement Throgmorton*
Mr. *Lucy*
Major *Beake*

Worceſterſhire.
Sir *Thomas Rouſe*
Mr. *Edward Pitt*

Wiltſhire.
Mr. *Gabriel Martin*

Lancaſhire.
Colonel *Ireland*

Weſtmoreland. o

Not known to what Counties they belong.
Sir *Thomas Wrath*
Colonel *Bret*
Major *Beak*, Life-guard
Mr. *Lawrence*, the Preſident's Son
Mr. *Walter*, Sir *Hardreſs*'s Son.
Alderman *Stevens*
Mr. *Thelwell*

Wales.
Colonel *Philip Jones*
Mr. *Claypole*, called Lord
Mr. *Trevor*
Mr. *Williams*
Judge *Glyn*
*Griffith Bedwerda*
Colonel *Phillips*

* Free Preaching the Goſpel and Knowledge of God is become a Crime rendering Men uncapable to ſit in the Parliament.

† Or that the Crown and Title of King ſhould be offered to *Oliver Cromwell*.

Mr. *Upton*

Mr. *Upton*
Mr. *Hugh Price*
Mr. *Lloyd*
Mr. *Herbert*
Col. *George Twiſleton*
Col. *John Carter*
For Scotland.
Lord *Cockram*
Sir *Alexander Wedderbone*
Mr. *Ramſey*, Provoſt of *Edinburgh*
Sir *John Weimes*
Lord *Tweedale*
Doctor *Douglas*
Mr. *Barclay*
Mr. *Wooſley*.
Commiſſary *Lockhart*
Mr. *Godfrey Rhodes*
Mr. *Lockhart*.

*Engliſhmen* for *Scotland*.
Col. *Henry Markham*
Lord *Broghill*

For *Ireland*.
Recorder *Bice*
Mr. *Vincent Gooking*
Alderman *Tigh*, Mayor
Colonel *Raynolds*
Major *Owen*
Major *Morgan*
Sir *Theophilus Jones*
Colonel *Jephſon*
Colonel *Bridges*
Colonel *Fouke*
Lieutenant-Col. *Berisford*
Major *Aſton*
Captain *Halſey*.

In all 120. Whereof, of the Council with the Secretary 5

Of his Kindred 12

Officers belonging to the Army and Navy in Pay 20

Others receiving Salaries, and lying under other Engagements 33

In all 70

*The other Fifty are* Scots *and* Engliſhmen *of ſlight, low, and inconſiderable Principles, and will turn any Way their Maſter will have them.*

It is reported, that ſeveral of theſe Perſons, becauſe their Protector judged it not ſafe for him, at that Time, to accept of their unworthy Offer, being either really, or ſeemingly, diſſatisfied, went away, and would not give their Vote for this new Government, now pretended to be ſettled, called the *Humble Petition and Advice*: Which, as is commonly ſpoken, was carried but by three Voices, Fifty-three againſt Fifty; and is alſo againſt the Deſire and Approbation of the good People of the Nation. The Names of which Fifty-three Perſons ſhould alſo have followed in the next Place, could a true Catalogue thereof have been obtained.

Nor are they hereby excuſed, who gave not their Vote for one or the other, but ſeem to be diſſatisfied with the preſent Proceedings; becauſe, by their Sitting in the Houſe, they pretend, as Repreſenters of the People (for whom they ſerve) to preſerve their Rights and Freedom free from the Violence, Tyranny, and Oppreſſion of all arbitrary Powers whatſoever: Yet notwithſtanding, as by ſuffering their Fellow-Members to be kept from them, and judged without Doors; Sitting and Adjourning at the Protector's Pleaſure, as if they were his Servants; with many other unworthy Things, which already have been, and further might be mentioned: So when they were endeavoured to be violated by the Kinglings; and being now really trampled upon, and given away, by the above-mentioned fifty-three Perſons (who, like ſo many Slaves or Vaſſals, with Ropes about their Necks, came bowing, and beſeeching him to take the ſole Government of the three Nations upon him, and to chuſe his Succeſſors) they do not cry out, proteſt, declare againſt, and withdraw from them (which either is, or ought to be their Liberty) in the Doing whereof, theſe unparalleled Wickedneſſes (the Fruit of this late Apoſtaſy) muſt of Neceſſity fall to the Ground; but, through Love to their Self-intereſt, Unbelief, and not Truſting the Lord with their outward Concernments, in bearing a thorough Teſtimony againſt them, and in Standing for the Good of the People, they go on with them, ſtifling their own Conſciences, and ſimply endeavouring to quiet and ſatisfy their oppreſſed Brethren, by ſaying, He hath not the Title of King; as if all the Evil, Oppreſſion, and Arbitrarineſs lay in that, whenas he hath the ſame, and no leſs Power, than if he had the Title, and were called King: Yea, a far greater Power (as was ſaid before) than what coſt ſo much Blood and Treaſure to oppoſe in the late King. Surely theſe ſlight Pretences will not ſufficiently excuſe them in the Day of their Account, for thus Doing.

Thus far the Deſcription and Narrative; a few general Queries are further propoſed for a Cloſe to the Whole. And it is humbly offered to the Conſideration of all ingenious People, and queried, Whether the aforementioned Perſons, who ſeem to diſſent from the preſent Proceedings, and their Brethren the Kinglings, together with the fifty-three New Government-men, who alſo, in Time, may be more publick, fall not under ſome of theſe following Characters? Such as know them may judge.

*First*, Whether they are not thoſe who worſhip the riſing Sun—? Or, ſuch as have advanced great Eſtates by the Publick, and may be in Fear of being called to an Account——Or, ſuch as are under Hopes and Expectations to raiſe themſelves by the preſent Intereſt——Or, as are Lovers of Popularity, and to be in high Places——Or, as are of a low and timerous Spirit, not approving their Hearts to God, or redeemed from Men, and ſo are fearful to give Offence by their Diſſenting——Or, ſuch as had ſome Deſign to drive either for themſelves, Relations, or the * Clergy——Or, at beſt, were ſuch as thought, by their Continuance there, they might ſo balance Proceedings, as to prevent the Running of Things into that Extremity, as otherwiſe they would? Not conſidering they did much more Hurt in countenancing them with their Preſence, than they could do Good by their Oppoſition, which was but laughed at.

2. How the People of this Nation ſhould come to be concluded by, take Notice of, or be ſubject to this new Government, framed and made by theſe Men; ſeeing they never choſe them to any ſuch Purpoſe, nor † petitioned them about any ſuch Thing? If they could aſſume a Liberty to alter the Government from what they found it: Why might it not have become them to have attempted rather the Reducing of it to ſuch a Form, as might have anſwered the juſt Ends and Expectations of thoſe that ſent them, than ſuch a Heightening as this, of an Intereſt, formerly ſo much complained of? That an Attempt to change the Government ſhould be Cauſe ſufficient to diſſolve his laſt Parliament; and not be an Offence in this? Is there not Cauſe to ſay, that having ſerved the End for which they at firſt were choſen, *viz.* The Advance of their Protector's Intereſt, and his Providing for his Deſigns (which neither the old Parliament, little Parliament, nor his former Parliament would do) they are ſtill continued, and kept as a Reſerve againſt the next Opportunity to bring further Slavery and Oppreſſion upon the Nation?

Whether the Government by the Keepers of the Liberties of *England*, the People's (who have not forfeited their Liberties) Repreſenters, and a Council of State was not, or may not be more ſucceſsful for the Good of the Nation, and a great deal leſs burthenſone and chargeable to the People than the Inſtrument of Protectoral Government, or the preſent Government, of the humble Petition and Advice? Though the Former of theſe was ſo highly boaſted of, as if it came from Heaven, and as if one *Iota* of it might not be parted with; and that ‡ other Foundations could no Man lay; yet, in three Years Time, it is found utterly uſeleſs, deſtroying itſelf, ſo as that, by the humble Petition and Advice, the Idea and Deſire of Mr. *Thurloe*, and his Maſter, rather than the Invention and free Propoſal of his mercenary Juncto, it muſt, by their pretended Authority, be changed for ſomething that is likely to prove as uſeleſs as that was, if not more.

4. Whether thoſe Gentlemen, ſitting in the Houſe, who were choſen by the Inſtrument of Protectoral Government, which they have now caſt out, and introduced their new Government of the humble Petition and Advice, in the Room thereof, were not in all Reaſon to have ceaſed, and gone out, with the Government that choſe them, rather than, without the good People's Conſent, and a new Choice (by this new Device of Adjournment) continued themſelves as Lords over the Nation, in this their new erected Government?

5. Whether the good old Cauſe, formerly contended and bled for, and which coſt ſo much Treaſure in the Hands of other Inſtruments, in the long and little Parliament, be not, in a very great Degree and Meaſure (if not altogether) changed, and put into the Hands of ſuch, as ſometimes were accounted either Neuters, or Malignants, or not ſo fit for ſo great a Truſt?

6. Whether the Lawyers, or Gentlemen of the long Robe, having gained their Protector over to their Intereſt and Party (as was learnedly and wittingly intimated by the Speaker, at the late Inauguration, when he had diveſted him of his Sword, and put on the King's Robe, *That now he might ſpeak without Offence, that his*

* A Gentleman of this Juncto ſwore he would go help to ſettle the Church, that, in Matters of Religion, ſcarce knows the right Hand from the Left.

† Not one Petition from any County or Town in *England*, or Dominions thereunto belonging.

‡ See the *Protector's* (ſo called) Speech to his Parliament, after the old and little Parliament were diſſolved.

*Highneſs*

*Highneſs was become a Gown-man)* are not in a fairer and more likely Way, and Capacity, to hang up the Soldiers Belts and Swords in *Weſtminſter-hall*, by the *Scottiſh* Colours, than the Soldiers are, to hang up the Lawyers Gowns there? As they have oftentimes threatened they would: Alas poor *England*, is not the Law, and the Adminiſtering of it, as corrupt, dilatory, burthenſome, and vexatious as ever? Doth the Striving of theſe two great Intereſts produce any Good to thee? (Which the Soldiers once ſo highly pretended to) or rather, Is there not hereby an Increaſe of thy Preſſures and Burthens?

7. Whether the Proceedings in the late Convention, particularly the Votes for another Houſe, a Standing Army, a perpetual Tax for Cuſtoms to be let to Farm, the hot Attempts to build again the curſed Ruins of Kingſhip: Alſo Reſolutions to bring in publick Profeſſion of Faith, and tie up the publick Maintenance to Conformity thereunto, with the Endeavours that were uſed to have impoſed a Catechiſm upon us, do not clearly ſhew what a Spirit is raiſed up again? And whether does not the Tendency of theſe Tranſactions (according to human Probability) threaten a * Rendivation of Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Tyranny; againſt which a moſt ſolemn and ſignal Teſtimony hath been borne amongſt us by the Spirit of God in his People, the Blood of the Saints, and the dreadful Effects of Providence?

8. Whether the great and high Concernments, formerly the Travel, the Hopes and Aims of many amongſt us, were at all upon the Hearts of thoſe in Power, or their late Aſſembly; to wit, A farther Reformation of Things, in the Regulation of Law; the Deſolation of oppreſſive Courts, and Committees; the Abrogation of Tythes, and ſupernumerary Offices; the Removal of all unneceſſary Burthens and publick Grievances, with all ſuch Laws, Cuſtoms, and Proceedings, as were calculated for the Intereſt of mere Will and Power of Antichriſtian and Arbitrary Greatneſs? But, on the contrary, hath not the Reſult of late Proceedings been ſuch, as hath already, in Part, healed the Wound that theſe had received, and holds out a clear Intendment to reſtore them again to their former Power, Splendor, and Exaltation, to the making void, as much as in them lies, the dear Effect of all the Blood, Prayers, Appeals, and glorious Deliverances, which have been laid out upon that Account?

9. Whether the hard Proceedings againſt *James Nailer*, in his Uſage and Puniſhment (although his Principle be not hereby owned) doth not, in a great Meaſure, very nearly concern many godly, ſober, and peaceable People in the three Nations? Have they any good Aſſurance, they may not hereafter be dealt withal after the like Manner? And whether the ſeveral Profeſſions amongſt us, that, by the National Faith, ſhall be concluded unorthodox, may not, from theſe Beginnings, and other Foundations already laid, expect to receive the like Entertainment at the Hands of this Generation; as the godly and faithful Followers of Chriſt have at the Hand of the worldly Powers, and National Church, in Times paſt?

10. Whether the Oath *ex Officio*, uſed by the Biſhops, in their Court of High Commiſſion, judging the Opinions, and racking the Conſciences of good People formerly, be not like to come in Uſe again; ſeeing Swearing begins to grow ſo much into Requeſt, and to be ſo common, not only at Court amongſt great Men, but alſo in their Parliaments, appointing Commiſſioners (together with the Exciſe and Cuſtoms) to let it to Farm; for do they not give Power (as appears in their Act for new Buildings) to cauſe Men to ſwear, who, ſometimes, it is to be feared, forſwear themſelves? Whether the Land hath not formerly mourned, becauſe of Oaths? And is it not by this Means likely to do ſo again?

11. Whether the Spirit of the *Star-Chamber* and Council-board did not alſo riſe up, and act vigorouſly in the Houſe, putting them upon the Project of Puniſhing Perſons for Building new Houſes, for new Families, which the Lord hath been pleaſed to multiply? As if his Bleſſing, of increaſing the People in and near *London*, were a Judgment or Curſe; and the Increaſing of Dwellings for them, a Crime to be

* See Proviſion for tender Conſciences in the *Humble Petition and Advice*, Article 11. See their Act for *Catechiſing*, and that for the *Lord's Day*. See *Bacon* and *Tate*'s Ordinance againſt *Blaſphemy*, now ſeemed to be revived by them.

puniſhed

puniſhed by a * Mulct or Fine: And, if the Lord ſhall be pleaſed to with-hold the Sword and Peſtilence, for ſeven Years to come, as he hath done the laſt ſeven or ten Years paſt, and continue the like Increaſe of new Families, muſt not the aforeſaid Families either ſupplant the old, or go build new Houſes at *Jamaica?* Such being the preſent Caſe already, that a Houſe is hardly to be gotten for a Family to live in. Which Things being conſidered, might it not be deſired, that thoſe Gentlemen of the long Robe, and the great Swordſmen their Brethren, who have had ſuch a Fellow-feeling of the Conditions and Eſtates of the poor Tradeſmen and Artificers, as to impoſe this Burthen upon them, would lend them their *Inns of Court* and *Chancery*, *White hall*, *St. James's*, and other great Houſes, before the poor new Families ſhould lie out of Doors, or have no Houſes to dwell in?

12. Whether extreme Neceſſity did not at firſt introduce that ſo much abhorred Tax (by the *Engliſh*) of Exciſe, only to maintain the War, wherein they were then engaged, for Juſtice and Freedom, againſt a Negative Voice in the late King? And his Claiming the ſole Power of the Militia, as of Right belonging to him? And whether the ſaid Tax was not intended to be continued for ſo long Time only, till that Neceſſity was over, and no longer, and the Nation then to be reduced to its Freedom again? And if ſo, Whether there be not greater Reaſon that that Burthen ſhould ceaſe, and be taken off the People, than now in a Time of Peace (together with the Cuſtoms) be made perpetual, and a ſtanding Revenue to hold up and maintain thoſe very Uſurpations, and Grievances, *viz.* a Negative Voice over the People's Repreſenters in Parliament: And the ſole Power of the Militia in the Hands and Diſpoſal of a Protector, for the Extirpation whereof it was firſt employed?

13. Whether the Exciſe be not a Tax far more burthenſome than Ship-money in the Days of the King? And whether the late † Continuing of it for two or three Years on the People, without the leaſt Shew of Parliamentary Authority, was not an Act as criminal and obnoxious to Juſtice, as was the Levying of Ship-money in that Day? And ſurely had this late Convention been of *Engliſh* Spirits, and not baſely unworthy; would they not rather have broken this Yoke to Pieces, and freed them from that devouring oppreſſing Tax, than made it ‡ heavier, and, by a Law, bound it upon their Shoulders for ever?

14. Were not theſe late Acts for Continuance of Exciſe and Cuſtoms for ever, with the delegated Powers therein contained, to ſwear, fine and impriſon Perſons at Pleaſure, together with the Act of Farming out the ſame, with that of the new Buildings, calculated and deſigned on Purpoſe againſt the Merchants, Tradeſmen, Artificers, and the whole City of *London*, with the Parts adjoining, to bring them down, and make them poor and low, that ſo, like a great tame Aſs, ſubdued to the Yoke, they may be ridden at Pleaſure; and, as fit for nothing elſe but to bear the Burthen of the whole Nation? And, whether they be well rewarded by theſe new Law-makers, for their former Forwardneſs in the good old Cauſe; in Lending their Money, and Adventuring their Lives at *Glouceſter*, *Newport-pagnel*, *Aulton*, and other Places, for the Delivering their Country from thoſe very Yokes, which are now, by a Law, re-eſtabliſhed, and impoſed upon us?

15. Whether theſe pretended Law-makers had not more of a ſelfiſh, than a publick Spirit, in declining the Way of Subſidy, and advancing their Nineteen-hundred thouſand Pounds *per* Year, for the Support of their new Government, by laying two Thirds of the ſame on the Merchants, Tradeſmen, and Artificers; and the other Third on the real and perſonal Eſtates of the Nation? Have they not hereby ſlipped their own Shoulders from under the Burthen; and unworthily laid it heavy on the induſtrious People; whilſt the Lawyers great Places and Fees, with the Swordſmen's Salaries, and Land purchaſed with the Price of other Men's Blood, pay little or nothing at all?

16. Whether the Gentlemen of this Con-

* All Houſes without the Walls of the City, for ten Miles Diſtance round, that, from thirty-ſeven Years paſt, to the 29th of *September*, 1657, have been built upon new Foundations, are, by the late Act, to pay a full Year's Rent to the Protector, as they may be let at a rack Rent; in Execution whereof ſo much Oppreſſion hath been exerciſed already, as would take up too much Room to declare it.

† Which was done by the *Protector* (ſo called) and his Council, no Parliament ſitting: As the King and his Council formerly raiſed Ship-money.

‡ Can any other be expected from mercenary Soldiers, Lawyers, Salary-men, and other Court-Paraſites?

vention

vention be not the very Offspring of the old Courtiers, and their Dependants, the late Patentees suppressed and turned out of the long Parliament, at their first Sitting, as unworthy to come there; in that they have bought and sold the People of this Nation, by letting, and taking to Farm their Rights and Properties? Did ever any Company of Men before abuse Parliamentary Authority so, as these Men have done; in making an Act to let to Farm the good People of this Nation, their Properties and Goods, to such as will bid most; and authorising their Members to become like Panders, to give Entertainment to all Comers, who have a Mind to become Patentees, and contract with them for Power, to use the *English* free People as they please?

17. Whether the Pretence, of advancing a Revenue to the State, be a Plea sufficient to warrant their Oppressing, Impoverishing, and Inslaving the People of this Nation, to fill the State's Coffer; or rather the Lusts of some great Statesmen? And whether such, as buy dear, must not sell dear, and use such Means to raise their Money again, as will eat up the People to the very Bones? Were not Sir *Abraham Daws*, Sir *John Worsenham*, and Sir *Nicholas Crisp*, counted criminal, and fined accordingly, for being such Farmers? And whether the Gentlemen that do, and shall now adventure to farm, may not, in Time, come to be Subjects of like Justice, as was deservedly executed upon *Empson* and *Dudley*, with their Confederates, for their Raking and Peeling the People of this Nation formerly?

18. Whether the Raising up again the Ruins of the fallen Courts and Monarchy, and the Giving up the grand Interests of the People, so lately redeemed with the Price of much precious Blood, out of the Clutches of Tyranny, into the Hands of one single Person again; and this done without the Advice and Consent, and against the Hopes and Expectations of the most faithful and honest Part of the Nation, be not an Act highly unworthy the Day that is upon us, and a fundamental Ground of Dissatisfaction to all, in whom there yet remains any Sense of the late most honourable Cause, and of the Experiences and Appearances that attended us, while we abode uncorrupted in the faithful and fervent Prosecution thereof?

Upon the Whole: Whether these Things, brought forth of late, be the natural Issue of those noble Beginnings formerly amongst us; or rather the degenerate Fruits of that bitter Root of Apostasy that hath sprung up since, and of late more effectually manifested itself, under the Face of Authority; in an Assembly of Men, made up of Persons ridden by the Clergy, and acted by Principles of Self-security, and Advancement of Sons and Kinsmen, Servants, of low-spirited conquered *Scots*, curbed *Cavaliers*, and young Boys; of corrupt Lawyers, and others; who prostitute their Light and Principles to their *Diana*, to uphold their Gain and Profits; and of a declined Sort of *Independant*, baptized, ranting, and mercurial Divinity Professors; and lastly, of mercenary Soldiers and Swordsmen, who have, out of Fear, or covetous Ends, apostatised, and unworthily betrayed as honourable and precious a Cause as ever was on Foot since the World began, of all which this Juncto was made up and constituted.

## POSTSCRIPT.

Reader,

*THIS had come sooner into thy Hands, had not Providence hindered: What is wanting, either for Matter or Form, thou art desired (who art capable hereof) to make a Supply in this or some other Manner, more for the Discovery of Wickedness, and Pleading for Righteousness; and however the Apostates of the Day (with their Protector) may be displeased and rage thereat; yet, consider the Encouragement our Lord Protector gives thee hereunto,* Isa. ix. 16. *Who complains (that in a Day of Transgressing, Flying and Departing away from God, of Oppression; yea, when Truth failed, and he that departed from Evil made himself a Prey, and there was no Judgment) that none called for Justice, nor any Man pleaded for Truth,* &c. *and wondered there was no Intercessor: Let not that lively active Spirit, that once appeared for God, against Tyranny and Wickedness in the late King's Days, now die; when the same Spirit and Wickedness is again revived and acting, even by them who were so instrumental to destroy the late Generation, for these very Things. Your Friend, who, having in some Measure been instrumental herein, hath no other Apprehensions in his own Spirit, but that he may before long be known, and dealt withal as others have been formerly upon the like Account; yet the Matter, herein contained, being such as (if Justice could take Place) might not only be signed to, pleaded for, but would certainly overcome: He is so far from*

*from being diſcouraged, or in the leaſt damped in his Spirit from the Publiſhing hereof, that he had much rather (the Lord aſſiſting) be expoſed to a State of Imprisonment all his Days, yea, to Death itſelf, than withdraw his Aſſiſtance in the leaſt Meaſure, in this or any other Thing, wherein he apprehends he may be uſeful to witneſs againſt the Apoſtaſy of this Day, to revive the good old Cauſe, and bring in Juſtice and Righteouſneſs to the People.*

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A ſecond Narrative of the late Parliament (ſo called). Wherein, after a brief Reciting ſome remarkable Paſſages in the former Narrative, is given an Account of their ſecond Meeting, and Things tranſacted by them: As, alſo, how the *Protector* (ſo called) came ſwearing, *By the living God*, and diſſolved them, after two or three Weeks Sitting. With ſome Queries ſadly propoſed thereupon. Together, with an Account of Three and Forty of their Names, who were taken out of the Houſe, and others that ſat in the Other Houſe, intended for a Houſe of Lords; but, being ſo unexpectedly diſappointed, could not take Root, with a brief Character and Deſcription of them. All humbly preſented to publick View. By a Friend to the good Old Cauſe of Juſtice, Righteouſneſs, the Freedom and Liberties of the People, which hath coſt ſo much Blood and Treaſure; to be carried on in the late Wars, and are not yet ſettled.

*Curſed be the Man before the Lord that riſeth up and buildeth the City Jericho, he ſhall lay the Foundation thereof in his Firſt-born, and in his youngeſt Son ſhall he ſet up the Gates of it.* Josh. vi. 26.

*I have ſeen the Fooliſh taking Root; but ſuddenly I curſed his Habitation: His Children are far from Safety, and they are cruſhed in the Gate, neither is there any to deliver them.* Job v. 3, 4.

*He diſappointeth the Devices of the Crafty, ſo that their Hands cannot find their Enterpriſe.* Job v. 12.

*His*

*His Confidence ſhall be rooted out of his Tabernacle, and it ſhall bring him to the King of Terrors.* JOB xviii. 14.

Printed in the fifth Year of *England*'s Slavery, under its new Monarchy, 1658.

THE late Parliament (ſo called) having made their new Model of Government, called, *The Humble Petition and Advice*, before they had well licked their golden Calf, or given the Brat of their Brain a Name, were called upon to adjourn, and break up: And ſo, making more Haſte than good Speed, they left Things very raw and imperfect, which afterwards occaſioned great Conteſts; and, in Fine, their Diſſolution.

According to the Time they adjourned unto, they aſſemble again, being *January* 23, 1657, where, after the uſual Solemnities of Devotion performed, they repair to the Houſe, where they found ſome of their Number commiſſioned, and impowered by the Protector, to ſwear them. The Copy of which Oath here follows:

*The OATH.*

'I Do in the Preſence, and by the Name of 'God Almighty, promiſe and ſwear, 'That, to the utmoſt of my Power in my 'Place, I will uphold and maintain the true 'Reformed Proteſtant Chriſtian Religion in 'the Power thereof, as it is contained in the 'Holy Scriptures of the *Old* and *New Teſta-* 'ment, and encourage the Profeſſion and Pro- 'feſſors of the ſame: And that I will be true 'and faithful to the Lord * Protector of the 'Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and '*Ireland*, and the Dominions and Territories 'thereunto belonging, as chief Magiſtrate 'thereof: And ſhall not contrive, deſign, or 'attempt any Thing againſt the Perſon, or 'lawful Authority of the Lord Protector; 'and ſhall endeavour, as much as in me lies, 'as a Member of Parliament, the Preſerva- 'tion of the Rights and Liberties of the 'People.'

Which having taken, and coming into the Houſe, they find not only ſome of their Fellow † Members, but their old Servant and Clerk, Mr. *Scobell*, gone, and a new one put in his Room, whoſe Name is *Smith*, which, with Biting a little the Lip, and ſomething in Way of Compliment, as with a *Salvo* of their Rights and Privileges, they for Quietneſs Sake vote him (ſo put upon them) to be their Clerk, and then ſettled themſelves in a Poſture for their future Work. And the firſt Thing they undertake, is to keep a Day of Prayer in their Houſe, which accordingly they did; and with great Prudence, plowing with an Ox and an Aſs together, the *Presbyters* and *Independents* being both called to officiate.

The other Houſe, who would fain have the Honour to be called *Lords*, or rather, a *Houſe of Lords*, did likewiſe, in their Houſe, pray at the ſame Time, with much Devotion, and did afterwards agree to ſend to the Parliament (or, as they would have them again called, *the Houſe of Commons*) by Baron *Hill* and Serjeant *Windham* (after the Manner of the Houſe of Peers formerly) to declare their Meſſage, *viz.* 'That the Houſe of Lords, or the Lords of 'the other Houſe, had ſent unto them, to 'deſire their Joining with them, in a Petition

* Can thoſe be faithful to the Rights and Liberties of the People, who ſwear to be faithful to the Government in a ſingle Perſon, which, our too ſad Experience tells us, ſo naturally tends to deſtroy them? Do not thoſe, who ſo ſwear, undertake to uphold that in the Protector, which coſt ſo much Blood and Treaſure to oppoſe, as Antichriſtian and Tyrannical in the King? Or is that a lawful Authority, which, contrary to all Precedents and Privileges of Parliament, was carried but by three Voices of them that were permitted to ſit, there being at the ſame Time at leaſt Eighty of the Members purpoſely kept out, till that Act was paſſed? Ought not Things to be ſearched into, and ſet right upon this Account? For that (*Matt.* vi. 24.) *No Man can ſerve two Maſters.*

† To the other Houſe they were gone for greater Preferment.

'or Meſſage to the Protector, that a Day of 'Prayer * and Humiliation might be appoint-'ed through the whole Commonwealth.'

Which Meſſage begat very high Debates, and ſharp Speeches from many that were not at the making this lame and imperfect Model, ſo as the aforeſaid Meſſengers were fain to wait a long Time; but at length got this Anſwer, *viz.* 'That they would return an 'Anſwer by Meſſengers of their own.'

The Houſe filling daily, and many of thoſe that had been ſecluded in the former Seſſion coming in, the Face of Things in the Houſe was in a great Meaſure changed, another Spirit appearing in them, than before, inſomuch that many made Queſtion of the Things that were formerly done; ſome ſpeaking at a high Rate in Behalf of the Rights of the *Engliſh* free People, and againſt the Wrongs and Injuries that had been done unto them. This being done Day by Day, and the Houſe not agreeing what to call that other Houſe, which was as it were a nameleſs Infant, and fain would be named the *Houſe of Lords*, was the greateſt Part of their Work, ſave that, now and then, ſome little Matters came under Debate, as the Reviving and Perfecting their Committees, and Reading ſome former Bills. The Lord *Craven*'s Caſe alſo was taken in, and the Council on both Parts heard at the Bar of the Houſe, with ſome other little Matters that paſſed; but the greateſt Part of the Time that was ſpent in the Houſe, whilſt ſitting, was in Conſidering and Debating what they ſhould call the other Houſe.

Towards the End of their Sitting, there came another Meſſage from the other Houſe, after the ſame Manner as before, 'Deſiring their 'Joining with them, in moving the Protector 'to order, that the Papiſts, and ſuch as had 'been in Arms under the late King, might 'be exiled the City, and put out of the Lines 'of Communication, *&c.* This Meſſage being alſo deſigned as a Shooing-horn, to draw on their Owning of them, received a like Anſwer as did the former.

As for the other Houſe, who called themſelves the *Houſe of Lords*, they ſpent their Time in little Matters, ſuch as Chooſing of Committees, and among other Things, to conſider of the Privileges and Juriſdiction of their Houſe, good wiſe Souls, before they knew what their Houſe was, or ſhould be called.

About which Time alſo, a Petition was preparing, by ſome faithful Friends to the good old Cauſe, in and about the City of *London*, which was afterwards printed, and ſigned with many thouſand Hands; which Petition makes Mention of the ſeveral Particulars that were the Grounds of Conteſt between the late King, and Parliament, and the good People of the Nation. And prayeth, 'The Settling thoſe good Things fought for, 'as the Reward and Fruit of the Blood and 'Treaſure ſo greatly expended in the late 'Wars, *&c.* This Petition was ready to be preſented to the Parliament, in a peaceable Way, by the Hands of about Twenty in the Name of the reſt, deſiring to ſubmit the Iſſue thereof to God, and the Wiſdom of that Aſſembly. The Court, hearing of it, were ſo affrighted, that they began to conſider how they might quell, and put a Stop to, that honeſt Spirit, which ſo appeared againſt them; the Protector, in the mean While, calling them *Traitors, and Seditious Perſons*, &c. Threatening *to cut their Sculls, and to tread them down as Mire in the Streets*, &c. And, turned out † Major *Packer*, and moſt of the honeſteſt Officers of his Regiment of Horſe, for refuſing to ſerve his Luſt therein. And apprehending that nothing could do it, but a ſpeedy Diſſolving the Parliament, they put on Reſolutions accordingly, only waiting for a convenient Opportunity. But, ſomething happening that Morning, that put the Protector into a Rage and Paſſion, near unto Madneſs, as thoſe at *White-hall* can witneſs, he gets into a Coach, and to the other Houſe he comes, and ſends for his Son *Fleetwood*, Mr. *Nathaniel Fines*, and ſome others, acquainting them what his Purpoſe and Reſolution was, and what he came to do, who, as it is ſaid, earneſtly endea-

* *In nomine Domini incipe omne malum.*

† As Major *Packer*, Mr. *Kiffin*, and others, by endeavouring to promote the Apoſtaſy at its firſt Riſe, have occaſioned many baptiſed Perſons, and others, ſimply to wander after the Beaſt. They, now ſeeing their Error, ought they not to declare it to the People, as alſo to ſtir them up to keep cloſe with more Refinedneſs in their Spirits to the good old Cauſe, and to be for no ſingle Perſon whatſoever, till he comes, whoſe Right it is, *Ezek.* xxi. 26.

voured

voured to diſſuade him from it; but he refuſed to hearken, and in great Paſſion ſwore, *By the Living God he would diſſolve them.* And ſo going into the Houſe, and ſending the Black Rod, with a Meſſage, to call the Parliament to come unto him, he, with laying great Blame upon them, and charging them with great Crimes, and magnifying of himſelf, as his Manner is, diſſolved them. And this was the fourth Parliament broken by him, in five Years.

Thus the two Houſes fell, and periſhed together; their Father, their good Father, knocking his Children on the Head, and killing of them, becauſe they were not towardly, but did wrangle one with another; but what hath he gained thereby? *Solomon* the wiſe ſaith, *Prov.* xiv. 1. *Every wiſe Woman buildeth her Houſe, but the fooliſh plucketh it down with her own Hands.*

Upon the Whole, it is humbly queried as follows, *viz. Firſt*, Whether there may not very plainly be read and perceived a Hand of Diſpleaſure from the Almighty, blinding the Eyes, and infatuating the Underſtandings of thoſe unworthy Perſons, who, * *Hiel* like, would have built *Jericho* again, to wit, fallen Monarchy in a ſingle Perſon, and a Houſe of Lords, with their Negative Voices over the good People of theſe Lands, ſo as to cauſe, or ſuffer them to do their Work by Halves; and to riſe, and leave ſo lame, nameleſs, and inſignificant; their new Model of the humble Petition and Advice, *aliàs*, Inſtrument of Bondage to the *Engliſh* Nation. Let the Curſe of Confuſion, that attended the Builders of † *Babel*, be conſidered of.

*Secondly*, Whether thoſe ſo very wiſe Gentlemen, who ſaw it ſo neceſſary, and ventured ſo high, and took ſo much Pains, to bring in again, and a-new reſtore fallen Monarchy and Kingſhip in theſe Lands, could, according to the Rules of common Reaſon and Underſtanding of Men, imagine and conclude, that the Gentlemen, who had formerly been ſo wronged, abuſed, and exaſperated by them, in being kept out of the Houſe, would be ſo eaſy and tame, as preſently, without any more ado, addreſs themſelves to lick their new golden Calf, and nurſe up that *Babyloniſh*, *Antichriſtian* Brat, they had no Hand in, but were againſt the Begetting of? And whether it doth not ſpeak out a very great Weakneſs in their Counſels, and a marvellous Shallowneſs in the Protector, his Council, and whole Number concerned in that Deſign, in making no better Proviſion beforehand, and ſeeing no further into the enſuing Danger, ſo likely to attend their whole Device, and the nameleſs Infant of the Other Houſe, which they would have to be chriſtened, and called by the Name of *Lords?*

*Thirdly*, Whether the good People of this Nation have not Cauſe for ever, as to abhor the Memory of the fore-mentioned backſliding Perſons, ſo that Parliament (ſo called) in the firſt Seſſion of it, before their Adjourning, that, of their own Heads, and contrary to their Engagement to the ‡ Inſtrument of Government, by Virtue whereof they ſat at firſt, and without conſulting the reſpective Counties for whom they ſerved, or ſo much as one Petition delivered to them for that Purpoſe, changed the Government, and made one worſe, harder, and more grievous to be borne, than that they put away; ſo faſtening their new iron Yoke upon the Necks of the good People of this Land, ſettling great Taxes, with the Cuſtoms and Exciſe for ever, to keep this Yoke upon them?

*Fourthly*, Whether thoſe Gentlemen kept out in the firſt Sitting, when thoſe hard Things were tranſacted, and afterwards coming in, and being preſent in the ſecond Meeting, notwithſtanding the ſo great Reproach and Dirt caſt on them by the Court, are not highly to be honoured and eſteemed, for appearing and ſtanding, ſo far as they did, for Right and Freedom, againſt the Bondages, which, contrary to Engagements, Covenants, and Promiſes, were put upon the good People of this Land? As well as to be blamed, not only for not declaring at their firſt Seclusion, to inform the People of the Wrong and Injury done unto them, but alſo, when afterwards they were ſo arbitrarily and tyrannically diſſolved, with the reſt of their unworthy Brethren, they took it ſo patiently, and went ſo tamely Home, and did not, in the very Time of the Action, proteſt and declare againſt the Tyrant, and then retire into their Places (from whence they ought not to have ſtirred at firſt) and call him to the Bar, or otherwiſe proceed againſt him for ſo doing? Had it not been ſuitable to, and well

* 1 *Kings* xvi. 34. † *Gen.* xi. 7, 9.

‡ The firſt Inſtrument is not hereby owned, but abhorred as much as the latter, though I thus ſpeak.

becoming that noble Commonwealth Spirit (ſo much pretended to) thus to have aſſayed, though they had fallen in it? And whether the Army in Honeſty, Conſcience and Duty, their former Declarations and Engagements conſidered, ought not to have aſſiſted them therein, as well as they did the Long Parliament againſt the King and his Courtiers, upon the like Account? Do not the like Cries of the Souls of the Saints * under the Altar, ſlain for the Teſtimony which they held in their Day, as alſo the Blood of the Saints, and others, ſlain in the late Wars, and the Sufferings of our dear Brethren in Priſons and Baniſhment, call for this their Teſtimony alſo? If ſo: Ought not this honeſt Word of Reproof for what is paſt, and of Excitation for the Future, to take Place?

*Fifthly*, But ſince Things were as they were, and, as it ſeems, could be no better, Whether all good People, in theſe Nations, have not great Cauſe exceedingly to bleſs and praiſe the Lord? (Though they owe little to the Inſtrument, who, *Aſhur*-like, had other Ends) that the late Parliament (ſo called) was diſſolved; who were, many of them, ſuch mercenary, ſalary, and ſelf-intereſted Men, as, in all Probability, had they continued much longer, would have over-voted the Lovers of Freedom, and ſo have perfected their Inſtrument of Bondage, and riveted it on the Necks of the good People for ever by a Law, and thereby made them Vaſſals and Slaves perpetually. But, hitherto, the Lord hath, in a great Meaſure, fruſtrated their wicked Deſigns, bleſſed be his holy Name.

*Sixthly*, Whether the Protector, ſo called, be not a great Deſtroyer of the Rights and Liberties of the *Engliſh* Nation? For hath he not engroſſed the whole Power of the Militia into his own Hand? The Right alſo of Property? Power of judging all Matters of the higheſt and greateſt Concernment? And doth he not take on him to be ſole Judge of Peace and War, of Calling and Diſſolving Parliaments? Raiſing Money without Conſent in Parliament? Impriſoning Perſons without due Form of Law, and keeping them in Durance at Pleaſure; uſing the Militia in his own Hand againſt the good People, in theſe fore-named Things, and againſt their Repreſenters in Parliament.

*Seventhly*, Whether the Protector, and the great Men his Confederates, be not rather to be termed *Fanatick*, *Whimſical*, and *Sick-brained*, than thoſe (who remaining firm to, and, being more refined in their former good, and honeſt Principles, will upon no Account be drawn to deſert the good old Cauſe) they account and call ſo? And whether this Unſettledneſs in their Government, and Changing both it and their Principles, in ſo ſhort a Time; and Going ſo diametrically contrary to their former honeſt Proteſtations, Declarations, Sermons, and Actings, doth not in the View of all the World, declare them to be ſo?

*Eighthly*, Whether the Protector (ſo called) be not that himſelf, which he untruly charged upon the Members turned out of the little Parliament (ſo called) *viz. A Deſtroyer of Magiſtracy and Miniſtry?* Of Magiſtracy, in breaking four Parliaments in five Years; and pulling up by the Roots, what in him lieth, the very Baſis and Foundation of all juſt Power, to wit, the Intereſt of the good People of this Commonwealth; making himſelf, and his own Will and Luſt, the Baſis and Foundation thereof? And doth he not at his Pleaſure ſuppreſs and deſtroy all Military and Civil Power, and Governors that ſubmit not thereunto? Is he not likewiſe a great Deſtroyer of Miniſtry, in taking from them their Religious, or Divine Capacities, putting them into that of Lay or Common? And accordingly, in a profeſſed Way, preferring them to Places of Advantage by the Triers?

*Ninthly*, Whether the Protector be ſo wiſe and underſtanding, ſo tender and careful of the Common Intereſt (as is pretended to) above all others whatſoever? Yea, above and beyond the four Parliaments he hath diſſolved? And may it not be enquired how he came to this great Height of Knowledge and abſolute Underſtanding, ſeeing there are very many worthy Patriots, ſometimes his Equals, at leaſt, of as high a Deſcent, of as good Breeding, of as great Parts, of as fair an Intereſt, as alſo as well verſed in Government as himſelf? Whether it may not be wondered at, that he ſhould be ſo exceeding wiſe, and tender above all, even above Parliaments themſelves?

*Tenthly*, Whether Sir *Henry Vane*, Major-General *Harriſon*, the late Preſident *Bradſhaw*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, Lieutenant-General *Ludlow*, with Hundreds more of worthy Patriots, that have ventured far in their Country's Cauſe,

* *Rev.* vi. 9, 10.

for

for Juſtice and Freedom, may not rationally be thought to be as careful and tender of the Good of their Country, as the Protector?

*Eleventhly*, Whether it doth not rankly favour of high Pride and Arrogancy in the Protector, ſo called, to ſet up his Senſe and Judgment, as the Standard for the whole Nation, even Parliaments themſelves? And whether thus to do be not the ſad Fruit of Enthuſiaſm, one of the great Errors of this Day and Time?

*Twelfthly*, Whether the Protector, being ſo highly conceited of his own Underſtanding, ſo changeable and uncertain in his Principles and Reſolutions, ſo given up to his Paſſion and Anger, as againſt all Advice and Counſel, in a Condition near unto Madneſs, to ſwear *by the Living God* he would diſſolve the late Parliament, and accordingly did ſo, though the Doing of it tended to the Hazard of the Commonwealth: Whether he, according to Reaſon, can be thought a Perſon capable, and fit to rule and govern this great, ſo wiſe, and noble a People?

*Thirteenthly*, Whether, ſince the Protector aſſumed the Government, the State and Condition of this Nation be not very greatly impaired? Their Land-Forces waſted and conſumed at *Hiſpaniola*, *Jamaica*, *Mardike*, and elſewhere? Their Shipping leſſened and diminiſhed; their Stores and Proviſions for Sea and Land expended and conſumed without Profit; their Magazines emptied; their Treaſures waſted; their Trade in a great Meaſure loſt and decayed, and very great new Debts contracted, little of old being ſatisfied? And whether all this be not the bitter Fruit of Apoſtaſy and Treachery, and Setting up a ſingle Perſon, as chief Magiſtrate, contrary to the Engagements: And the Caſting away of that religious Cauſe of Freedom, Juſtice, and Righteouſneſs, this Land was ſo engaged in?

*Laſtly*, Whether the Protector, ſo called, will not, in all Likelihood, diſſolve the next Parliament alſo, if they begin to queſtion, and make Debates of former Tranſactions, and do not preſently, without any Diſputing, proceed to perfect the new Model, of the *Humble Petition and Advice?* What Aſſurance ſhall be given to the Countries and Cities that ſhall chuſe, or to the Gentlemen choſen, that they ſhall not be ſerved as thoſe before were? And whether, if the honeſt Citizens ſhall begin to make ready their former ſober, and very worthy Petition, or one of the like Nature, it will not be looked at again, as a Crime little leſs than Treaſon at the Court, and become a Means of ſudden Diſſolution to the next Parliament alſo? Alas for poor *England!* What will become of thee in the End? How haſt thou loſt thyſelf, and thy good old Cauſe? And whither will theſe Maſters of Bondage carry thee?

## *A Liſt of their Names who were taken out of the Houſe, and others, being * Forty-three in Number, that ſat in the other Houſe, ſo greatly deſigned for a Houſe of Lords; with a brief Deſcription of their Merits and Deſerts: Whereby it may eaſily appear, how fit they are to be called, as they call themſelves,* Lords; *as alſo being ſo very deſerving, what Pity it is they ſhould not have a Negative Voice over the free People of this Commonwealth.*

1. *Richard Cromwell*, eldeſt Son of the Protector (ſo called) a Perſon of great Worth and Merit, and well ſkilled in Hawking, Hunting, Horſe-racing, with other Sports and Paſtimes; one whoſe Undertakings, Hazards, and Services for the Cauſe cannot well be numbered or ſet forth, unleſs the Drinking of King *Charles*'s, or, as is ſo commonly ſpoken, his Father's Landlord's Health; whoſe Abilities in Praying and Preaching, and Love to the Sectaries, being much like his Couſin *Dick Ingoldsby*'s, and, he ſo very likely to be his Father's Succeſſor, and to inherit his noble Virtues, in being the Light of the Eyes, and Breath of the Noſtrils of the old Heatheniſh Popiſh Laws and Cuſtoms of the Nation, eſpecially among the Learned, the Univerſity of *Oxford* have therefore thought fit, he being alſo no very good Scholar, to chuſe him their Chancellor. And

* All of them, but Four, are Salary-Men, Sons, Kinſmen, and otherwiſe engaged to the Protector and allied to his Confederates.

though

though he was not judged meet, not having a Spirit of Government for it, to have a Command in the Army, when there was Fighting, or honeſt and wiſe enough to be one of the little Parliament, yet is he become a Colonel of Horſe, now Fighting is over; as alſo taken in to be one of the Protector's Council, and one of the other Houſe, and to have the firſt Negative Voice over the good People of this Commonwealth, being in ſo hopeful a Way to have the great Negative Voice over the Whole after his Father's Death.

2. Commiſſioner *Fiennes*, Son of the Lord *Say*, a Member ſometime of the Long Parliament, and then a Colonel under the Earl of *Eſſex*, had the Command and Keeping of *Briſtol*, but gave it up cowardly, as it is ſaid, for which he had like to have loſt his Head; he, being a Lover of Kingſhip and Monarchy, as well as his Father, was taken in by the Protector at his firſt Setting up, to be one of his Council, and made Commiſſioner of the great Seal, as alſo Keeper of the Privy-Seal, whereby his Intereſt and Revenue is raiſed, from Two or Three-hundred *per Annum*, to Two or * Three-thouſand, and more: And for his Merits and Greatneſs, being after the old Mode, he was taken out of the late Parliament, to be the Mouth of the Protector in that other Houſe, and ſo is fit, no Queſtion, to have the ſecond Negative Voice over the good People of theſe Lands.

3. *Henry Lawrence*, a Gentleman of a Courtly Breed, and a good Trencher-man; who, when the Biſhops ruffled in their Pride and Tyranny, went over to *Holland*, afterwards came back, and became a Member of the long Parliament; fell off at the Beheading the late King, and Change of the Government, for which the Protector, then Lieutenant-General, with great Zeal declared, 'That a Neu-'tral Spirit was more to be abhorred than a 'Cavalier Spirit, and that ſuch Men as he 'were not fit to be uſed in ſuch a Day as 'that, when God was cutting down King-'ſhip Root and Branch'; yet came in Play again, upon Deſign, in the little Parliament, and contributed much to the Diſſolving of them, as alſo Setting up the Protector, and Settling the Inſtrument of Government and a ſingle Perſon, affirming, 'That other Foundation 'could no Man lay'. For which worthy Services, and as a Snare or Bait to win over, or at leaſt quiet the baptiſed People, himſelf being under that Ordinance, he was made and continued Preſident of the Protector's Council, where he hath ſigned many an arbitrary and illegal Warrant for the Carrying of honeſt faithful Men to Priſons and Exile without Cauſe, unleſs their not Apoſtatiſing with them from juſt and honeſt Principles. His Merits are great and many, being every Way thorough-paced, and a great Adorer of Kingſhip; ſo as he deſerveth, no Doubt, and is every Way fit, to be taken out of the Parliament, to have the third Place of Honour, and Negative Voice in the other Houſe over the People of theſe Lands.

4. Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, a Gentleman formerly of the Long Parliament, and a Colonel of their Army; then Lieutenant-General, afterwards married honeſt *Ireton*'s Widow, the Protector's eldeſt Daughter: Major-General *Lambert* being put by, by the Parliament, from going over to *Ireland* as Lord Lieutenant, it ſavouring too much of Monarchy, and being not willing to accept of a lower Title, he was ſent over thither under the Title of Lord Deputy in his Room, where he continued about three Years; and, to put a Check upon thoſe godly Men there, who are no Friends to Monarchy, he was ſent for over again, and cajoled in to be one of the Protector's Council, as alſo Major-General of divers Counties in *England*; his Salary ſuppoſed worth † 6600 Pounds, *per Annum*, by all which he is become advanced to a princely Intereſt and Revenue; he is one of good Principles, had he kept them, and of good Words like his Father-in-Law, whereby he hath deceived many an honeſt Man, and drawn them from the good old Cauſe, and by that Way hath greatly ſerved the Protector's Deſigns. His Merits therefore are ſuch, as he, no Queſtion alſo, deſerves to be taken out of the Houſe, and made a Peer, and to have a Negative Voice in the other Houſe, when it ſhall be named *Lords*; notwithſtanding he ſo helped in the Army and Long Parliament to throw down the Houſe of Lords, and to deſtroy their Negative Voice, and did fight againſt it in the King.

5. Colonel *Desborough*, a Gentleman or Yeoman of about ſixty or ſeventy Pounds, *per*

* As ſaith the Book of *Fates*, or former *Narrative*.

† See the former *Narrative*.

*Annum*,

*Annum*, at the Beginning of the Wars; who being allied to the Protector by Marriage of his Siſter, he caſt away his Spade, and took a Sword, and roſe with him in the Wars, and in like Manner, upon the Principles of Juſtice and Freedom, advanced his Intereſt very much; if he were not of the long Parliament, he was of the little One, which he helped to break. Being grown conſiderable, he caſt away the Principles by which he roſe, and took on Principles of Violence and Tyranny, and helped to ſet up the Protector, for which he was made one of his Council, and one of the * Generals at Sea, and hath a princely Command at Land, being Major-General of divers Counties in the Weſt, as alſo one of the Lords of the *Cinque Ports*. His Intereſt and Greatneſs being ſo far advanced, his Merits muſt needs be great, and he every Way fit to be taken out of the Houſe, and put into the other Houſe, with a Negative Voice over the good People, for that with his Sword he can ſet up that again in the Protector and himſelf, which before he cut down in the King and Lords.

6. Lord Viſcount *Liſle*, eldeſt Son of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, was of the long Parliament to the laſt, and at the Change of Government, and making Laws of Treaſon againſt a ſingle Perſon's Rule, and, no Queſtion, concurred with the reſt therein; he was alſo of the little Parliament, and of all the Parliaments ſince; was all along of the Protector's † Council, and was never to ſeek; who having learned ſo much by changing with every Change, and keeping ſtill, like his Father-in-Law, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and *Peter Sterry*, on that Side which hath proved Trump, nothing need farther be ſaid of his Fitneſs, being ſuch a Man of ‡ Principles, to be taken out of the Parliament, to have a ſettled Negative Voice in the other Houſe, over all the good People of theſe Lands, he being a Lord of the old Stamp already, and, in Time, ſo likely to become a Peer.

7. Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Knight of the old Stamp, and of a conſiderable Revenue in *Northamptonſhire*, one of the long Parliament, and a great Stickler in the Change of the Government from Kingly, to that of a Commonwealth; helped to make thoſe Laws of Treaſon againſt Kingſhip, hath alſo changed with all Changes that have been ſince; he was one of the little Parliament, and helped to break it, as alſo of all the Parliaments ſince; is one of the Protector's ‖ Council; and, as if he had been pinned to his Sleeve, was never to ſeek; is become high Steward of *Weſtminſter*; and, being ſo finical, ſpruce, and like an old Courtier, is made Lord Chamberlain of the Protector's Houſhold or Court; ſo that he may well be counted fit and worthy to be taken out of the Houſe, to have a Negative Voice in the other Houſe, though he helped to deſtroy it in the King and Lords. There are more beſides him, that make themſelves Tranſgreſſors, by building again the Things which they once deſtroyed.

8. *Walter Strickland*, ſometime Agent, or Ambaſſador to the *Dutch* in the *Low-Countries*, from the long Parliament, and a good Friend of theirs; at length became a Member of that Parliament; was alſo of the little Parliament, which he helped to break; was of the Parliament ſince, and is now of the Protector's § Council; he is one that can ſerve a Commonwealth and alſo a Prince, ſo he may ſerve himſelf and his own Ends by it; who, having ſo greatly profited by attending the *Hogan Mogans*, and become ſo expert in the Ceremony Poſtures, and thereby ſo apt like an Ape, with his Brother Sir *Gilbert*, and the Preſident, to imitate or act the Part of an old Courtier in the new Court, was made Captain-General of the Protector's Magpye, or Gray-coated Foot-guard in *White-hall*, as the Earl of *Holland* formerly to the King; who, being every Way of ſuch Worth and Merits, no Queſtion can be made, or Exceptions had againſt his Fitneſs to be taken out of the Parliament to exerciſe a Negative Voice in the other Houſe over the People of this Commonwealth.

9. Sir *Charles Ouſely*, a Gentleman who

* His Salary Three-thouſand two-hundred and thirty-ſix Pounds *per Annum*. See the former *Narrative*, or Book of *Rates*.

† His Salary One-thouſand Pound *per Annum*.

‡ Ask his late Wife's Siſter, the Lady *Sands*.

‖ His Salary One-thouſand Pound *per Annum*, beſides his other Places.

§ His Salary One-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, beſides his other Places.

came

came ſomething late into Play on this Side, being converted from a Cavalier in a good Hour. He became one of the little Parliament, which he helped to break, and to ſet the Protector on the Throne; for which worthy Service, he was, as he well deſerved, taken in to be one of his Council; was alſo of the Parliaments ſince; a Man of Conſtancy and Certainty in his Principles, much like the Wind; and, although he hath done nothing for the Cauſe whereby to merit, yet is he counted of that Worth, as to be every Way fit to be taken out of the Parliament, to have a Negative Voice in the other Houſe, over ſuch as have done moſt, and merited higheſt in the Cauſe, the Protector and his Fellow Negative Men excepted, and over all the Commonwealth beſides.

10. Mr. *Rouſe*, one of the Long Parliament, and by them made Provoſt or Maſter of *Eaton* College; he abode in that Parliament, and helped to change the Government into a Commonwealth, and to deſtroy the Negative Voice in the King and Lords; was alſo of the Little Parliament, and their Speaker; who, when the good Things came to be done which were formerly declared, and for not doing of which the old Parliament was pretendedly diſſolved, being an old Bottle, and ſo not fit to bear that new Wine, without putting it to the Queſtion, left the Chair, and went with his Fellow *Old Bottles* to *White-hall*, to ſurrender their Power to the General; which he, as Speaker, and they, by ſigning a Parchment or Paper, pretended to do. The colourable Foundation for this Apoſtaſy, upon the Monarchical Foundation being thus laid, and the General himſelf, as Protector, ſeated thereon, he became one of his * Council, good old Man, and well he deſerved it, for he ventured hard; he was alſo of the Parliaments ſince, and, being an aged venerable Man, all Exceptions ſet aſide, may be counted worthy to be taken out of the Houſe to have a Negative Voice in the other Houſe, over all that ſhall queſtion him for what he hath done, and over all the People of theſe Lands beſides, though he would not ſuffer it in the King and Lords.

11. Major-general *Skippon*, ſometime called *The honeſt Engliſh Captain in the Netherlands*, was afterwards Captain of thoſe of the Artillery Ground, in *London*; who, refuſing to attend the King at *York* when he ſent unto him, and adhering to the Parliament, was by them made Major-general under the Earl of *Eſſex*, under whom many an honeſt Man loſt his Life in fighting for the Cauſe of Freedom and Juſtice, and againſt the Negative Voice of the King and Lords, whoſe Blood ſurely will lie at Somebody's Door and cry, He was of the Long Parliament, and helped to change the Government, and make the Law of Treaſon againſt a ſingle Perſon's Rule, and was outed with them. After the Little Parliament, for endeavouring to bring forth what the old Parliament was turned out for not doing, was diſſolved, he was brought in Play again by Means of *Philip Nye*, Metropolitan Trier of *White-hall*, and made one of the Protector's † Council, and Major-general of the City in the decimating Buſineſs; hath been of all the Parliaments ſince, who being ſo grave and venerable a Man, his Error, in leading Men to fight againſt the King's Negative Voice, may be forgiven him, and he admitted, as fit to be taken out of the Houſe, to have a Negative Voice in the other Houſe himſelf, not only over thoſe who have fought along with him, but all the People of theſe Lands beſides; the rather, for that he is very aged, and not likely to exerciſe that Power long.

12. Colonel *Sydenham*, a Gentleman of not very much *per Annum* at the Beginning of the Wars, was made Governor of *Malcomb Regis*, in the Weſt; became one of the Long Parliament, and hath augmented his Revenue to ſome Purpoſe; he helped, no Queſtion, to change the Government, and make thoſe Laws of Treaſon againſt Kingſhip; was alſo of the Little Parliament, and of thoſe that were ſince; one alſo of the Protector's ‡ Council, hath a princely Command in the *Iſle of Wight*, is one of the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury; by all which he is grown very great and conſiderable: And, although he hath not been thorough-paced for Tyranny in Time of Parliaments, yet, it being forgiven him, is judged of that Worth and Merit as to be every Way fit to be taken out of the Houſe, to have a

* His Salary, for both Places, Fifteen-hundred Pounds *per Annum*.

† His Salary, for both Places, One-thouſand ſix-hundred ſixty-ſix Pounds, thirteen Shillings, and Fourpence.

‡ His Salary, for both Places, Two-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*.

Negative

Negative Voice in the other Houſe over all his Dependants, and all the People of theſe Lands beſides; hoping thereby he may be ſo redeemed, as never to halt or ſtand off for the Future againſt the Protector's Intereſt.

13. Colonel *Mountague*, a Gentleman of *Huntingdonſhire*, of a fair Eſtate, a Colonel formerly in the Aſſociation-Army, under the Earl of *Mancheſter*, where he, for ſome Time, appeared, whilſt Colonel *Pickering* lived, to be a Sectary, and for Laymen's Preaching, as alſo a Lover of the Rights and Freedoms of the People, rather than of the Principle he now acts by; but, that honeſt Colonel dying, ſome other Things alſo coming between, he became of another Mind; he gave off being a Soldier about the Time of the new Model, it is likely upon the ſame Account with Colonel *Ruſſel*; did not greatly approve of Beheading the King, or Change of the Government, or the Army's laſt March into *Scotland*, as the Protector, then General, may witneſs; yet, after the War was ended at *Worceſter*, and the old Parliament diſſolved, he was taken in, though no Change appearing from what he was before, to be of the Little Parliament, which he helped to break, and to ſet up Monarchy a-new in the Protector, which he deſignedly was called to do; for which worthy Service he was made one of the Council, * a Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, and one of the Generals at Sea; he was of the Parliaments ſince; all which conſidered, none need queſtion his Fitneſs to be a Lord, and to be taken out of the Houſe to have a Negative Voice in the other Houſe, not only over the Treaſury and Sea-men, but all the good People of theſe Lands beſides.

14. Colonel *Philip Jones*, his Original is from *Wales*; at the Firſt of the Wars he had about ſeventeen or twenty Pounds *per Annum*, and improved his Intereſt upon the Account of the Cauſe; firſt was an Agent for ſome Parliamenters to *London*, where gaining Acquaintance, and making good Uſe of them, he became Governor of a Gariſon, then a Colonel, as alſo Steward of ſome of the Protector's Lands in *Wales*, and one of the Long Parliament, after of the Little Parliament, which he helped to break, and to advance the General, his Maſter, to be Protector; for which goodly Service, himſelf was advanced to be one of his Council, afterwards Comptroller of his Houſhold or Court; he made Hay while the Sun ſhined, and hath improved his Intereſt and Revenue in Land, well † gotten, no Queſtion, to Three-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, if not more; he is alſo very well qualified with Self-denying Principles to the Protector's Will and Pleaſure, ſo as he is fit, no Doubt, to riſe yet higher, and to be taken out of the Houſe to be a Lord, and to have a Negative Voice in the other Houſe over all the good People in *Wales*, if they pleaſe, and over all the Commonwealth beſides, whether they pleaſe or not: All have not loſt by the Cauſe, though ſome have.

15. Commiſſioner *Liſle*, ſometime a Counſellor in the *Temple*; one of the Long Parliament, where he improved his Intereſt to Purpoſe, and bought State Lands good cheap; afterwards became a Commiſſioner of the Great Seal, and helped in Parliament to change the Government from Kingly to Parliamentary, or of a Commonwealth; changed it again to Kingly, or of a ſingle Perſon; and did ſwear the Protector at his firſt Inſtalling chief Magiſtrate, to the Hazard of his Neck, contrary to four ‡ Acts of Parliament, which he helped to make, with others, that make it Treaſon ſo to do. He hath lately retired for Sanctuary into Mr. *Rowe*'s Church, and is ſtill Commiſſioner ‖ of the Seal; and, being ſo very conſiderable in Worth and Merit, is alſo fit to be taken out of the Houſe to have a Negative Voice in the other Houſe over the good People, and all ſuch who ſhall any way queſtion him; he is ſince made Preſident of the High Court, ſo called, of Juſtice.

*Treaſon never proſpers: What's the Reaſon?*
*For, when it proſpers, none dare call it Treaſon.*

16. Chief Juſtice *Glyn*, ſometime a Counſellor at Law, and Steward of the Court at *Weſtminſter*, formerly one of the Long Parliament, and that helped to bait the Earl of *Straffford*, and bring him to the Block; was Re-

* His Salary, Three-thouſand ninety five Pounds *per Annum*.

† If Part of the Purchaſe-money was not paid with the great Bribe of about Three-thouſand Pounds, for which, as it is credibly reported, he hath been privately queſtioned, he would do well to clear himſelf, being very much ſuſpected, having gotten ſo great an Eſtate in ſo ſhort a Time.

‡ See theſe Acts in a Book called, *The Looking glaſs*, *p.* 43, 44.

‖ Salary, One-thouſand *per Annum*.

corder of *London*, and one of the eleven Members impeached by the Army of * Treaſon, and by that Parliament committed to the *Tower*; the Protector, through Apoſtaſy, aſſuming the the Government, took him up and made him a † Judge; and, finding him ſo fit for his Turn, did alſo make him Chief Juſtice of *England*; ſo that, of a little Man, he is grown up into a great Bulk and Intereſt, and of complying Principles to the Life; who, being ſo very uſeful to advance and uphold the Protector's great Negative Voice, is thereby queſtionleſs, in his Senſe, fit to be taken out of the Houſe, and to have a Negative Voice himſelf in the other Houſe, not only over the People, but over the Law he is to be Chief Judge of, and in a Capacity to hinder that no good Law, for the Future, be made for the Eaſe of the People, or Hurt of the Lawyers Trade.

17. *Bulſtrode Whitlock*, formerly a Counſellor at Law, one of the Long Parliament, profited there, and advanced his Intereſt very greatly; became one of the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, one that helped to change the Government, and make Laws againſt a ſingle Perſon's Rule: In the Time of the Little Parliament, he went Ambaſſador to *Sweden* in great State; that Parliament being diſſolved, he agitated there for the Protector, then came over; and, when ſome Alteration and pretended Reformation was made in the Chancery, he ſtood off from being any longer a Commiſſioner of the Seal, and became one of the Surveyors of the Treaſury at One-thouſand Pounds *per Annum* ‡ Salary; he is one who is guided more by ‖ Policy than by Conſcience, and, being, on that Account, the more fit for the Protector's Service, there is no Queſtion to be made of his Worth and Merit to be taken out of the Houſe to have a Negative Voice in the other Houſe over the People there, though he helped to put it down in the King and Lords.

18. *William Lenthal*, a Counſellor at Law, made Speaker of the Long Parliament by the late King, ſat it out in all Changes, weathered many a Storm and high Complaint made againſt him, and was too hard and wieldy for all his Oppoſers; his Policy and good Hap carried him on ſo, that he ended his being Speaker with the Ending of that Parliament. For the Time of his Sitting, he advanced his Intereſt and Revenue very much; became Maſter of the *Rolls*; purchaſed Lands in others Names, as well as in his own, for Fear of the Worſt. He was, to be ſure, at the Change of the Government from Kingly, or of a ſingle Perſon and a Houſe of Lords, as uſeleſs, § chargeable, and dangerous; as likewiſe at the Making thoſe Laws of Treaſon againſt a ſingle Perſon, for the Future not yet repealed.) The Little Parliament, where ſome of his Law-judicature was queſtioned, being diſſolved, and the Protector taking the Government upon him, he adventured to comply with the reſt, notwithſtanding the Danger, that ſo he might keep his Place and Intereſt, and avoid a new Storm or Frown from the preſent Power. Men need not ſeek far, or ſtudy much to read him, and what Principles he acts by. All Things conſidered, he may, doubtleſs, be very fit to be Lord of the *Rolls*, being Maſter already, and to be taken out of the Parliament to be made a Lord, and to have a Negative Voice in the other Houſe over the People, as well as over the Cauſes in the *Rolls*, being ſo thoroughly exerciſed in Negatives at his own Will and Pleaſure, as too many have ſadly felt.

19. Mr. *Claypole*, Son of Mr. *Claypole* in *Northamptonſhire*, now Lord *Claypole*: He long ſince married the Protector's Daughter; a Perſon, whoſe Qualifications not anſwering thoſe honeſt Principles, formerly ſo pretended to, of putting none but godly Men into Places of Truſt, was a long Time kept out; but, ſince the Apoſtaſy from thoſe Principles, as alſo the Practice brake in, and his Father-in-law (the Head thereof) came to be Protector, he was then judged good enough for that Diſpenſation, and ſo taken in to be ** Maſter of his Horſe, as Duke *Hamilton* to the King. Much need not be ſaid of him; his Relation, as Son-in-law, to the Protector is ſufficient to beſpeak him every Way fit to be taken out of the Houſe, and made a Lord; and, having ſo long Time had a Negative Voice over his Wife, *Spring-Garden*, the Ducks, Deer, Horſes, and

* He helped to raiſe the City againſt the Army, and made the Speaker fly to the Army for Shelter, and choſe another Speaker in his Room, in the King's Behalf, and a great deal more.

† His Salary, One-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*. ‡ See Book of Rates.

‖ Ask *George Cockain*. § See two Declarations of Parliament, one againſt the Lords, the other againſt Kingſhip. ** His Salary is not well known.

Aſſes

Aſſes in *James*'s *Park*, is the better ſkilled how to exerciſe it again in the other Houſe, over the good People of theſe Nations, without any Gainſaying or Diſpute.

20. Lord *Faulconbridge*, a Gentleman, whoſe Relations are moſt Cavaliers (his Uncle formerly Governor of *Newark* for the King againſt the Parliament) was abſent over the Water, in the Time of the late Wars; a Neuter at leaſt, if not diſaffected to the Cauſe; came back, the Wars being over, and hath lately married one of the Protector's Daughters, and was in a fair Way, had Things hit right, to have been one of his Council, as well as his Son-in-law; however, ſuitable to the Times, he is lately made a Colonel of Horſe: His Relation, both to the old and new Monarchy, may ſufficiently plead his Worth and Merits, not only to have his Daughter, but alſo a Negative Voice in the other Houſe, over all that adventured their Lives in the Cauſe formerly, and over all the People of theſe Lands beſides.

21. Colonel *Howard*: His Intereſt, which is conſiderable, is in the North; his Relations there are moſt Papiſts and Cavaliers, whom he hath courted and feaſted kindly, and ſerved their Intereſt to Purpoſe *; it is no Matter who loſt by it: In Favour to Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, was made Captain of the General's Life-guard, when he was in *Scotland*; wherein he continued for ſome Time in *England*, after he was Protector; but, not being a Kinſman, or a Perſon further to be confided in, in that Place, was ſhuffled out from thence, and, to ſtop his Mouth, made a Colonel, and, as the Book ſays, a Major-general, and had Power of Decimation; as alſo made Governor of *Berwick*, *Tinmouth*, and *Carliſle*; hath alſo taſted with the Firſt of that ſweet Fountain of new Honour, being made a Viſcount: He was of the Little Parliament, and all the Parliaments ſince; is a Member of Mr. *Cockain*'s Church, and of very complying Principles (no Queſtion) to the Service of the new Court, from whence he received his new Honour; and having with his Fellow, Lord *Claypole*, ſo excellent a Spirit of Government over his Wife, Family, and Tenants in the Country, to be taken out of the Houſe to have a Negative Voice in the other Houſe might ſeem of Right to belong unto him, being alſo lorded beforehand.

22. Lord *Broghil*: His Riſe and Relation, for Means, is *Ireland*; a Gentleman of good Parts and Wit, able to make a Romance, but was not looked on formerly, by thoſe of the good old Cauſe, as a Perſon fit to be truſted with the Command of one Town or Caſtle in *Ireland*; yet is he now, by this happy Change, become a goodly Convert to be confided in, and is made † Preſident of the Protector's Council in *Scotland*: He was of the latter Parliaments, a great Kingling, and one that, in the laſt Parliament (ſo called) put on hard that Way: Wherefore it were great Pity, he being alſo a Lord of the old Stamp, and ſo well gifted, if he ſhould not be one to have a Negative Voice in the other Houſe over the People of *England* and *Scotland*, as well as of *Ireland*, it being a good While ſince, and almoſt forgotten, that the Protector ſaid, 'It 'would never be well, and we ſhould never 'ſee good Days, whilſt there was one Lord 'left in *England*, and until the Earl of *Man-'cheſter* was called Mr. *Mountague*.'

23. Colonel *Pride*, then Sir *Thomas*, now Lord *Pride*, ſome Time an honeſt Brewer in *London*, went out a Captain upon the Account of the Cauſe, fought on, and in Time became a Colonel; did good Service in *England* and *Scotland*, for which he was well rewarded by the Parliament; with cheap Debentures of his Soldiers and others, he bought good Lands at eaſy Rates; gave the Long Parliament a Purge, fought againſt the King and his Negative Voice, and was againſt the Negative Voice of his Brethren, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, being unwilling to have any in the Land; but hath now changed his Mind and Principles with the Times, and will fight for a Negative Voice in the Protector, and alſo have one himſelf, and be a Lord, for he is a Knight of the new Order already, and grown very bulky and conſiderable: It is hard to ſay how the People will like it. However, his Worth and Merits, rightly meaſured, will, no Queſtion, render him fit to be taken out of the Houſe to be one of the other Houſe, and to have a Negative Voice, not only over the Bears, but all the People of theſe Lands, though he did formerly ſo oppoſe and fight againſt it; and

* An honeſt Man told ſome of the Council worſe Things of him, than theſe.

† His Salary, One-thouſand four-hundred and ſeventy-four Pounds *per Annum*.

the noble Lawyers will be glad of his Company and Friendſhip, for that there is now no Fear of his Hanging up their Gowns by the *Scottiſh* Colours in *Weſtminſter-hall*, as he formerly ſo greatly boaſted and threatened to do.

24. Colonel *Hewſon*, then Sir *John*, now Lord *Hewſon*, ſome Time an honeſt Shoe-maker or Cobler in *London*, went out a Captain upon the Account of the Cauſe, was very zealous, fought on ſtoutly, and in Time became a Colonel; did good Service, both in *England* and *Ireland*; was made Governor of *Dublin*, became one of the Little Parliament, and of all the Parliaments ſince; a Knight alſo of the new Stamp. The World being ſo well amended with him, and the Sole ſo well ſtitched to the upper Leather, having gotten ſo conſiderable an Intereſt and Means, he may well be counted fit to be taken out of the Houſe to be a Lord, and to have a Negative Voice in the other Houſe, over all of the gentle Craft, and *Cordwainers* Company in *London*, if they pleaſe. But, though he be ſo conſiderable, and of ſuch Merit in the Protector's, as alſo in his own Eſteem, not only to be a Knight, but alſo a Lord, yet it will hardly paſs for Current with the good People of theſe Lands, it being ſo far beyond the Laſt: Neither will they think him fit (ſaving the Protector's Pleaſure) to have a Negative Voice over them, though he formerly fought ſo ſtiffly againſt it in the King and Lords, in order to ſet them free.

25. Colonel *Barkſtead*, then Sir *John*, now Lord *Barkſtead*, ſome Time a Goldſmith in the *Strand* of no great Rank, went out a Captain to *Windſor* Caſtle, was ſome Time Governor of *Reading*, got at length to be a Colonel, then made Lieutenant of the *Tower* by the old Parliament. The *Protector* (ſo called) finding him fit for his Turn, continued him there, and alſo made him Major-general of *Middleſex*, in the Decimating-buſineſs, and Aſſiſtant to Major-general *Skippon*, in *London*. He is one to the Life to fulfil the Protector's Deſires, whether right or wrong, for he will diſpute no Commands, nor make the leaſt Demur, but, in an officious Way, will rather do more than his Share. His Principles for all arbitrary Things whatſoever being ſo very thorough, let Friends or Foes come to his Den, they come not amiſs, ſo he gets by it; yea, rather than fail, he will ſend out his armed Men to break open other Men's Houſes, and ſeize their Perſons, and bring them to his Jail, and then at his Pleaſure turns them out: He hath erected a Principality in the *Tower*, and made Laws of his own, and executes them, in a martial Way, over all Comers; ſo that he hath great Command, and makes Men know his Power: He was of the latter Parliaments; is one of the Commiſſioners, like the Biſhops Panders in the King's Days, for ſuppreſſing Truth in the Printing-preſſes, an Oppreſſion once the Army ſo greatly complained of; is, for Sanctuary, gotten in to be a Member of Mr. *Griffith*'s Church; is alſo knighted after the new Order, and, the better to carry on the Protector's Intereſt among the ear-bored ſlaviſh Citizens, is lately become an * Alderman; ſo that he hath advanced his Intereſt and Revenue to Purpoſe. His Titles and Capacities, emblazoned, will ſufficiently argue his Worth and Merits, and ſpeak him out fully to be a Man of the Times, and every Way deſerving to be yet greater, and, *Haman*-like, to be ſet higher. All which conſidered, it would ſeem a Wrong not to have taken him out of the Houſe, and made him a Lord of the other Houſe, with a Negative Voice there, as well as where he is; the rather, for that he knows ſo well how to exerciſe the ſame, having uſed it ſo long a Seaſon, as likewiſe that he may obſtruct and hinder whoever ſhall queſtion, or deſire Juſtice againſt him for his wicked Doings.

26. Colonel *Ingoldsby*, a Gentleman of *Buckinghamſhire*, allied to the Protector; he betook himſelf to the Wars on the right Side, as it happened, and in Time became a Colonel: A Gentleman of Courage and Valour, but not very famous for any great Exploits, unleſs for Beating the honeſt Inn-keeper of *Aylesbury* in *White-hall*, for which the Protector committed him to the *Tower*, but was ſoon releaſed: No great Friend of the *Sectaries* (ſo called) or the Cauſe of Freedom then fought for, as ſeveral of his then and now Officers and Soldiers can witneſs: And, although it be well known, and commonly reported, That he can neither pray nor preach, yet, complying ſo kindly with the new Court, and being in his Principles for Kingſhip, as alſo a Colonel of Horſe, and the Protector's Kinſ-

* His Salary, Two-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*.

man,

man, he may well be reckoned fit to be taken out of the Houſe, and made a Lord, and to have a Negative Voice in the other Houſe, over the good People of this Land; the rather, for that he, as a Gentleman, engaged and fought only for Money and Honour, and nothing elſe.

27. Colonel *Whaly*, formerly a Woollen-draper, or petty Merchant, in *London*; whoſe Shop being out of Sorts, and his Caſh empty, not having wherewithal to ſatisfy his Creditors, he fled into *Scotland* for Refuge, till the Wars began; then took on him to be a Soldier, whereby he hath profited greatly; was no great Zealot for the Cauſe, but, happening on the right Side, he kept there, and at length was made Commiſſary-general of the Horſe: He was of theſe latter Parliaments, and, being ſo very uſeful and complying to promote the Protector's Deſigns, was made * Major-general of two or three Companies: He is for a King, or Protector, or what you will, ſo it be liked at Court; is, with his little Brother *Glyn*, grown a great Man, and very conſiderable, and wiſer, as the Protector ſaith, than Major-general *Lambert*; who having, with his fellow Lords, *Claypole* and *Howard*, ſo excellent a Spirit of Government over his Wife and Family, being alſo a Member of † *Thomas Goodwin's* Church, no Queſtion need be made of his Merit of being every Way fit to be a Lord, and to be taken out of the Houſe, to have a Negative Voice in the other Houſe over the People, for that he 'never, as he ſaith, fought 'againſt any ſuch Thing, as a Negative Voice.'

28. Colonel *Goff*, now Lord *Goff* that would be, ſome Time Colonel *Vaughan's* Brother's Apprentice (a Salter in *London*) whoſe Time being near or newly out, betook himſelf to be a Soldier, inſtead of Setting up his Trade; went out a Quarter-maſter of Foot, and continued in the Wars till he forgot what he fought for; in Time became a Colonel, and, in the outward Appearance, very zealous and frequent in praying, preaching, and preſſing for Righteouſneſs and Freedom, and highly eſteemed in the Army, on that Account, when Honeſty was in Faſhion; yet, having, at the ſame Time, like his General, an evil Tincture of that Spirit, that loved and fought after the Favour and Praiſe of Man, more than that of God (as, by woeful Experience in both of them, hath ſince appeared) he could not further believe, or perſevere, upon that Account, but by Degrees fell off: And this was he, who, with Colonel *White*, brought Muſqueteers, and turned the honeſt Members, left behind in the Little Parliament, out of the Houſe. Complying thus kindly with the Protector's Deſigns and Intereſt, he was made ‡ Major-general of *Hampſhire* and *Suſſex*; was of the late Parliament; hath advanced his Intereſt greatly, and is in ſo great Eſteem and Favour at Court, that he is judged the only fit Man to have Major-general *Lambert's* Place and Command, as Major-general of the Army; and, having ſo far advanced, is in a fair Way to the Protectorſhip hereafter, if he be not ſerved as *Lambert* was. He, being ſo very conſiderable a Perſon, and of ſuch great Worth, there is no Queſtion of his Deſerts and Fitneſs to be taken out of the Houſe to be a Lord, and to have a Negative Voice in the other Houſe; the rather, for that he 'never, 'in all his Life, as he ſaith, fought againſt 'any ſuch Thing, as a ſingle Perſon, or a Ne-'gative Voice, but only to put down *Charles*, 'and ſet up *Oliver*;' and hath his End.

29. Colonel *Berry*: His Original was from the Iron-works, as a Clerk, or Overſeer; betook himſelf to the Wars, on the Parliament-ſide; profited greatly in his Undertaking, and advanced his Intereſt very far; who, though he wore not the Jeſter's Coat, yet, being ſo ready to act his Part, and pleaſe his General, in Time he became a Colonel of Horſe in the Army, afterwards a Major-general of divers Counties, a Command fit for a Prince; wherein he might learn to lord it in an arbitrary Way, before-hand, at his Pleaſure. That he is of complying Principles with the Court, his Preferment ſufficiently ſpeaks out; neither ought any other to be believed of him, or any of his Brethren, without a real Demonſtration to the Contrary; ſo that he may well paſs for one to be a Lord, and to be taken out of the Houſe to have a Negative Voice over the People, being ſo far advanced, and gotten out of the Pit above them; and, if he did formerly fight againſt a Negative Voice and Lording it over the People, it may be forgiven him.

30. Colonel *Cooper*, ſome Time a Shop-

* His Salary, Eleven-hundred and forty-one Pounds, three Shillings, and three Pence *per Annum*.

† Note that Man for what you may read in the *Poſtſcript*. ‡ His Salary, Eleven-hundred and forty-one Pounds, three Shillings, and three Pence, beſides Major-generalſhip.

keeper,

keeper, or Salter, in *Southwark*, a Member of *Thomas* * *Goodwin*'s Church, one formerly of very high Principles for common Juſtice and Freedom, like his Brother *Tichborn*. The Army, then in *Scotland*, ſending into *England* for faithful, praying Men, to make Officers of, the honeſt People in the *Borough* recommended him to the General, in order to have a Command; who accordingly went down, but left his Principles behind him, and eſpouſed others; was made a Colonel at the firſt Daſh, and, though he began late, yet hath ſo well improved his Intereſt, that he hath already gotten as many Hundreds *per Annum*, as he had hundred Pounds, when he left his Trade. He hath a Regiment of Foot in *Scotland*, and another in *Ireland*, where he is Major-general of the *North*, in *Venables*'s Room, and Governor of *Carrickfergus*, ſo as he is in a very hopeful Way to be a very great Man indeed. He was of the latter Parliaments, and there is full Proof, that he is every Way thorough-paced and true to the new Court-intereſt; ſo that, upon the Whole, he alſo may be counted fit to be a Lord of the other Houſe, and to have a Negative Voice over the good People in *Southwark*, if they pleaſe, and all the People of theſe Lands beſides, it being the Protector's Pleaſure; the rather, he being the Mirrour of the Times for thorough Change of Principles, Alderman *Tichborn* and *O. P.* excepted.

31. Alderman *Pack*, then Sir *Chriſtopher*, now Lord *Pack*; his Riſe formerly was by dealing in Cloth; near the Beginning of the Long Parliament, was made an Alderman, was then very diſcreet, and meddled little, more like a Neuter, or cloſe Malignant, than a Zealot for the Cauſe; was a Commiſſioner of the Cuſtoms, alſo Sheriff and Lord-Mayor of *London*, next after Alderman *Viner*. The Protector taking on him the Government, the Sunſhine of the new Court pleaſed him, and brought him in full Compliance; he was one of the laſt Parliament, and zealous to re-eſtabliſh Kingſhip in the Perſon of the † Protector, and judged the only meet Man to bring the Petition into the Houſe, praying him to accept of, and take it upon him; which, though he then refuſed, yet, as is reported, hath ſince repented his then Refuſal: However, the now Lord *Pack* deſerves well at his Hand for that good Service, who being a true King-ling, and of right Principles to the Court-intereſt, having alſo been a Lord (to wit, Mayor) once before, may, upon the Whole, be counted very worthy to be again ſo called, and to have a Negative Voice, in the other Houſe, over *London*, and all the People of theſe Lands beſides.

32. Alderman *Tichborn*, then Sir *Robert*, Knight of the new Stamp, now Lord *Tichborn*; at the Beginning of the Long Parliament, when a great Spirit was ſtirring for Liberty and Juſtice, many worthy Petitions and Complaints were made againſt Patentees, the Biſhops, and the Earl of *Strafford*; he being the Son of a Citizen, and young, fell in, and eſpouſed the good Cauſe and Principles then on Foot, and thereby became very popular, and was greatly cried up by the good People of the City, *&c.* His Riſe was firſt in the Military Way, where he ſoon became a Colonel; and, by the Parliament, made Lieutenant of the *Tower* of *London*; and, though he was a Colonel, yet never went out to fight, but became an Alderman very timely, and then ſoon began to cool, and loſe his former Zeal and Principles, and left off Preaching, as his Paſtor, Mr. *Lockyer*, did the Church, to his Brother *George Cockain*. He was afterwards Sheriff, and Lord-Mayor in his Turn; was alſo of the Committees for the Sale of State Lands, whereby he advanced his Intereſt and Revenue conſiderably; out of Zeal to the Publick, he offered the Parliament to ſerve them freely, as a Commiſſioner of the Cuſtoms, whereby he ſupplanted another, and planted himſelf in his Room, and then, with the reſt of his Brethren, petitioned the Committee of the Navy for a Salary, and had it; notwithſtanding he was ſo well rewarded for his Pains, after he had pretended to ſerve them for Nothing, yet, with his Brother, Colonel *Harvy*, and Captain *Langham*, came off bluely in the End. He was of the Little Parliament, and helped to diſſolve it; one of the late Parliament alſo: He hath, by Degrees, ſadly loſt his Principles, and forgotten the good old Cauſe, and eſpouſed and taken up another; being ſo very officious for the new Court-intereſt, and ſuch a Stickler

* Note him for the goodly Speech he made to his new Protector. † For which good Service, upon his Petition to the Protector, he diſcharged him from an Account of Sixteen-thouſand Pounds, which he and others were liable to make good to the Treaſury of the Cuſtoms.

for

for them, he is become a great Favourite; it is not hard to read his Change, it being in ſo great Letters. All Things conſidered, he is, no Queſtion, fit to be called Lord *Tichborn*, being alſo ſo willing to receive and reſolve to own that Title, whoever maligns it, as alſo of the Judgment, That whatever paſſes from him, in any other Name, will be void in Law; wherefore, to have a Negative Voice in the other Houſe over *London*, and all the good People of theſe Lands, is very ſuitable to him; and, what though he was ſo great an Opponent to thoſe Things formerly, it is no Matter, then was then, and now is now.

33. Sir *William Roberts*, a Gentleman who, in the Time of the Biſhops Ruffling, went into *Holland*, and lived there for a Seaſon; the Parliament ruling, and in War with the King, came over again, and, after the then Mode, found Favour, having, upon the foremention'd Account, been out of the Land, and was made a great Committee-man, and in much Employment, whereby he well advanced his Intereſt, and is grown a great Man. He was of the Little Parliament, and helped to break it, and then, according to *Revel.* xi. 10. rejoiced, and made merry with the reſt of his Brethren in Colonel *Sydenham*'s Chamber, *&c.* as the Lawyers, and other wild Perſons, made Bonfires, and drank Sack at the *Temple*, and elſewhere: But, if ever a Spirit of Life, from God, which is not far off, comes in to raiſe up that honeſt Spirit by which ſome of them were acted, will not he, his Brethren, and the reſt of that earthly Rout, the falſe Spirit of Magiſtracy and Miniſtry, be tormented and afraid? He was of the Parliaments ſince, and, no Doubt, of right Principles to the Court-intereſt, wherein his own is bound up: Is one that helps on the Bondage in divers great * Committees where he ſits, and is therefore, no Queſtion, the more fit to be called Lord *Roberts*, and to be taken out of the Houſe to have a Negative Voice in the other Houſe over the People, being ſo greatly experienced in that Way already, having continued in the aforeſaid Committee ſo long.

34. Colonel *John Jones*, a Gentleman of *Wales*, one of the Long Parliament, was a Commiſſioner in *Ireland* for governing that Nation under the Parliament. One of good Principles for common Juſtice and Freedom, had he kept them, and not fallen into Temptation; he helped to change the Government, and make thoſe Laws of Treaſon againſt a ſingle Perſon's Rule; hath a conſiderable Revenue, and, it is likely, did not loſe by his Employment; he is Governor of the Iſle of *Angleſey*, and lately married the Protector's Siſter, a Widow; by which Means he might have become a great Man indeed, did not ſomething ſtick which he cannot well get down: He is not thorough-paced for the Court-proceedings, nor is his Conſcience fully hardened againſt the good old Cauſe; but there is great Hope, no Queſtion, that in Time he may be towardly; however, for Relation Sake, he may be counted fit, with his Name-ſake and Countryman *Philip*, to be called Lord *Jones*, and to be taken out of the Houſe to have a Negative Voice in the other Houſe over the People; and all his being againſt ſuch Things formerly may be forgiven, and not once remembered againſt him.

35. Mr. *Edmund Thomas*, a Gentleman of *Wales*, of conſiderable Means, a Friend of *Philip Jones*'s, and allied to *Walter Strickland*, both of the Council, and brought in upon their Account; and of complying Principles, no Queſtion, to ſay no more of him, not having been long in Play, being none of the great Zealots or high Sectaries, ſo called, in *Wales*, may doubtleſs be counted wiſe and good enough to make a ſimple Lord of the other Houſe, and to be called Lord *Thomas*, and to have a Negative Voice over all the good People of *Wales*, with his Countrymen *John* and *Philip*, and over all the People of theſe Lands beſides.

36. Sir *Francis Ruſſel*, Knight Baronet of the old Stamp, a Gentleman of *Cambridgeſhire*, of a conſiderable Revenue: In the Beginning of the Wars was firſt for the King, then for the Parliament, and a Colonel of Foot under the Earl of *Mancheſter*; a Man, like *William Sedgwick*, high flown, but not ſerious or ſubſtantial in his Principles; he continued in his Command till the new Model, then took Offence, and fell off, or laid aſide by them; no great Zealot for the Cauſe, therefore not judged honeſt, ſerious, or wiſe enough to be of the Little Parliament, yet was of theſe latter

* His Salary, Nine-hundred Pounds *per Annum*, though he hath a good Eſtate.

Parliaments:

Parliaments: Is alſo Chamberlain of *Cheſter*, at about five-hundred Pounds *per Annum*; he married his eldeſt Daughter to *Henry Cromwell*, ſecond Son of the Protector, then Colonel of Horſe, now *Lord-Deputy*, ſo called, of *Ireland*; another to Colonel *Reynolds*, a new Knight, and General of the *Engliſh* Army in *France*, under Cardinal *Mazarine*, ſince, with * Colonel *White* and others, caſt away coming from *Mardike*; there is no Queſtion but his Principles are for Kingſhip and the new Court, being ſo greatly concerned therein; wherefore it were great Pity if he ſhould not alſo be taken out of the Houſe to be a Lord of the other Houſe, his Son-in-Law being ſo great a Lord, and have a Negative Voice over *Cambridgeſhire*, and all the People of theſe Lands beſides.

37. Sir *William Strickland*, Knight of the old Stamp, a Gentleman of *Yorkſhire*, and Brother to *Walter Strickland*; was of the Parliament a long Time, but hath now, it ſeems, forgotten the Cauſe of fighting with, and cutting off the late King's Head, and ſuppreſſing the Lords, their Houſe, and Negative Voice: He was of theſe latter Parliaments, and of good Compliance, no Queſtion, with the new Court, and ſettling the Protector a-new in all thoſe Things for which the King was cut off; wherefore he is fit, no Doubt, to be taken out of the Houſe and made a Lord; the rather, for that his younger Brother, *Walter*, is ſo great a Lord, and by whom, in all Likelihood, he will be ſteered to uſe his Negative Voice in the other Houſe over *Yorkſhire*, and the People of theſe Lands, to the Intereſt of the Court.

38. Sir *Richard Onſloe*, Knight of the old Stamp, a Gentleman of *Surrey*, of good Parts, and a conſiderable Revenue; he was of the Long Parliament, and with much ado, through his Policy, ſteered his Courſe between the two Rocks of King and Parliament, and weathered ſome ſore Storms: Was not his Man taken in his Company, by the Guard of *Southwark*, with Commiſſions of Array in his Pocket from the King, and ſcurrilous Songs againſt the Roundheads? Yet, by his Intereſt, rode it out till Colonel *Pride* came with his Purge, then ſuffered Loſs, and came no more in Play till about *Worceſter* Fight, when, by the Help of ſome Friends in Parliament, he was impowered to raiſe, and lead as Colonel, a Regiment of *Surrey* Men againſt the *Scots* and their King, but came too late to fight, it being over: Being popular in *Surrey*, he was of the latter Parliaments, is fully for Kingſhip and was never otherwiſe, and ſtickled much among the ſeventy Kinglings to that End; and, ſeeing he cannot have young *Charles*, old *Oliver* will ſerve his Turn, ſo he have one; ſo that he is very fit to be Lord *Onſloe*, and to be taken out of the Houſe, to have a Negative Voice in the other Houſe over *Surrey*, if they pleaſe, and all the People of theſe Lands beſides, whether they pleaſe or not.

39. Mr. *John Fiennes*, Son of the Lord *Say*, and Brother to Commiſſioner *Fiennes*; brought in, it is likely, for one upon his Score, is, in a Kind, ſuch a one as they call a Sectary, but no great Stickler; therefore, not being redeemed from the Fear and Favour of Man, will, it is probable, follow his Brother, who is, as it is thought, much ſteered by old Subtlety, his Father, that lies in his Den, as *Thurloe* by his Mr. St. *John*, and will ſay No with the reſt, when any Thing oppoſes the Intereſt of the new Court, their Power and Greatneſs; and may therefore paſs for one to be a Lord, and to have a Negative Voice in the other Houſe over all in *Oxfordſhire*, the Univerſity-men only excepted, and over all the People of theſe Lands beſides.

40. Sir *John Hubbard*, Knight Baronet of the old Stamp, a Gentleman of *Norfolk*, of a conſiderable Eſtate, Part whereof came lately to him by the Death of a Kinſman; he was of theſe latter Parliaments, but not of the former; had meddled very little, if at all, in throwing down Kingſhip, but hath ſtickled very much in helping to re-eſtabliſh and build it up again; and a great Stickler among the late Kinglings, who petitioned the Protector to be King: His Principles being ſo right for Kingſhip and Tyranny, he is in great Favour at Court, as well as *Dick Ingoldsby*, and, no Queſtion, deſerves to be a Lord, and to be taken out of the Houſe to exerciſe a Negative Voice in the other Houſe over all the good Men in *Norfolk*, and all the People of theſe Lands beſides, being become ſo very tame and gentle.

* *White*, who aſſiſted Colonel *Goff* to turn the honeſt Members, left behind, out of the Houſe. Let *Goff* look to it.

41. Sir

41. Sir *Thomas Honywood*, Knight of the old Stamp, a Gentleman of *Eſſex*, of a conſiderable Revenue; he was a Committee-man in the Time of the Long Parliament, and alſo a Military Man, and led, as Colonel, a Regiment of *Eſſex* Men to the Fight at *Worceſter*; came in good Time, and fought well againſt Kingſhip and Tyranny in the Houſe of the *Stewarts*; was of the laſt Parliament: He is not ſo wiſe as *Solomon*, or ſo ſubſtantial and thorough in his Principles for Righteouſneſs and Freedom, as *Job*, Chap. xxix. but rather ſoft in his Spirit, and too eaſy, like a Noſe of Wax, to be turned on that Side where the greateſt Strength is; being therefore of ſo hopeful Principles for the new Court-intereſt, and ſo likely to comply with their Will and Pleaſure, no Doubt need be made of his Fitneſs to be a Lord, and to be taken out of the Houſe to have a Negative Voice in the other Houſe over all the good Men in *Eſſex*, the now Lord of *Warwick*, the Protector's Brother-in-law, excepted, and all the People of theſe Lands beſides

42. Lord *Ewre*, a Gentleman of *Yorkſhire*, not very bulky or imperious for a Lord; he was once well eſteemed of for Honeſty, and therefore choſen to be one of the Little Parliament; hath alſo been of all the Parliaments ſince: The *Yorkſhire* Men happily may like his being new lorded, and that he ſhould have a Negative Voice over them; the rather, becauſe they never choſe him to any ſuch Thing: The Protector being ſo well ſatisfied with his Principles, and Eaſineſs, like his Fellow-lord *Honywood*, to be wrought up to do whatever their Will and Pleaſure is, and to ſay No, when they would have him; it is very meet he alſo paſſes for one to be taken out of the Houſe to have a Negative Voice in the other Houſe, not only over *Yorkſhire*, but all the good People of the Commonwealth beſides, being a Lord of the old Stamp already.

43. Mr. *Hampden*, now Lord *Hampden*, a young Gentleman of *Buckinghamſhire*, Son of the late Colonel *Hampden*, that noble Patriot and Defender of the Rights and Liberties of the *Engliſh* Nation; of famous Memory, never to be forgotten, for withſtanding the King in the Caſe of Ship-money; being alſo one of the five impeached Members, which the ſaid King endeavoured to have pulled out of the Parliament, whereupon followed ſuch Feud, War, and Shedding of Blood. This young Gentleman, Mr. *Hampden*, was the laſt of Sixty-two, which were added ſingly by the Protector, after the Choice of Sixty together; it is very likely, that Colonel *Ingoldsby*, or ſome other Friend at Court, got a Cardinal's Hat for him, thereby to ſettle and ſecure him to the Intereſt of the new Court, and wholly take him off from the Thoughts of ever following his Father's Steps, or inheriting his noble Virtues; as likewiſe, that the honeſt Men in *Buckinghamſhire*, and all others that are Lovers of Freedom and Juſtice, that cleaved ſo cordially to, and went ſo chearfully along with his Father, in the Beginning of the late War, might be out of all Hopes of him, and give him over for loſt to the good old Cauſe, and inheriting his Father's noble Spirit and Principles, though he doth his Lands. He was of the latter Parliament, and found right, ſaving in the Deſign upon which he was made a Lord after all the reſt, and the Protector's Pleaſure. It is very hard to ſay how fit he is to be a Lord, and how well a Negative Voice over the good People of this Land, and his Father's Friends in particular, will become the Son of ſuch a Father, and how well the aforeſaid good People, now called Sectaries, will like of it; but, ſeeing it is as it is, let him paſs for one as fit to be taken out of the Houſe, with the reſt, to have a Negative Voice, and let him exerciſe it in the other Houſe over the good People for a Seaſon.

44. Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*. Lord? No; ſtop there! not Lord *Haſlerigg*, a Knight of the old Stamp, a Gentleman of a very large Eſtate and Revenue, was one of the Long Parliament, and one of the five impeached Members, whom the King endeavoured to have pulled out of the Houſe with the other, but was hindered from doing of it; was a Colonel in the Army; and adventured far in the Wars, continued of that Parliament till the Diſſolution thereof; was alſo choſen of theſe latter Parliaments, but not permitted to ſit at the firſt; he was, by the Protector, as may be ſeen in the printed Liſt, cut out for a Lord of the other Houſe, and to have a wooden Dagger, to wit, a Negative Voice, with the reſt; but he miſſed his Way, and, inſtead of going into the other Houſe, among the ſimple Negative Men, the

* Off-ſpring of the Baſtard of *William*, the ſixth Duke of *Normandy*, he went into the Parliament-Houſe among his Fellow *Engliſhmen*, and there ſpake freely, bearing a good Witneſs in Behalf of the good old Cauſe, the Rights and Liberties of the People of *England*; at which the Court were vexed and ſore diſpleaſed. However, for all this Loſing of his Way, and the Loſs ſuſtained by it, his Fame and Name, amongſt all true *Engliſh* Spirits, will be higher and more honourable than the ſimple Title of a *New Lord* could make him; and, inſtead of a Negative Voice in the other Houſe, he will be honoured by after Ages, as a rare Phœnix, that, of Forty-four, was found ſtanding alone to his Principles, and the good old Cauſe ſo bled for: Oh ſad and wonderful! but One of Forty-four to be found ſtanding firm to ſo noble a Cauſe as ever was on Foot ſince the World began? Let all true *Engliſh* Spirits love and honour him, and that will be better than a *Feather in his Cap*, or a *wooden Dagger*. His Name for ever in the Chronicles will live, as one that was a true Patriot of his Country's Liberties; which noble Action (if he perſevere, and be more refined in that honeſt Spirit) may deſervedly obliterate all human Frailties and Miſcarriages of his, during the Sitting of the Long Parliament, and the free People of *England* may, doubtleſs, for ever bury them in Oblivion. No Queſtion, the Protector found he was miſtaken in him, and that he was not fit to be a Lord, or to have a Negative Voice, being of no more complying Principles to his Intereſt and Deſigns, and the then new Model of Government, and will ſcarcely adventure to give him a ſecond Invitation to that great Honour and Dignity he ſo ungratefully and diſdainfully ſlighted.

There were one or two more of the new Champions, that with their wooden Daggers went into the other Houſe to fight againſt the Rights and Liberties of the good People of theſe Lands; but, their Names being wanting, and not worthy the Enquiring after, nothing can be ſaid of their noble Virtues, ſave that in all Likelihood they were of *ſuch* worthy Principles as their Fellows were of, and ſuch as would concur to carry on any Deſign or Intereſt they ſhould be put upon, and would ſay *No* with the reſt, when any Thing came in Queſtion that ſeemed to be againſt the Protector's Height and Abſoluteneſs, or Intereſt of the new Court; which he, that hath but half an Eye may ſee, was the only Deſign of Calling them thither, as a Balance of Government to the Parliament, ſo greatly, though falſly, pretended for the Good of the People.

There were alſo, of this choſen Number of Sixty-two, ſome of the old Earls and Lords, called Peers, which ſtood off, *viz.* three Earls, *Warwick*, *Muſgrave*, and *Mancheſter*, and two Lords, *Say* and *Wharton*, and ſat not at all, diſdaining, as ſome thought, to ſit with theſe new up-ſtart Lords; though others again apprehend, that this their Forbearance was only out of their old State-policy, till they ſaw whether a Houſe of Lords formerly ſo abominated, and thrown down (by the Conſent and Deſire of the good People) would again be reſented and eſtabliſhed, and then intended to come in; but I ſhall leave it: Some were in *Scotland*, *viz.* General *Monk*, Earl of *Caſſils*, Lord *Warriſton*, and Sir *William Lockhart*; which Perſons may alſo diſcover to him, that hath but half an Eye, what a pitiful, carnal, low Deſign they were carrying on. Some in *Ireland*, viz. *Henry Cromwell* Lord Deputy (ſo called) Recorder *Steel*, and Colonel *Tomlinſon*: Some, it may be, had no great Mind to it, to wit, Colonel *Popham*, Mr. *Pierrepoint*: Others, it is probable, were lettered by Political or State-illneſs, or other Occaſions, *viz.* Chief Juſtice St. *John*, Mr. *John Crew*, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, ſo as they alſo appeared not, there being not above Forty-four or Forty-five of that worthy Choice of Sixty-two, that appeared and ſat there; and it is very likely, ſome think there were too many of them.

Thus far *The Deſcription and Narrative.*

* See *Army*'s Declaration in a *Looking-Glaſs*, p. 5. (ſay they) The firſt Ground and Riſe of Tyranny, over the free People of this Nation, did proceed from the Baſtard of *William*, the ſixth Duke of *Normandy*, who, to prevent the *Engliſh* of all Relief by their Parliaments, created Lords by his Patent and Prerogative, to ſit by Succeſſion in the Parliament, as Repreſentatives of his Conqueſt and Tyranny over us, and not by Election of the People, as the Repreſenters and Patrons of the Commonwealth; and to make his Uſurpation firm and inviolable, he ſubdued the Law-giving Power of the free People in Parliament, to the Negative Voice of himſelf and Poſterity; and under the Yoke of this *Norman* Captivity and Villainage, we have been held by that Succeſſion to this very Day, &c. See *large Petition*, p. 11, 12. of that Book.

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Three or four general Queries are further propoſed for a Cloſe to the Whole; and it is humbly offered to all ingenious People, and ſuch,

*Firſt*, Whether if it ſhould come to paſs (as how ſoon we know not) that that noble Spirit ſhould, like a Lion raiſed from Sleep, riſe again in the *Engliſh* People, ſuch as it was in Forty-one, or Forty-two, or about that Time, whether theſe Champions, with their *Feathers in their Caps*, and their *wooden Daggers*, and thoſe Fifty-three Perſons, who pretended to ſettle the Government by the *Humble Petition and Advice*, would be able to fight with, ſtand againſt, and overcome the ſame, any otherwiſe than their Predeceſſors the Lords Temporal, and the Biſhops the Lords Spiritual, did then? And whether it would not in all Likelihood fare with them and their Dependents, the Patentees of the Exciſe, and all others employed by them, that ſo oppreſs and impoveriſh the Nation, as formerly it did with them, if not far worſe? They may pleaſe to think of it at their Leiſure.

*Secondly*, Whether in theſe five Years now paſſed of the Protectoral Government, that bleſſed Reformation which the Protector, then General, and other Grandees of the Army, ſo often promiſed, and for not bringing forth of which, they pretend they diſſolved the old Parliament, hath ſo been ſet upon, as to make any the leaſt Proceed therein? Or rather, hath there not been a gradual and an apparent Relapſing into thoſe very Evils and Enormities formerly ſo greatly ſhaken, and in ſome Degree broken, but now healed again of their Wound, and flouriſhing a-freſh with open Face; the Spirit of Wickedneſs and Profaneneſs being riſen very high, even among Profeſſors, like the unclean Spirit caſt out, and entering again? And, in particular, that abominable Corruption and Abuſe in the Law, and Adminiſtration of Juſtice, touching which the Protector, ſo called, ſometime ſaid, *It was not to be endured in a Chriſtian Commonwealth, that ſome ſhould ſo enrich and greaten themſelves in the Ruin of others*. So, likewiſe, that often complained of Grievance of Tythes, touching which he alſo ſaid, as was lately atteſted in an open Court of Judicature, ſeveral ſtanding by to witneſs the Truth thereof, to whom the Words were ſpoken, *That if he did not take away Tythes, by the Third of* September *next*, to wit, 1654, *or ſuch a Time, they ſhould call him the greateſt Juggler that ever was, and would juggle in all Things elſe*. Yet is there any Thing done in either of theſe? Or any Thing gone about tending thereunto, now in theſe five Years? As if it were ſo, that no Fruit would ever grow upon ſuch a Tree, *viz.* the Monarchical Foundation, which the Lord hath pulled up and curſed, as *the barren Fig tree* was: Only there is one goodly Amendment, to wit, a Confirmation of the Act for *treble Damages*, to the Undoing of many an honeſt Man, that, upon conſcientious Grounds, do ſcruple the Payment of them. And, as for the Law and the Lawyers, they are as before, if not much worſe; and is there any Ground of Hope, that the next five Years, ſhould he continue ſo long, will produce any better Fruit, than the five that are already paſt?

*Thirdly*, Whether this Calculation of theſe ignoble Lords of the new Stamp, being of ſeveral Complexions, and ſtanding in the aforementioned Capacities and Relations, having alſo ſuch Dependence upon, and lying under ſo great Engagements unto the Protector, ſo called, as his Sons and Kindred, flattering Courtiers, corrupt Lawyers, degenerated Swordſmen, and a Sort of lukewarm indifferent Country Knights, Gentlemen, and Citizens, moſt of them ſelf-intereſted Salary-men, be not likely, according to the very ſpecious Pretence, to prove a brave Balance of Government? And whether the good People of this Land are likely to have their juſt Rights and Freedoms, or religious Men the Liberty of their Conſciences by this Conſtitution, any otherwiſe, than according to the Pleaſure of the Protector and the Court? Or than they had in the Time of the late King? And whether this Calculation were made to any other End than ſo?

*Laſtly*, Whether, all Things ſoberly weighed and conſidered, the Times be now ſo happy and bleſſed, as ſome do loudly beſpeak them to be? And whether, for the Future, we are likely to have ſuch Proſperity, Succeſs, and good Days, as ſome ſo largely promiſe themſelves? And others it may be expected? Or whether ſuch Smiling upon old Wickedneſs, and Frowning and Turning the Back upon

Righteouſneſs, ſuppreſſing its Growth, be any comfortable Ground of ſuch Hope and Expectation? Or whether, upon the whole Series of Things, as they now appear, there be not rather to be expected ſome ſadder Matter, if the Lord in Mercy prevent not? Let the Wiſe in Heart conſider.

# A ſeaſonable Speech, made by a worthy Member of Parliament in the Houſe of Commons, concerning the other Houſe, *March* 1659 *.

Mr. *Speaker*,

THIS Day's Debate is but too clear a Proof, that we *Engliſh-men* are right *Iſlanders*, variable and mutable like the Air we live in. For (Sir) if that were not our Temper, we ſhould not be now diſputing, whether, after all thoſe Hazards we have run, that Blood we have ſpilt, that Treaſure we have exhauſted, we ſhould not now ſit down, juſt where we did begin; and of our own Accords, ſubmit ourſelves to that Slavery, which we have not only ventured our Eſtates and Lives, but I wiſh I could not ſay, our Souls and Conſciences, to throw off. What others, Sir, think of this Levity, I cannot tell, I mean thoſe that ſteer their Conſciences by Occaſions, and cannot loſe the Honour they never had: But truly, Sir, for my own Part, I dare as little not declare it to be my Opinion, as others more prudential dare avow it to be theirs; that we are this Day making good all the Reproaches of our Enemies, owning of ourſelves Oppreſſors, Murderers, Regicides, Subverters of that, which now we do not only acknowledge to have been a lawful Government; but by recalling it, confeſs it now to be the beſt: Which, Sir, if it be true, and that we now begin to ſee aright, I heartily wiſh, our Eyes had been ſooner open; and for three Nations Sake, that we had purchaſed our Conviction at a cheaper Rate. We might, Sir, in Forty-two, have been what we thus contend to be in Fifty-nine; and our Conſciences have had much leſs to anſwer for to God, and our Reputations to the World.

But Mr. *Speaker*, I wiſh with all my Soul, I did ſtate our Caſe to you amiſs, and that it were the Queſtion only, whether we would voluntarily relapſe into the Diſeaſe we were formerly poſſeſſed with, and of our own Accords take up our old Yoke, that we, with Wearing and Cuſtom, had made habitual and eaſy, and which, it may be, it was more our Wantonneſs than our Preſſure, that made us throw it off. But this, Sir, is not now the Queſtion; that which we deliberate, is not, whether we will ſay we do not care to be free, we like our old Maſters, and will now be content to have our Ears bored at the Door-poſts of their Houſe, and ſo ſerve them for ever: But, Sir, as if we were contending for Shame, as well as Servitude, we are carrying our Ears to be bored at the Doors of another Houſe: A Houſe, Sir, without Name, and therefore, it is but congruous it ſhould conſiſt of Members without a Family: A Houſe that inverts the Order of Slavery, and ſubjects it to our Servants; and yet, in Contradiction to Scripture, we do not only not think that Subjection intolerable, but are now pleading for it. In a Word, Sir, it is a Houſe of ſo incongruous and odious a Compoſition and Mixture, that certainly the grand Architect would never have ſo framed it, had it not been his Deſign as well to ſhew to the World the Contempt he had of us, as to demonſtrate the Power he had over us.

Sir, that it may appear, that I intend, to be ſo prudent, as far as my Part is concerned, as to make a voluntary Reſignation of my Liberty and Honour to this excellent Part of his late Highneſs's laſt Will and Teſtament, I ſhall crave, Sir, the Leave to declare, in a few Particulars, my Opinion of this other Houſe: wherein I cannot but promiſe myſelf to be favourably

* Containing eight Pages, *Quarto*, without Date, or Printer's Name.

heard

heard by ſome, but patiently heard by all: For theſe *Engliſhmen*, that are againſt this Houſe, will certainly with Content hear the Reaſons why others are ſo too; thoſe Courtiers, that are for it, give me Evidence enough to think that, in Nature, there is nothing which they cannot willingly endure.

*Firſt*, Sir, as to the Author and Framer of this Houſe of Peers: Let me put you in Mind, it was he, that with reiterated Oaths, had often ſworn, to be true and faithful to the Government without it; and not only ſworn ſo himſelf, but had been the chief Inſtrument, both to draw, and counſel others, to ſwear ſo too. So, Sir, that the Foundation of this Noble Fabrick was laid in Perjury, and was begun with the Violation and Contempt, as well of the Laws of God, as of the Nation. He, Sir, that called Monarchy *Antichriſtian* in another, and indeed made it ſo in himſelf: He that voted a Houſe of Lords dangerous and unneceſſary, and too truly made it ſo in his Partiſans: He that with Fraud and Force, deprived you of your Liberty, when he was living, and entailed Slavery upon you, at his Death; it is he, Sir, that hath left you theſe worthy Overſeers of that his laſt Will and Teſtament; who, however they have behaved themſelves in other Truſts, we may be confident they will endeavour faithfully to diſcharge themſelves in this. In a Word, Sir, had this other Houſe no other Fault but its Inſtitution and Author, I ſhould think that original Sin enough for its Condemnation: For I am of their Opinion that think, that for the Good of Example, all Acts and Monuments of Tyrants are to be expunged, and eraſed, that, if poſſible, their Memory might be no longer-lived than their Carcaſſes. And the Truth is, their good Laws are of the Number of their Snares, and but baſe Brokage for our Liberty.

But, Sir, to impute to this other Houſe no other Faults, but its own, you may pleaſe in the firſt Place to conſider of the Power, which his Highneſs hath left it, according to that humble Petition and Advice, which he was pleaſed to give Order to the Parliament to preſent unto him. For, Sir, as the *Romans* had Kings, ſo had his Highneſs Parliaments, amongſt his Inſtruments of Slavery; and I hope, Sir, it will be no Offence for me to pray, that his Son may not have them ſo too. But, Sir, they have a Negative Voice, and all other Circumſtances of that Arbitrary Power, which made the former Houſe intolerable; only the Dignity, and Quality, of the Perſons themſelves, is wanting, that our Slavery may be accompanied with Ignominy and Affront. And now, Mr. *Speaker*, have we not glorioufly vindicated the Nation's Liberty; have we not worthily employed our Blood and Treaſure to aboliſh that Power that was ſet over us by the Law, to have the ſame impoſed upon us without a Law? And after all that Sound and Noiſe we have made in the World, of the People's Legiſlative Power, and of the Supremacy and Omnipotency of their Repreſentatives; we now ſee there is no more Power left them, but what is put in the Balance, and equalled by the Power of a few Retainers of Tyranny, who are ſo far from being of the People's Choice, that the moſt Part of them are only known to the Nation by the Villainies and Miſchiefs they have committed in it.

In the next Place, Sir, you may pleaſe to conſider, that the Perſons, inveſted with this Power, are all of them nominated and deſigned by the Lord Protector, for to ſay, *by him, and his Council*, hath in Effect no more Diſtinction, than if one ſhould ſay, by *Oliver*, and *Cromwell*. By this Means the Protector himſelf, by his own, and his Peers Negative, becomes in Effect two of the three Eſtates; and by Conſequence, is poſſeſſed of two Parts of the Legiſlative Power. I think this can be a Doubt to no Man, that will but take the Pains to read over that fair Catalogue of thoſe Noble Lords; for certainly no Man, that reads their Names, can poſſibly fancy, for what other Virtues or good Qualities, ſuch a Compoſition ſhould be made Choice of, but only the Certainty of their Compliance, with whatſoever ſhould be enjoined them by their Creator. (Pardon Sir, that Name, for it is properly applicable, where Things are made of Nothing.) Now, Sir, if in the former Government, Increaſe of Nobility was a Grievance, becauſe the new Nobility, having freſh Obligation to the Crown, were the eaſilier led to Compliance with it: And, if one of the main Reaſons, for Excluſion of the Biſhops out of the Lords, was becauſe that they, being of the King's Making, were in Effect ſo many certain Votes, for whatever the King had a Mind to carry in that Houſe; how much more aſſured will that Inconvenience now be, when the Protector, that wants nothing of the King, but, in every Senſe, the Title, ſhall not only make and nominate a Part, but of

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himſelf, conſtitute the whole Houſe? In a Word, Sir, if our Liberty was endangered by the former Houſe, we may give for it loſt in the other Houſe; and it is, in all Reſpects as advantageous and ſecure for the Liberty of the Nation, which we come hither to redeem, to allow this Power and Notion to his Highneſs's Officers, or Council, nay his very Chaplains, as to his other Creatures and Partiſans, in his other Houſe.

Now having conſidered, Sir, their Author, Power, and Conſtitution, give me Leave to make ſome few Obſervations, though, but in general, of the Perſons themſelves that are deſigned to be our Lords and Maſters, and let us ſee what either the extraordinary Quality or Qualifications are of theſe egregious Legiſlators, which may juſtify their Choice, and prevail with the People to admit them, at leaſt, into equal Authority, with the whole Repreſentative Body of themſelves. But what I ſhall ſpeak, Sir, of their Quality, or any Thing elſe concerning them, I would be thought to ſpeak with Diſtinction, and to intend only of the major Part. For I acknowledge, Mr. *Speaker*, the Mixture of this other Houſe to be like the Compoſitions of Apothecaries, who are uſed to mix ſomething of Reliſh, ſomething grateful to the Taſte, to qualify their bitter Drugs, which elſe, perchance, would be immediately ſpit out, and never ſwallowed. So Sir, his Highneſs, of deplorable Memory to this Nation, to countenance as well the Want of Quality, as Honeſty, in the reſt, hath nominated ſome, againſt whom there lies no other Reproach, but only that Nomination; but not, Sir, out of any Reſpect to their Qualities, or Regard to their Virtues, but with Regard to the no Quality, to the no Virtues of the reſt; which truly, Mr. *Speaker*, if he had not done, we could eaſily have given a more expreſs Name, to his other Houſe, than he hath been pleaſed to do. For we know a Houſe, deſigned only for Beggars and Malefactors, is *a Houſe of Correction*, and termed ſo by your Law. But, Mr. *Speaker*, ſetting thoſe few Perſons aſide, who I hope, think the Nomination a Diſgrace, and the ever Coming to ſit there much a greater: Can we, without Indignation, think on the reſt? He, that is firſt in their Roll, a condemned Coward, one that, out of Fear and Baſeneſs, did once what he could to betray your Liberties, and does now the ſame for Gain. The *ſecond*, a Perſon of as little Senſe as Honeſty, preferred for no other Reaſon, but his no Worth, his no Conſcience; except that his Cheating his Father of all he had was thought a Virtue, by him, who, by ſad Experience, we find hath done as much for his Mother, his Country. The *third*, a Cavalier, a Preſbyterian, an Independent; for a Republick, for a Protector, for every Thing, for nothing, but only that one Thing, Money. It were endleſs to run though them all, to tell you Sir, of their Lordſhips of ſeventeen Pounds Land a Year, of Inheritance; of their Farmer Lordſhips, Dray-men Lordſhips, Cobler Lordſhips, without one Foot of Land, but what the Blood of *Engliſhmen* hath been the Price of; theſe Sir, are to be our Rulers, theſe the Judges of our Lives and Fortunes; to theſe we are to ſtand bare, whilſt their pageant ſtage Lordſhips daign to give us a Conference upon their Breeches. Mr. *Speaker*, we have already had too much Experience, how unſupportable Servants are, when they become our Maſters: All Kind of Slavery is miſerable in the Account of all generous Minds; but that which comes accompanied with Scorn and Contempt, ſtirs up every Man's Indignation, and is endured by none, whom Nature does not intend for Slaves, as well as Fortune.

I ſay not this, Mr. *Speaker*, to revile any Man with his Meanneſs; for I never thought either the Malignity or Indulgence of Fortune to be, with wiſe or juſt Men, the Grounds either of their ill, or their good Opinion. Mr. *Speaker*, I blame not in theſe Men the Faults of their Fortune, any otherwiſe, but as they make them their own: I object to you their Poverty, becauſe it is accompanied with Ambition: I mind you of their Quality, becauſe they themſelves forget it. So that it is not the Men I am angry with, but with their Lordſhips; not with Mr. *Barkſtead*, or Mr. *Jailer*, Titles I could well allow him, but with the Right Honourable, our ſingular good Lord and Jailer: It is this Incongruity, Mr. *Speaker*, I am diſpleaſed with.

So, Sir, though we eaſily grant Poverty and Neceſſity to be no Faults, yet we muſt allow them to be great Impediments in the Way of Honour, and ſuch as nothing but extraordinary Virtue and Merit can well remove. The Scripture reckons it amongſt *Jeroboam's* great Faults, that *he made Prieſts of the Meaneſt of the People*; and ſure it was none of the Virtues

Virtues of our *Jeroboam* (who hath ſet up his Calves too, and *would* have our Tribes come up and worſhip them) that he obſerved the ſame Method, in Making of Lords.

One of the few Requeſts the *Portugueſe* made *Philip the Second*, of *Spain*, when he got that Kingdom (as his late Highneſs did this) by an Army, was, 'That he would not make No-'bility contemptible, by advancing ſuch to 'that Degree, whoſe Equality or Virtue 'could be no Way thought to deſerve it.' Nor have we formerly been leſs apprehenſive of ſuch Inconveniences ourſelves: It was, in *Richard the Firſt*'s Time, one of the Biſhop of *Ely*'s Accuſations, that Caſtles and Forts of Truſt he did *Obſcuris & ignotis hominibus tradere*, put in the Hands of obſcure and unknown Men: But we, (Mr. *Speaker*) to ſuch a Kind of Men are delivering up the Power of our Laws, and in that the Power of All.

In 17 *Edw.* IV. there paſſed an Act of Parliament for the Degrading of *John Nevil*, Marquis *Mountague* and Duke of *Bedford*; the Reaſon is expreſſed in the Act, 'becauſe he had not 'a Revenue ſufficient for the Maintaining of 'that Dignity;' to which was added, 'That, 'when Men of mean Birth are called to high 'Eſtate, and have no Livelihood to ſupport it, 'it induceth Briberies, Extortions, and all 'Kinds of Injuſtices that are followed by Gain.' And in the Parliament of 2 *Carol.* the Peers, in a Petition againſt *Scottiſh* and *Iriſh* Titles, told the King, 'That it is a Novelty without 'Precedent, that Men ſhould poſſeſs Honours, 'where they poſſeſs nothing elſe; and that 'they ſhould have a Vote in Parliament, where 'they have not a Foot of Land.' But, if it had been added, Sir, 'or have no Land but 'what is the Purchaſe of their Villainies,' againſt how many of our new Peers had this been an important Objection? To conclude, Sir, It hath been a very juſt and reaſonable Care amongſt all Nations, not to render that deſpiſed and contemptible to the People, which is deſigned for their Reverence, and their Awe: Which, Sir, bare and empty Title, without Quality or Virtue, never procured any Man any more than the Image in the Fable made the Aſs adored, that carried it.

After their Quality, give me Leave, Sir, to ſpeak a Word or two of their Qualifications, which certainly ought, in Reaſon, to carry ſome Proportion with the Employment they deſign themſelves. The Houſe of Lords, Sir, are our King's hereditary great Councils; they are the higheſt Court of Judicature; they have their Part in Judging and Determining of the Reaſons of Making new Laws, and of Abrogating old: From amongſt them we take our great Officers of State; they are commonly our Generals at Land, and our Admirals at Sea: In Concluſion, Sir, they are both of the Eſſence and Conſtitution of our old Government; and have, beſides, the greateſt and nobleſt Share in the Adminiſtration. Now, certainly, Sir, to judge according to the Dictates of Reaſon, one would imagine ſome ſmall Faculties and Endowments to be neceſſary for the Diſcharging of ſuch a Calling; and thoſe ſuch as are not uſually acquired in Shops and Warehouſes, nor found by following the Plough. Now what other Academies have moſt of their Lordſhips been bred in, but their Shops? What other Arts they have been verſed in, but thoſe which more require good Arms and good Shoulders, than good Heads, I think, Mr. *Speaker*, we are yet to be informed. Sir, we commit not the Education of our Children to ignorant and illiterate Maſters; nay, we truſt not our very Horſes to unſkilful Grooms: I beſeech you, Sir, let us think it belongs to us to have ſome Care into whoſe Hands we commit the Management of the Commonwealth: And, if we cannot have Perſons of Birth and Fortune to be our Rulers, to whoſe Quality we would willingly ſubmit; I beſeech you, Sir, for our Credits and Safeties, let us ſeek Men, at leaſt, of Parts and Education, to whoſe Abilities we may have ſome Reaſon to give Way. If, Sir, a Patient dies under a Phyſician's Hand, the Law eſteems that not a Felony, but a Misfortune in the Phyſician; but, if one that is no Phyſician, undertakes the Management of a Cure, and the Patty miſcarries, the Law makes the Empirick a Felon, and ſure, in all Men's Opinion, the Patient a Fool. To conclude, Sir, for great Men to govern, it is ordinary; for able Men, it is natural; Knaves many Times come to it by Force and Neceſſity, and Fools ſometimes by Chance: But univerſal Choice, in any Election of Fools and Knaves for Government, was never yet made by any who were not themſelves like thoſe they choſe.

But, methinks, Mr. *Speaker*, I ſee, ready to riſe after me, ſome Gentlemen, that ſhall tell you the great Services that their new Lordſhips have done the Commonwealth; that ſhall extol their Valour, their Godlineſs, their Fidelity to the Cauſe; the Scripture too, no Doubt,

Doubt, as it is to all Purpoſes, ſhall be brought in to argue for them; and we ſhall hear of the *Wiſdom of the poor Man that ſaved the City*, of the *not many Wiſe, not many Mighty*; Attributes I can no way deny to be due to their Lordſhips. Mr. *Speaker*, I ſhall be as forward as any Man to declare their Services, and acknowledge them; though I might tell you, that the ſame Honour is not purchaſed by the Blood of an Enemy, and of a Citizen; that, for Victories in Civil Wars, till our Army's March through the City, I have not read that the Conquerors have been ſo void of Shame as to triumph. *Cæſar*, not much more indulgent to his Country, than our late Protector, did not ſo much as write publick Letters of his Victory at *Pharſalia*, much leſs had Days of Thankſgiving to his Gods, and Anniverſary Feaſts, for having been a proſperous Rebel, and given Juſtice and his Country the Worſt.

But, Sir, I leave this Argument, and, to be as good as my Word, come to put you in Mind of ſome of their Services, and the Obligation you owe them for the ſame. To ſpeak nothing, Sir, of one of my Lords Commiſſioner's Valour at *Briſtol*, nor of another noble Lord's brave Adventure at the *Bear-garden* *; I muſt tell you, that moſt of them have had the Courage to do Things, which, I may boldly ſay, few other Chriſtians durſt have ſo adventured their Souls to have attempted: They have not only ſubdued their Enemies, but their Maſters, that raiſed and maintained them: They have not only conquered *Scotland* and *Ireland*, but rebellious *England* too; and there ſuppreſſed a malignant Party of Magiſtrates and Laws. And, that nothing ſhould be wanting to make them indeed compleat Conquerors (without the Help of Philoſophy) they have even conquered themſelves. All Shame they have ſubdued, as perfectly as all Juſtice; the Oaths, they have taken, they have as eaſily digeſted, as their old General could himſelf; publick Covenants and Engagements they have trampled under Foot: In Concluſion, ſo intire a Victory they have over themſelves, that their Conſciences are as much their Servants as (Mr. *Speaker*) we are. But, Sir, give me Leave to conclude with that which is more admirable than all this, and ſhews the Confidence they have of themſelves and us: After having many Times trampled on the Authority of the Houſe of Commons, and no leſs than five Times diſſolved them, they hope, for their good Services to the Houſe of Commons, by the Houſe of Commons to be made a Houſe of Lords.

I have been over-long, Sir, for which I crave your Pardon; therefore in a Word I conclude: I beſeech you let us think it our Duty to have a Care of two Things: *Firſt*, That Villainies be not encouraged with the Rewards of Virtue: *Secondly*, That the Authority and Majeſty of the Government of this Nation be not defiled, by committing ſo conſiderable a Part of it to Perſons of as mean Quality as Parts.

The *Thebans* did not admit *Merchants* into Government, till they had left their Traffick ten Years: Sure it would have been long before *Coblers* and *Dray-men* would have been allowed. If, Sir, the Wiſdom of this Houſe ſhall find it neceſſary to begin where we left, and ſhall think we have been hitherto like the Prodigal, and, that now, when our Neceſſities perſuade us, *i. e.* that we are almoſt brought to herd it with Swine, now it is high Time to think of a Return: Let us, without more ado, without this motly Mixture, even take our Rulers as at the firſt, ſo that we can be but reaſonably ſecured, to avoid our Counſellors as at the Beginning.

Give me Leave, Sir, to releaſe your Patience with a ſhort Story. *Livy* tells us, There was a State in *Italy*, an Ariſtocracy, where the Nobility ſtretched their Prerogative too high, and preſumed a little too much upon the People's Liberty and Patience; whereupon the Diſcontents were ſo general and ſo great, that they apparently tended to a Diſſolution of Government, and the Turning of all Things into Anarchy and Confuſion. At the ſame Time, beſides theſe Diſtempers at Home, there was a potent Enemy ready to fall upon them from Abroad, that had been an Over-match for them, at their beſt Union; but now, in theſe Diſorders, was like to find them a very ready and very eaſy Prey: A wiſe Man, Sir, in the City, that did not all approve of the Inſolency of the Nobility, and as little liked popular Tumults, bethought himſelf of this Stratagem, to cozen his Country into Safety. Upon a Pretence of Counſel, he procured the Nobility to meet all together; which when they had done, he found a Way to lock all the Doors upon them; goes away himſelf, and takes the Keys

* See Page 132, Vol. III.

with

with him Then immediately he ſummons the People; tells them, That, by a Contrivance of his, he had taken all the Nobility in a Trap; That now was the Time for them to be revenged upon them for all their Inſolencies; that therefore they ſhould immediately go along with him, and diſpatch them. Sir, the Officers of our Army, after a Faſt, could not be more ready for the Villainy, than this People; and, accordingly, they made as much Haſte to the Slaughter, as their Lord Protector could deſire them. But, Sir, this wiſe Man I told you of, was their Lord Protector indeed: As ſoon as he had brought the People where the Parliament was ſitting, and, when they but expected the Word, to fall to the Butchery, and take their Heads: 'Gentlemen, ſays he, 'though I would not care how ſoon this 'Work of Reformation were over; yet, in 'this Ship of the Commonwealth, we muſt 'not throw the Steerſmen over-board, till we 'have provided others for the Helm; let us 'conſider, before we take theſe Men away, in 'what other Hands we may more ſecurely truſt 'our Liberty, and the Management of the 'Commonwealth.' And ſo he adviſed them, before the Putting down of the Former, to bethink themſelves of conſtituting another Houſe: He begins and nominates one, a Man highly cried up in the popular Faction, a confiding Man, one of much Zeal, little Senſe, and no Quality; you may ſuppoſe him, Sir, a zealous Cobler: The People, in Concluſion, murmured at this, and were loth their Fellow Mutineer, for no other Virtue but Mutinying, ſhould come to be advanced to be their Maſter; and, by their Looks and Murmur, ſufficiently expreſſed the Diſtaſte they took at ſuch a Motion. Then he nominates another, as mean a Mechanick as the former; you may imagine him, Sir, a buſtling Drayman, or the like: He was no ſooner named, but ſome burſt out a laughing, others grew angry, and railed at him, and all deteſted and ſcorned him. Upon this, a Third was named for a Lordſhip, one of the ſame Batch, and every Way fit to ſit with the other two. The People then fell into a confuſed Laugh and Noiſe, and enquired if *ſuch* were *Lords*, who, by all the Gods, would be content to be the *Commons?*

Sir, let me behold, by the good Leave of the other Houſe and yours, to aſk the ſame Queſtion. But, Sir, to conclude this Story, and, with it, I hope, the other Houſe: When this wiſe Man, I told you of, perceived they were now ſenſible of the Inconvenience and Miſchief they were running into, and ſaw that the Pulling down their Rulers would prove, in the End, but the Setting up of their Servants; he thought them then prepared to hear Reaſon, and told them, 'You ſee, ſaid 'he, that, as bad as this Government is, we 'cannot, for any Thing I ſee, agree upon a 'better; what then, if, after this Fright we 'have put our Nobility in, and the Demonſtration we have given them of our Powers, 'we try them once more, whether they will 'mend, and, for the Future behave themſelves 'with more Moderation?' That People, Mr. *Speaker*, were ſo wiſe as to comply with that wiſe Propoſition, and to think it eaſier to mend their old Rulers, than to make new. And, I wiſh, Mr. *Speaker*, we may be ſo wiſe to think ſo to.

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News from *France*. Or, a Deſcription of the Library of Cardinal *Mazarin*, before it was utterly ruined. Sent in a Letter from Monſieur *G. Naudæus*, Keeper of the publick Library. *London*, Printed for *Timothy Garthwait*, at the little North Door of St. *Paul*'s, 1652. *Quarto*, containing ſix Pages.

## *To the Parliament of* Paris.

*Gentlemen,*

SINCE all the Ordinances of your famous Company are like Thunderbolts, which daſh in Pieces each Perſon whom they ſtrike, and make dumb or aſtoniſh every one that ſees them fall: Give me Leave to tell you, yet with all Reſpects and Submiſſions poſſible, that what you thundered out on the twenty-ninth of the laſt, againſt the Library of the moſt eminent Cardinal *Mazarin*, my Maſter, hath produced theſe two Effects, with ſo much Force and Violence, that foraſmuch as concerns the ſaid Library, it is not likely it ſhould ever recover thoſe Loſſes which it hath already ſuffered, nor yet avoid thoſe wherewith it is ſtill threatened, unleſs by ſome very remarkable Effect of your ſingular Goodneſs and Protection.

And, as for me, who cheriſh it as the Work of my Hands, and the Miracle of my Life; I proteſt to you ingenuouſly, that, ſince that Stroke of Thunder which was caſt, from the Heaven of your Juſtice, upon a Piece ſo rare, ſo beautiful, ſo excellent, and which I have, by my Watches and Labours, brought to ſuch Perfection, as none can morally deſire a greater: I have been ſo extremely aſtoniſhed, that if the ſame Cauſe which once made the Son of *Cræſus*, though naturally dumb, to ſpeak, did not now untie my Tongue, to utter ſome ſad Accents; my laſt Complaints, at the Deceaſe of this my Daughter, as he there did, in the dangerous Eſtate wherein he found his Father, I ſhould remain eternally dumb. And, in Truth, Gentlemen, ſince that good Son ſaved the Life of his Father, in making them know, wherefore he did it: Why may not I promiſe myſelf, that your Benevolence and ordinary Juſtice will ſave the Life of this Daughter, or, to ſpeak plainer, this famous Library, when I ſhall in few Words have repreſented to you an Abridgement of its Perfections, being the moſt beautiful, and the beſt furniſhed of any Library, now in the World, or that is likely, if Affection do not much deceive me, ever for to be hereafter? For it is compoſed of more than Forty-thouſand Volumes, collected by the Care of ſeveral Kings and Princes in *Europe*, by all the Ambaſſadors that have ſet out of *France* theſe ten Years, into Places fartheſt remote from this Kingdom. To tell you that I have made Voyages into *Flanders*, *Italy*, *England*, and *Germany*, to bring hither whatever I could procure that was rare and excellent, is little in Compariſon of the Cares which ſo many crowned Heads have taken to further the laudable Deſigns of his Eminence. It is to theſe illuſtrious Cares, Gentlemen, that this good City of *Paris* is beholden for Two-hundred Bibles, which we have tranſlated into all Sorts of Languages, for an Hiſtory, that is the moſt Univerſal, and the beſt followed of any yet ever ſeen; for Three-thouſand Five-hundred Volumes, purely and abſolutely Mathematical; for all the Old and New Editions, as well of the Holy Fathers, as of all other Claſſick Authors; for a Company of Schoolmen, ſuch as never was the like; for Lawyers of above an Hundred and fifty Provinces, the moſt Strangers; above Three-hundred Biſhops concerning Councils; for Rituals and Offices of the Church, an infinite Number; for the Laws and Foundations of all Religious Houſes, Hoſpitals, Communities, and Confraternities; for Rules and practical Secrets in all Arts, both Liberal and Mechanick; for Manuſcripts in all Languages, and all Sciences. And to put an End to a Diſcourſe, which may never have one, if I ſhould particulariſe all the Treaſures which are heaped together within the Compaſs of ſeven Chambers, filled from Top to Bottom, whereof a Gallery, twelve Fathoms high, is reckoned but for one; it is to theſe Illuſtrious Royal Perſonages, that this City of *Paris*, and not *Paris* only, but all *France*, and not *France* only, but all *Europe*, are indebted for a Library. Wherein, if the good Deſigns of his Eminence had ſucceeded as happily, as they were forecaſt wiſely, all the World ſhould, before this, have had the Liberty, to ſee and turn over, with as much Leiſure as Benefit, all that *Egypt*, *Perſia*, *Greece*, *Italy*, and all the Kingdoms of *Europe*, have given us, that is moſt ſingular and admirable. A ſtrange Thing Gentlemen, that the beſt furniſhed Lawyers were conſtrained to confeſs their Want, when they ſaw the great Collection that I had made of Books in their Profeſſion in this rich Library: That the greateſt Heap of Volumes, in Phyſick, were nothing, compared

compared with the Number of thoſe which were here gathered in that Faculty: That Philoſophy was here more beautiful, more flouriſhing, than ever it was in *Greece*: That *Italians*, *Germans*, *Spaniards*, *Engliſhmen*, *Polonians*, *Dutch*, and other Nations, found here the Hiſtories of their own Nations, far more rich and better furniſhed than they could find in their ſeveral Native Countries. That Catholicks and Proteſtants might here try all Sorts of Paſſages in Authors, and accord all Manner of Difficulties. And to accumulate all theſe Perfections, to enhance them, and ſet them in their true Luſtre: *Is it* not enough, Gentlemen, to ſhew you aſſured Proofs of his *Eminence's Intentions*, that he reſolved to preſent it to the Publick, and to make it a common Comfort for all poor Scholars, Religious Perſons, Strangers, and for whoever is learned, or curious, here to find what is neceſſary or fit for them? Is it not enough, Gentlemen, to ſhew you the Inſcription, which ſhould have been put upon the Gate of the Library, to invite the World to enter with all Manner of Liberty, and which ſhould have been ſet up about three Years ago, if Wars, and domeſtick Diſſenſions, had not prejudiced the good Intentions of his Eminence? It is this:

Ludovico XIV, *feliciter imperante*, Anna Auſtriaca, *Caſtrorum Matre Auguſtiſſimâ Regnum ſapienter moderante*, Julius, *S. R. E. Cardinalis* Maſarinus, *utrique Conſiliorum Miniſter acceptiſſimus*, *Bibliothecam hanc omnium Linguarum*, *Artium*, *Scientiarum*, *libris inſtructiſſimam*, *Urbis ſplendori*, Galliarum *ornamento*, *Diſciplinarum incremento*, *lubens*, *volens*, *D. D. D. publicè patere voluit*, *cenſu perpetuo dotavit*, *poſteritati commendavit*. MDCXLVIII.

Behold, Gentlemen, an Inſcription, that may now be called ancient; for it is long ſince it was firſt ſpoken of, and though it contain many Things, I can aſſure you, that his Eminence intended ſomewhat more in his generous Deſign of founding a publick Library in the Midſt of *France*, under the Direction and Protection of the prime Preſidents of three Sovereign Courts of this City, and of the Lord Attorney-General, perſuading himſelf, that by this Means, ſo potent and venerable, Poſterity would perpetually enjoy a very advantageous Pledge; ſuch, as without Diſparagement to the famous Libraries of *Rome*, *Milan*, and *Oxford*, might paſs, not only for the moſt goodly Heap of Books, that this Age can ſhew, but likewiſe for the eighth Wonder of the World.

And this being true, as I am ready to ſwear upon the Holy Goſpels, that the Intention of his Eminence was always this, as I tell you: Can you permit, Gentlemen, the Publick to be deprived of a Thing ſo uſeful and precious? Can you endure that this fair Flower, which yet ſpreads its Odour through all the World, ſhould wither in your Hands? And can you ſuffer, without Regret, ſo innocent a Piece, which can never ſuffer, but all the World will bear in a Share in its Loſs, to receive the Arreſt of its Condemnation from thoſe who were appointed to honour it, and to favour it with their Protection? Conſider, Gentlemen, that when this Loſs hath been ſuffered, there will not be a Man in the World, though he have never ſo much Authority in publick Employment, never ſo much Zeal to Learning, that will be able to repair it. Believe, if you pleaſe, that the Ruin of this Library will be more carefully marked in all Hiſtories and Calendars, than the Taking and Sacking of *Conſtantinople*. And, if my ten Years Toil in helping to gather ſuch a Work; if all the Voyages which I have made for Materials to it; if all the heavy Cares that I have taken to ſet it in Order; if the ardent Zeal that I have had to preſerve it to this Hour, are not Means ſufficient to make me hope for ſome Favour at your ſingular Goodneſs; eſpecially at this Time, when you have the ſame excellent Occaſion to ſhew it towards this Library, which you had three Years ſince, when, by a ſolemn Arreſt or Ordinance, you reſolved it ſhould be preſerved, and that I ſhould have the Keeping of it: Yet give me Leave, Gentlemen, to have Recourſe to the Muſes, ſeeing they are ſo far concerned in the Preſervation of this new *Parnaſſus*, and joining the Intereſt they have in you, with my moſt humble Prayers, ſpeak to you in the ſame Language which the Emperor *Auguſtus* uſed, when the Queſtion was, Whether *Virgil*'s *Æneids* ſhould be deſtroyed or ſaved? Which doubtleſs, was not ſo inimitable a Piece then, as this Library will be to all Poſterity.

——————*ſolvetur litera dives?*
*Et poterunt ſpectare oculi, nec parcere honori*
*Flamma ſuo; dignumque operis ſervare decorem?*

*Noſter Apollo veta! Muſæ prohibete Latinæ!*
*Sed legum eſt ſervanda fides, ſuprema voluntas*
*Quod mandat fierique jubet, parere neceſſe eſt.*
*Frangatur potiùs legum veneranda poteſtas,*
*Quam tot congeſtos noctéſque diéſque labores*
*Hauſerit una dies, ſupremaque juſſa ſenatûs.*

Muſt ſuch a rich and learned Work be diſ-
ſolv'd,
Can Eyes with Patience ſee't in Flames in-
volv'd?
Methinks the Flames ſhould ſpare it, ſure the
Fire
(More merciful than Men) will ſave't intire.

Ah ſweet *Apollo* hinder! Muſes ſtay
Their Violence, and what though fond Men
ſay,
'It is decreed; the Ordinance is made;
'The Will of ſupreme Power muſt be obey'd'.
Rather let Laws be broke, let reverend Powe
Lie proſtrate, ere't be ſaid, that in one Hour,
A Work ſo toil'd for many Years, was late,
Quite ruin'd by Commandment from the
State.

GABRIEL NAUDÆUS, *a Pariſian.*

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## A true Liſt of the Jury impanneled at *Huntingdon* Aſſizes before Judge *Dodderidge*, 1619.

*MILIAN*, KING of *Tozland*.
*Henry*, PRINCE of *Godmanchester*.
*George*, DUKE of *Somerſham*.
*William*, DUKE of *Weſton*.
*William*, MARQUIS of *Stukeley*.
*Edward*, EARL of *Hartford*.
*Robert*, LORD of *Warſley*.
*Richard*, BARON of *Bythorpe*.
*Robert*, BARON of *Winwich*.
*Edmund*, KNIGHT of *St. Neots*.
*Peter*, ESQUIRE of *Euſton*.
*George*, GENTLEMAN of *Spaldock*.
*Robert*, YEOMAN of *Barham*.
*Stephen*, POPE of *Weſton*.
*Humphrey*, CARDINAL of *Kimbolton*.
*William*, BISHOP of *Bugden*.
*John*, ARCHDEACON of *Paxton*.
*John*, ABBOT of *Stukeley*.
*Richard*, FRIAR of *Ellington*.
*Henry*, MONK of *Stukeley*.
*Edward*, PRIEST of *Graffham*.
*Richard*, DEACON of *Catſworth*.

*N. B.* Judge *Dodderidge* having (in the Circuit precedent to this) found Fault with the Sheriff, for impannelling Men not qualified for the Grand Jury; he being a merry Man reſolved to fit the Judge (with Sound at leaſt) and calling over the abovefaid Names emphatically, made him believe he had indeed a Jury of Gentility.

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The Arraignment and Acquittal of Sir *Edward Moſely*, Baronet, Indited at the *King's-Bench* Bar for a Rape, upon the Body of Mrs. *Anne Swinnerton*. Taken by a Reporter there preſent, who heard all the Circumſtances thereof, whereof this is a true Copy. *London*, printed by *E. G.* for *W. L.* 1647. *Quarto*, containing twelve Pages.

*This Trial was taken, the twenty-eighth Day of* January, *in the twenty-third Year of King* Charles, *Anno Dom.* 1647.

SIR *Edward Moſely*, Baronet, indicted for Felony and Rape, upon the Body of one *Anne Swinnerton* (Wife to one Mr. *Swinnerton*, a Gentleman of *Gray's-Inn*). This Trial was taken, the twenty-eighth Day of *January*, in the twenty third Year of King *Charles*, *Anno Dom.* 1647, before Mr. Juſtice *Bacon* and Mr. Juſtice *Rolls*, in *Hilary* Term, in *Banco Regis*.

*Firſt*, Sir *Edward Moſely* appeared at the Bar, and pleaded not Guilty. Then Mr. *Swinnerton* and his Wife appeared to give Evidence. Then the Court demanded of Mr. *Swinnerton*, what Council he had ready to open the Indictment; Mr. *Swinnerton* anſwered, that there had been ſuch Tampering with him and his Witneſſes to ſtop the Proſecution, that he could get no Lawyers to open his Wife's Caſe. The Court asked him whether he had ſpoken with any Lawyers to be of his Council; he ſaid he had, but none would undertake it, only Mr. *Cooke* had promiſed him that he would open the Indictment for him, but he appears not; ſo that, by the Tampering of Sir *Edward Moſely*, Mr. *Lowder*, Mr. *William Stanley*, Mr. *Blore*, Mr. *Brownnell*, and twenty more, none would aſſiſt him in maintaining of the Indictment. Theſe Gentlemen, beforenamed, appeared in Court, and did not deny, but that they did uſe what Means they could, in a fair Way, to put up the Buſineſs betwixt Sir *Edward Moſely* and Mrs. *Swinnerton*, which they conceived they might lawfully do, believing it could not poſſibly be a Rape, having had Intelligence of ſome former Paſſages in it. Then the Court ſaid, Mr. *Swinnerton*, if you had deſired Council, the Court would have aſſigned you Council. Then Mr. *Swinnerton* proceeded with his Evidence, ſaying, Coming Home to my Chamber, about Six of the Clock in *April* 1647, I found Sir *Edward Moſely* came ruſhing out of my Chamber, and I, entering, ſaw my Wife thrown upon the Ground, with all her Cloaths torn, the Bed-cloaths torn, and hanging half Way upon the Ground, my Wife crying and wringing her Hands, with her Cloaths all torn off her Head, and her Wriſt ſprained, Sir *Edward Moſely* having thrown her violently upon the Ground; whereupon, ſeeing her in this Condition, I asked her what was the Matter; ſhe ſaid Sir *Edward Moſely* had raviſhed her. Mr. *Swinnerton* further informed the Court, That Sir *Edward Moſely*, two or three Days before he did the Rape, ſaid that he would raviſh my Wife, though he were ſure to be hanged for it. Then Mrs. *Swinnerton* began her Evidence, ſaying, Upon my Oath here I ſwear, that he ſaid he would force me to my Bed; and then he ſwore, God damn him, he would lie with me, though he were ſure to die for it: Then he takes me, and carries me to a narrow Place, betwixt the Wall of the Bed, and, with his Hands, forced my Hands behind me, and lay with me, whether I would or no. Then Sir *Edward Moſely* interrupted her, ſaying, Did not your Husband come to the Chamber-door at that Time you pretended you were raviſhed, and knocked at the Door, and I would have opened the Door for him; whereupon you ſaid it is my Husband, let the drunken Sot ſtay without, and would not ſuffer me to open the Door, and asked her whether ſhe did not ſay ſo? She ſaid it was falſe. Then the Court demanded of Mr. *Swinnerton*, what he ſaid to his Wife, when he found her in this Manner. Mr. *Swinnerton* anſwered, I ſaid, if ſhe were raviſhed, as ſhe ſaid ſhe was, ſhe muſt take her Oath of it, and indict him for it; and, if ſhe did not, he would believe that ſhe had played the Whore with him, and he would turn her off, and live no more with her, and ſhe ſhould be Sir *Edward Moſely*'s Whore altogether; but, ſaid he, being deſirous to be further ſatisfied in the Buſineſs, I often ſought for Sir *Edward Moſely*, but could not find him, for he had fled away from his Chamber.

One Day I met him accidentally in *Holbourn*, and deſired to ſpeak a Word with him; he ſaid, he knew my Buſineſs, but he was in Haſte, and could not ſtay: Then I told him I had earneſt Buſineſs with him, and muſt ſpeak with him: He told me, he ſuſpected I had ſome Deſign to arreſt him, and would not be perſuaded to ſtay: Then I preſſed him, that if he would go and drink a Cup of Ale with me, he ſhould come to no Danger concerning any Arreſt at all; and if he then would give me

me any Satisfaction, I would not proſecute the Law againſt him. The Court demanded of him, what he meant by Satisfaction? Mr. *Swinnerton* anſwered, only to know what he could ſay to excuſe himſelf. The Court ſaid, why, would you believe him before your Wife? Mr. *Swinnerton* anſwered, my Meaning was, if he could ſatisfy me, that my Wife was conſenting to it, I had rather wave the Proſecution, than bring my Wife and myſelf upon the Stage; and this was my Intent, and no other.

Then the Court asked Sir *Moſely*, how Mr. *Swinnerton*'s Wife came to be ſo with her Cloaths torn, and ruffled in this Manner, none but he and ſhe being in the Room; Sir *Edward Moſely* anſwered, ſhe always went very ill-favouredly in her Apparel: Then the Court asked Mrs. *Swinnerton*, whether there were any in the Room but Sir *Edward* and herſelf; ſhe anſwered, a little before there was my Maid, but I had ſent her to the Baker's Houſe for Bread for my Children, and in the mean While he lay with me againſt my Will.

Then the Court asked the Maid what ſhe could ſay; ſhe ſaid, when I came from the Baker's, and entering into the Chamber, I found my Miſtreſs crying, and wringing her Hands, ſaying ſhe was undone: Alſo, I heard Sir *Edward Moſely* ſay, before I went to the Baker's, that he would lie with my Miſtreſs, though he were ſure to be hanged for it; and at all Times he was wont to be very uncivil and rude, when he came into the Chamber: Once he came into the Chamber, when I was there alone; truly, I durſt not ſtay in the Chamber, for I always obſerved he was ſo leacherouſly given, that any Woman, were ſhe never ſo mean, would ſerve his Turn: At this Time he came into the Chamber, a little before I went to the Baker's; I obſerved he would fain have thrown my Miſtreſs upon the Bed, when I was there; but my Miſtreſs would not yield to it, but grew very angry with him, and ſaid he was a Rogue, and ſpit in his Face; yet he would not let her alone: Whereupon I told him, if he would not be more civil, I would call my Maſter, and if he came, he would crack his Crown for uſing my Miſtreſs ſo uncivilly. Sir *Edward Moſely* anſwered, he cared not a Fart for my Maſter, and that, for me, I was a baſe Jade, and he would make me kiſs his, &c. What, ſaid the Court? But the Maid, having ſome Modeſty, could not bring it out. Then ſaid her Miſtreſs, he ſaid ſhe ſhould kiſs ſomething that was about him. What was that, ſaid the Court again? Mr. *Swinnerton* anſwered, he ſaid he would make her kiſs his Arſe. Then the Court ſaid to the Maid, You muſt not be ſo nice in ſpeaking the Truth, being upon your Oath. Miſtreſs *Swinnerton* ſaid, Then came Mr. *James Winſtanley*, to tamper with me, from Sir *Edward Moſely*, and told me, if I pleaſed to accept of a hundred Pounds, I ſhould have it, if I would be reconciled to Sir *Edward Moſely*: Then the Maid ſaid, my Miſtreſs made this Anſwer, ſhe cared not for Money: Mrs. *Swinnerton* ſaid, it is true, I ſaid ſo; and this I ſaid, If Sir *Edward Moſely* would down upon his Knees, and confeſs that he had wronged me, I would not proſecute him; but, alſo, I reſolved that he ſhould wear a Paper upon his Breaſt, or upon his Hat, acknowledging the Injury he had unto me: If he would do ſo, I would forgive him. Then ſaid ſhe, Mr. *James Winſtanley* deſired to know where the Place was in the Room where I was raviſhed; whereupon I ſhewed him. Mr. *James Winſtanley* anſwered, This was ſuch a Place for ſuch a Buſineſs, that, if I had the ſtrongeſt Woman in *England*, I could raviſh her here, whether ſhe would or no.

Then, the Proſecutors for the King having ended their Evidence, the Court asked Sir *Edward Moſely*, what he could ſay for himſelf? He ſaid he had many Witneſſes, and deſired that they might be examined what they could ſay in his Behalf.

Then Mr. *Kilvert* was called in, who appeared. The Court ſaid, Mr. *Kilvert*, though you be not upon your Oath, you muſt ſpeak the Truth in the Fear of God. Mr. *Kilvert* anſwered, I know it, my Lord; what I ſhall ſay here, I ſpeak it in the Preſence of God, and I ſhall ſpeak no more than what is Truth: Miſtreſs *Swinnerton*, ſeeing of him, ſaid, I hope no Body will believe what this Knave *Kilvert* will ſay, for he is a Knave known to all the Court, and all that hear him. Then Mr. *Kilvert* went on with his Evidence, ſaying, I thank God this is the ſecond Time I ever came in this Woman's Company; the firſt Time was at the *Fleece* Tavern in *Covent-Garden*, where ſhe came to a Dinner, to meet with Sir *Edward Moſely*: As ſoon as ſhe had ſat down at the Table, ſhe ſaid, that this Room had been a very lucky Room to her, for once before, in this Room, ſhe had received Three Hundred Pounds

Pounds for the Compoſition of a Rape, which ſhe charged a Reverend Divine withal; I ſhall not ſtick to name the Man, ſhe ſaid it was Dr. *Belcanquell*; this Doctor I knew to be a Reverend Man, and, to my Knowledge, is long ſince dead, and in Heaven; and for this Rape, ſhe ſaid then, ſhe would not take under Two-thouſand Pounds for a Compoſition of Sir *Edward Moſely*, which ſhe ſaid was little enough, he having Three-thouſand Pounds a Year. Mrs. *Swinnerton*, hearing of this, clapped her Hands at him, and ſaid, he was a Knave, and a Raſcal, and all was falſe which he ſaid.

Then the Court ſaid to her, Mrs. *Swinnerton*, you ſhould carry yourſelf ſoberly and moderately, otherwiſe you will diſparage all your Witneſſes. Then the Court asked her whether ſhe did meet at this Tavern (having affirmed before, that ſhe never was in Sir *Edward Moſely*'s Company, but in her own Chamber) whereupon ſhe ſtaggered at it a little, and loth to confeſs it; at laſt ſhe anſwered, True, ſhe was there, but this Raſcal *Kilvert* had bewitched her to come thither. Mr. *Kilvert* ſaid further, after ſhe had ſat a While at the Table, ſhe takes her Stool, and removes it to ſit next to Sir *Edward Moſely*, and there falls a Hugging and Embracing him; whereupon, ſaid he, Surely, Lady, whereas you ſay Sir *Edward* hath raviſhed you, I do believe, rather, you have raviſhed him, otherwiſe you would not make ſo much of him: So Mr. *Kilvert* made an End of his Evidence.

Then Mr. *Wood*, another Witneſs, ſaid he met her at *Iſlington*, in Sir *Edward Moſely*'s Company, and there ſhe confeſſed to him, that Sir *Edward Moſely* had many Times left the Key of his Chamber with her, to go to him when ſhe pleaſed; and, ſhe ſaid, ſhe had often made Uſe of it. Then, ſaid this Witneſs, after I had ſeriouſly looked upon her, and ſeeing of her a Woman of that Strength of Body, I ſaid, I wondered Sir *Edward Moſely* ſhould raviſh her: She ſaid, Do you wonder at that, why? Do you take me behind the Bed there, there being a Bed in the Room, and ſee whether you may not do it.

Another Witneſs ſaid, that ſhe had confeſſed to him, that Sir *Edward Moſely* once lay with her, with her Conſent; afterwards ſhe asked him, Now what will you give my Maid, you muſt give her ſomething? He anſwered, I will give her forty Shillings; whereupon ſhe ſaid, forty Shillings! that is baſe, you cannot give her leſs than ten Pounds and a ſilk Petticoat: but, when he went forth of Doors, ſhe ſaid he gave her nothing but a Groat, and ſo baſely went his Way.

Another Witneſs ſaid, he heard her ſay (that it being generally known that Sir *Edward Moſely* had raviſhed her) ſhe was like to loſe many of her beſt Cuſtomers in Town.

Another Witneſs ſaid, he heard *Swinnerton* ſay, that, if ſhe would not take her Oath that ſhe was raviſhed by him, ſhe ſhould never be no Wife of his. Afterwards Mr. *James Weſtanley* was called into the Court; he ſaid, it is true, ſhe took me, and ſhewed me the Place where ſhe was raviſhed. He wondering how Sir *Edward*, being but a little Man, and ſhe ſuch a luſty Woman, ſhould be raviſhed by him! Why, ſaid ſhe, ſhould you wonder at that? Then ſhe put her Leg between my Legs, and put her other Leg, ſetting her Foot againſt the Wall, ſaying now, in this Poſture, as you ſee me here, I myſelf could raviſh any Woman whatſoever.

Another Witneſs ſaid, the Night before ſhe went to prefer the Bill of Indictment againſt Sir *Edward Moſely*, ſhe confeſſed ſhe had like to have been diſtracted, and run mad, for Fear the Grand Jury ſhould find the Bill.

Two other Witneſſes affirmed, upon their Credit, whereas it was ſaid by Mr. *Swinnerton*, and his Wife, That Sir *Edward Moſely* fled from his Chamber immediately after the Act was done, they ſaid they had daily Recourſe to his Chamber, and walked to and fro with him, ſometimes in *Gray*'s-*Inn* Walks, ſometimes to *Weſtminſter*, and to other Places in the Town, for ſix Weeks together, after this pretended Rape, and many Times they ſaw Mrs. *Swinnerton* ſtand at her own Door, looking upon him as he paſſed by (which was but ſix Steps from Sir *Edward*'s Chamber-door) and never queſtioned about it; but oftentimes, they ſaid, ſeeing her ſtand watching there, they feared ſhe would go up to him, and tempt him to Wickedneſs.

Then, Evidence being given on both Sides, the Jury went from the Bar, and returned, and gave their Verdict, That Sir *Edward Moſely* was not Guilty. Then the Court ſaid, Sir *Edward Moſely*, take Heed what Company you keep hereafter: Let this be a Warning to you: You ſee in what Danger you bring yourſelf to, in keeping ill Company.

*Imprimatur*, Gilbert Mabbot,
*February* 8, 1647.

News from the Channel: Or, the Diſcovery and perfect Deſcription of the Iſle of *Serke**, appertaining to the *Engliſh* Crown, and never before publickly diſcourſed of: Truly ſetting forth the notable Stratagem whereby it was firſt taken, the Nature of the Place and People; their Government, Cuſtoms, Manufactures, and other Particulars, no leſs neceſſary than pleaſant to be known. In a Letter from a Gentleman, now inhabiting there, to his Friend and Kinſman in *London*. *London*, printed by *John Lock*, for *John Clarke*, at the *Bible and Harp* in *Weſt-Smithfield*, 1673. *Quarto*, containing ſix Pages.

DEAR COUSIN,

THE *Anne* of *Briſtol*, touching here homewards-bound, brought ſafe thoſe Commodities I gave you the Trouble to ſend me, and inriched me with the Treaſure of your more welcome Letter; to which, though I cannot anſwer in the ſame handſome Expreſſions and Embroidery of Language, a Failure eaſily excuſable in a Place where my native Tongue is almoſt a Stranger, and *French* generally ſpoken more barbarous than that of *Littleton*, yet be confident I ſhall never, when Opportunity offers itſelf, come ſhort in the real Offices of Good-will and Affection: I am glad ſome of our old Acquaintance are ſtill ſo kind as to preſerve me in their Memories; and could not but call *Ned* and *Jenny* to help laugh at the pleaſant Narration you make, of the Surpriſe many of them are in, when you tell them, I have left *Southampton* to go to dwell in the Iſle of *Serke*; ſome inquiring in which of the *Indies* that ſtrange Iſland lies; others offering Wagers there is no ſuch Place in the World, but that it is younger Siſter to the Iſle of *Pines*: Nor, indeed, can I condemn their Wonder, ſince, although this Place hath, for about fourſcore Years, paid Obedience to the *Engliſh* Scepter; yet, ſcarce one *Engliſhman* of a Thouſand hath heard, or can give any good Account of it: Our Geographers have herein proved Land-lopers; and the very Maps, wherein oftentimes Painters gratify their Wives with Jointures of imaginary Iſlands, have been content to omit the real one: However, to ſatisfy the Curioſity of my Friends, but more eſpecially to comply with your Deſires, which I muſt ever interpret Commands, I ſhall venture on a brief Deſcription of this little Part of the World, where Providence hath allotted me at preſent, and, I thank Heaven, no uncomfortable Habitation.

*Serke*, the Place whence this Letter comes to kiſs your Hands, is an Iſland ſituate in the Channel betwixt *England* and *France*, lying at once in View of the Banks of *Normandy*, and of our two other more eminent Iſlands of *Jerſey* and *Guernſey*, and about four Leagues to the South-weſt of the Latter; though its Circuit or Extent can yield no great Temptation to any Prince's Ambition to make himſelf Maſter of it, its Dimenſions being not above five Miles in Length, and about two Miles in Breadth, where it is largeſt over, in other Places not ſo much; yet Nature, as if ſhe had here ſtored up ſome extraordinary Treaſure, ſeems to have been very ſollicitous to render it impregnable, being on every Side ſurrounded with vaſt Rocks and mighty Clifts, whoſe craggy Tops,

* This is the Sixtieth in the Catalogue of the *Harleian* Pamphlets.

having

braving the Clouds with their ſtupendious Height, bid Defiance to all that ſhall dream of forcing an Entrance; two only Aſcents or Paſſages there are into it; the firſt where all Goods and Commodities are received, called *La Soguien*, where, for a large Space through a ſolid Rock, there is a Cart-way cut by Art down to the Sea, with two ſtrong Gates for its Defence, wherein moſt of the Storage for Navigation, as Maſts, Sails, Anchors, &c. belonging to the Iſland, are kept, and two Pieces of Ordnance above, always ready to prevent any Surpriſe: The other is *La Frickeree*, where only Paſſengers can land, climbing up a Rock by certain Steps, or Stairs cut therein to a vaſt Height, and ſomewhat dangerouſly, nor is it poſſible there for above one Perſon to come up at once.

This Deſcription of its Situation I perſuade myſelf, Couſin, will put you into a little Fit of Longing, to know by what Means our Countrymen came, at firſt to make themſelves Maſters of a Place ſo naturally fortified; and truly, in diſcovering that, we ſhall acquaint you with a Stratagem, excelling moſt you ſhall meet with in the *Greek* and *Roman* Hiſtories, and equalled by few of thoſe in the *Low-Country* Wars, or any more modern Expeditions.

In the Reign of our matchleſs Maiden Queen, this Iſland being wholly poſſeſſed by *France* (as moſt of the Inhabitants, not only thereof, but of *Jerſey* and *Guernſey* too, are to this Day of that Nation) a Sea-Captain (whoſe Name, I at preſent remember not, though it is Pity it ever ſhould be ſwallowed by Oblivion) apprehending its Neighbourhood, if it continued in the *French* Hands, might, one Time or other, portend no Good to the Iſles of *Jerſey* and *Guernſey*, the only remaining Trophies of our *French* Conqueſts, ſollicited the Queen to commiſſion him to reduce it to her Obedience; who, having received former Information of it, told him the Place was ſo ſmall, and the Attempt ſo hazardous, it would ſcarce be worth while, and that ſhe feared the Loſs of Men about it would be more Damage than its Taking of Importance or Advantage: For you muſt note at that Time the Paſſage down at *La Soguien* was not made, nor did it appear half ſo acceſſible as now it appears; but our ſubtle Captain replied, If her Majeſty would but give him Command and Neceſſaries, he durſt aſſure her, to ſettle the *Engliſh* Colours there without the Loſs of a Man. The Queen, ſeeing his Confidence, yields to his Importunity; who, accompanied with about one hundred reſolved Men, puts to Sea, and, after ſome Time Cruiſing up and down, comes and lies before this Iſland of *Serke*, in Quality of a Merchant-man homewards-bound; and, making out his Boat with ſeveral taking Commodities, the People ſuffered three or four of their Crew to land, and traded with them, with much Amity, for a Day or two: At laſt, having inſinuated into the good Opinion of the credulous Iſlanders, they told them, having been a long trading Voyage in the *Streights*, their Maſter was ſome Time ſince dead, but had engaged them not to expoſe his Corpſe into the Ocean to be devoured of the Fiſh, but to inter it with Chriſtian Burial, in the next Place where they ſhould touch Ground; and therefore they deſired that Chriſtian Favour of them, that they might lay him in their Church-yard, coming only ſome few of them a Shore, without any Arms, to perform the Ceremony: The unwary People conſent, and our Captain, with about twenty of his ſtouteſt Men, with a Coffin, and much ſeeming Solemnity, got a Shore, the Natives aſſiſting them to get their *Trojan* Horſe up the Precipice; but no ſooner were they arrived at the Church, but clapping too the Door, as if they had ſome private Devotions to celebrate, at which the Inhabitants might not be preſent, they break open their Coffin filled, in Stead of a dead Body, with Inſtruments of Death, and, inſtantly arming themſelves, ſlay that ſmall *French* Guard that there offered Reſiſtance, and retiring, to the Landing-place, ſecure that, get in more of their Company, and, in five Hours Time, without the Loſs of one Man, made themſelves Maſters of the whole Iſland, which, ever ſince that Time, has had the Honour to boaſt itſelf Part of the Dominions of the *Engliſh* Crown.

But ſince nothing is more neceſſary to the Life of Man, than thoſe four Elements, whereof he, together with the reſt of the Univerſe, is originally compoſed: I ſhall, in the *next* Place, obſerve how we are therewith accommodated.

Our Air, conſidering the Narrowneſs of the Place, and how it is encompaſſed with the Ocean, is much better than can be expected; our Haven ſerene, and our Sky generally free from that naſty Diſh-clout of Fogs and Clouds which, in your Marſhes and City too, are

wont

wont to muffle up the Sun's glorious Face. In brief, it is ſo ſerviceable to Nature, that, although I know not one Phyſician in the Iſland, and, perhaps, we live the longer for their Abſence, yet to meet here with a hearty old Man of Fourſcore is nothing rare or unfrequent.

Our Water, I confeſs, is ſometimes not very ready, and yet we have in the Iſland no leſs than ſix very fine Springs generally running, whoſe Water purified in its under-ground Paſſage, and by being drawn ſo high through Nature's Lembick, bubbles up ſo free from any Smack of Brackiſhneſs, that it may compare with your *Lambs-conduit*, and, for aught I know, is no leſs miraculous for curing ſore Eyes than *Crowder*'s Well.

Our Earth or Soil is, for the moſt Part, hot and ſandy, yet fruitful enough to afford all Neceſſaries to its Inhabitants, excellent for bearing all Kind of Roots, as Parſnips, Carrots, Turneps, *&c.* and very well ſtored with Fruit-trees, for the moſt Part planted of late, by the good Huſbandry of the People, furniſhing us with Cyder, not at all inferior to your *Herefordſhire* Redſtreak; and, to render it the more wholeſome, it is generally boiled with a little Spice, which preſerves it and gives it an incomparable Reliſh: Corn we have of moſt Sorts, but not in any extraordinary Quantity; our Paſture is but ſhort, yet exceeding ſweet, and therefore we have rare Mutton, but no great Plenty of Beef, and Cows only enow to ſupply us with Milk and Butter, for our Cheeſe we have generally from *England*.

Our Firing, to ſpeak of the moſt aſpiring Element laſt, is for the moſt Part Furzes and ſometimes Turf, for we have but little Wood, and no Timber at all growing throughout the whole Iſland; ſo that we are forced either to make Shift with old Apple-tree for our Houſes, or furniſh ourſelves as well as we can with Deal.

For Belly-timber our three ſtaple Commodities are Fiſh, Fowl, and Rabbits: Of the firſt a little Induſtry will purchaſe us a hundred Sorts; particularly, a large Fiſh we call a *Vrack-fiſh*, which we ſplit, and, nailing it to our Walls, dry it in the Sun for Part of our Winter Proviſion; as alſo a large Shelfiſh taken plentifully at low Tides, called an *Ormond*, that ſticks to the Rocks, whence we beat them off with a Foſſil or Iron-hook; it is much bigger than an Oyſter, and like that good, either freſh or pickled, but infinitely more pleaſant to the Guſto; ſo that an Epicure would think his Palate in Paradiſe, if he might but always gormondiſe on ſuch delicious *Ambroſia*, to borrow *Aretine*'s Phraſe, upon his eating a Lamprey.

For Fowl, your City cannot be better furniſhed with Woodcocks or Widgeons, beſides the Abundance of Duck, Mallard, Teal, and other Wild-fowl, with Clift-pigeons, with which, at ſome Seaſons, almoſt the whole Iſland is covered.

Of Conies we have every where exceeding Plenty, and yet, leſt we ſhould want, Nature has provided us a particular Warren, placing at a ſmall Diſtance in the Sea an Iſland of about half a Mile every Way over, which is inhabited by nothing elſe, whither we commonly go a Ferreting, and have thence ſuch Abundance that it has been confidently told me ſome Families here have made Fifteen or Twenty Pounds a Year only of their Skins: If all this rich Fare will not content you, we have a moſt excellent Pottage made of Milk, Bacon, Coleworts, Mackarel, and Gooſeberries, boiled together all to Pieces; which our Mode is to eat, not with the Ceremony of a Spoon, but the more courtly Way of a great Piece of Bread furiouſly plying between your Mouth and the Kettle.

But, leſt you ſhould think we mind too much our Bellies, take next a Survey of our Political Government: *Firſt*, for our Defence, we have a Captain with about forty Soldiers, who continually keep Guard, and are maintained by Contribution of the Inhabitants; *then* we have a Court of Judicature held every *Tueſday*, where an honeſt Fiſherman we call the Judge; another, at preſent his Son, that is intitled, Monſieur *Le Provoſt*, a Perſon that has the Gift of Writing, and Learning enough to read the Obligation of a Bond, ſerving as Clerk or Recorder, with five other ſage Burghers that are Juſtices, or ſome of them meet, and without any tedious Formalities, intricate Demurrers, ſpecial Verdicts, wire-drawn Arguments, chargeable Injunctions, multiplied Motions, or endleſs Writs of Error, briſkly determine all Cauſes *ſecundum Æquum & Bonum*, according to their Mother-wit and grave Diſcretions, except in Criminals where Life is concerned, in which Caſe the Offenders are immediately ſent away for Trial and Puniſhment to *Guernſey*.

Since the Taking the Place by the *Engliſh*, Huguenot Miniſters officiating, the People have ſubſcribed to the Diſcipline which, beyond the Seas, they call Reformed; but wanting much of

of that Beauty and decent Order wherewith the Church of *England* entertains her Children. The preſent Miniſter, whom I muſt acknowledge a Perſon of more Induſtry and Parts, than could be hoped for among ſuch People, hath lately begun to teach Grammar to the Children, with Writing and Arithmetick, erecting a School for that Purpoſe; ſo that who knows to what prodigious Learning we may here one Day arrive? Sure I am, the Genius of the People cannot but be docible, ſince they are naturally of a courteous affable Temper, and the leaſt tainted with Pride that ever I ſaw any of their Nation; that apiſh Variety of fantaſtick Faſhions, wherewith *Paris* is juſtly accuſed to infect all *Europe*, has here no Footing, where every one retains the ſame Garb their Anceſtors wore in the Days of *Hugh Capet* and King *Pippin*; ſo that I can give ſmall Encouragement to any of the Knights of the Thimble, to tranſport themſelves hither, where Cucumbers are like to be more plenty than in the Backſide of St. *Clement's*; each Man religiouſly preſerving his vaſt blue Trunk Breeches, with a Cod-piece larger than King *Harry's*, and a Coat almoſt like a *Dutch* Fro's Veſt, or one of your Watermen's Liveries; nor are the Women behind-hand with them in their Hoſpital Gowns of the ſame Colour, wooden Sandals, white Stockings, and red Petticoats, ſo mean, they are ſcarce worth Taking up: Both Sexes on Feſtivals wear large Ruffs; and the Women, inſtead of Hats or Hoods, truſs up their Hair; the more genteel Sort in a Kind of Cabbage-net; thoſe of meaner Fortunes in a Piece of Linnen, perhaps an old Diſh-clout turned out of Service, or the fag End of a Table-cloth, that has eſcaped the Perſecution of waſhing ever ſince the Reformation; this they, tying on the Top, make it ſhew like a *Turkiſh* Turbant, but that Part of it hangs down their Backs like a Veil, which might be of Uſe to our wanton Youngſters, when the Spirit moves them to a kiſſing Exerciſe, but that we are never, in ſuch Caſe, put to uſe Violence; for though our Feniales, for Proportion and Complexion, are perfect *French*, and may, for the moſt Part, without any Uſurpation, aſſume *Don Quixot's* Title of Damſels of the ill-favoured Face; yet to compenſate that, and it is much this Sex ſhould know their own Defects, they are the moſt kind and obliging in the World; ſo ſprightly, frolick, and gay-humoured, that I am confident *Mahomet* can, no where, pick up more buxome Girls to ſtock his Paradiſe with.

But it is more than Time to releaſe your Patience, ſave that I perſuade myſelf you have not had enough to read half thus far: Let me conclude with a Word or two of our Trade, which, I confeſs, is not very great to the *Levant* or either of the *Indies*, *Briſtol*, and ſome other of your Weſtern Ports, being the furtheſt Places of our Traffick; for the grand, and almoſt only Manufacture of our Iſland being Knitting, which our People perform with a wonderful Dexterity, both for Stockings, Gloves, Caps, and Waiſtcoats, Men Women and Children being brought up to it; ſo that you may commonly ſee thirty or forty of them aſſembled in a Barn, which you would take for a Conventicle of your ſweet Singers of *Iſrael*; for, though all ply their Knitting devoutly, yet at the ſame Time they tune their Pipes, and torture ſome old Song with more diſtracted Notes, than a Country Quire does one of *Hopkins's* Pſalms: Theſe Commodities, when finiſhed, we vend into *England* at the Places aforeſaid, having ſeveral ſmall Veſſels for that Purpoſe, and thence in Return furniſh ourſelves with Neceſſaries.

I doubt not, but by this Time you repent your Curioſity, and confeſs that I have ſufficiently tormented you with the Iſle of *Serke*; nor know I any Way to receive your good Opinion, which, I am more than confident, my Tedioufneſs has forfeited, but by begging your Pardon and drinking your Health in a Black-jack of *French* Wine, which, paying no Cuſtom, we have here as plentifully cheap as in *France* itſelf: I hope you will pledge me at the *Bear*, where, if the old *Bacchus* be ſtill living, commend me to him; aſſure all my Friends, that I ſhall return their Loves with Uſury; ſpeak my Reſpects particularly to Eſquire *D.* and Captain *S.* and, to yourſelf, take me as I am,

*Wholly and intirely,*

*Your moſt affectionate Kinſman*

*And humble Servant,*

F. W.

*All this, though you read it not 'til* Michaelmas, *was told you at* Serke, *this Firſt of* April, O. S. 1673.

Articles

# Articles of High-Treaſon, and other High-Crimes and Miſdemeanors, againſt the Ducheſs * of *Portſmouth* †.

*IMPRIMIS*, That the ſaid Ducheſs hath, and ſtill doth cohabit and keep Company with the King, having had foul, nauſeous, and contagious Diſtempers, which, once poſſeſſing her Blood, can never admit of a perfect Cure, to the manifeſt Danger and Hazard of the King's Perſon, in whoſe Preſervation is bound up the Weal and Happineſs of the Proteſtant Religion, our Lives, Liberties, and Properties, and thoſe of our Poſterity for ever.

II. She hath laboured to alter and ſubvert the Government of Church and State, now eſtabliſhed by Law, and, in the Room thereof, to introduce Popery and Tyranny in the three Kingdoms, by her Counſels from Time to Time.

III. She hath, by her Perſuaſion, Countenance, and other Artifices and Inſinuations, reconciled ſeveral of her Servants, and others, natural born Subjects, to the Communion of the See of *Rome*, in Defiance of the Statute which makes it Capital, *Jac.* 3, 4.

IV. She adviſed, and ſtill does nouriſh, foment, and maintain that fatal and deſtructive Correſpondency and Alliance between *England* and *France*, being ſent over and penſioned by the *French* King to the ſame End and Purpoſe, and conſequently hath rendered ineffectual thoſe frequent Addreſſes in Parliament for a War with the *French* King; and, in order to the propagating theſe her malicious, deteſtable, and deſtructive Deſigns againſt our Religion and Government, the ſeveral *French* Miniſters, who have reſided here ſince the Breach of the Triple League (from whence we of theſe three Kingdoms have, and ſtill groan under) have, and do ſtill reſort to her Apartment in his Majeſty's Royal Palace, where, having ſeveral Conferences with his Majeſty, they have pried into his ſecret Counſels, and, by the Aſſiſtance of her, her Agents, and *French* Miniſters, have fixed and continued the aforeſaid accurſed Amity between *England* and *France*, againſt the grave and repeated Advice of the whole Nation in Parliament.

V. That ſhe hath endeavoured, to her Power, to ſtifle and vilify the King's Evidence, to create a Diſbelief in the King of the Plot againſt his Royal Perſon, Subverſion of the Proteſtant Religion and Government, interceded for by Traytors impeached by Parliament, and other Arch-Traytors, particularly Father *Ireland* the Jeſuit, arraigned, heard, fairly and legally condemned, and moſt juſtly executed.

VI. She has, from Time to Time, intermeddled and adviſed in Matters of the higheſt Moment and Importance in Government, as Peace and War, ſeveral Diſſolutions and Prorogations of Parliament, Matters depending, wherein the very Life and Soul of the Government in Church and State was concerned.

VII. That ſhe adviſed a diſgeneral Peace, ſo deſtructive to *Chriſtendom*, and particularly to theſe three Kingdoms, it being in our Power to have turned the Scale.

VIII. That ſhe placed and diſplaced great Miniſters in Church and State, as ſhe judged might be moſt ſerviceable in promoting the *French-popiſh* Intereſt.

IX. That ſhe not only took upon her to make chief Miniſters as aforeſaid, but either received Sums of Money in hand, or Penſions yearly out of their Profits, Salaries, and Perquiſites, which hath, in great Meaſure, contributed to that general Corruption in all Places; and nothing being more unnatural, for when Truſt and Places are bought, Juſtice muſt be ſold.

* *Louiſe de Queroualle*. This half Sheet was publiſhed by the Favourers of the Duke of *York*, to ruin her Character with the People, becauſe, as it is worded in the twentieth Article, ſhe endeavoured to fort herſelf and Son upon the Nation, to the Detriment of the ſaid Duke, and ſtrove to ſet him aſide from the Throne by the Bill of Excluſion.

† 1680.

X. That

X. That ſhe hath been an unſpeakable Charge and Burthen, having had given her, for many Years paſt, prodigious Sums of Money in other People's Names, the better to diſguiſe the Matter, as well out of the publick Treaſury, as the Privy-purſe; and ſuch is her Aſcendant over the King, that, in her own Apartment, ſhe prevailed with the King there to ſign and ſeal Warrants for Grants of vaſt Sums of Money, and particularly procured the King's Warrant to the Earl of *Danby*, now impeached and in the *Tower*, for One-hundred thouſand Pounds, and this at one Time, which ought to have been applied for the Safety, Honour, and Reputation of this Kingdom.

XI. That hardly any Grant, Office, or Place was given, but through her, or her Emiſſaries Interceſſion, and Money given to them.

XII. Thoſe vaſt prodigious Sums ſhe hath, for the moſt Part, was to be tranſported to a Nation by Religion, Intereſt, and Practice, an Enemy to our Religion and Government, to the Weakening and Impoveriſhing of our Nation, and the Strengthening and Inriching of our Adverſaries.

XIII. That ſhe hath procured Farms and Undertakings of the ſeveral Branches of the Revenue, at lower Rates than really worth, having been bribed for ſo doing.

XIV. That ſhe hath protected ſeveral from Juſtice, and particularly the Earl of *Ranelagh*, who had cheated, defrauded, and abuſed the King in his Revenues of *Ireland*, ſupporting him againſt many Repreſentations from the Government of *Ireland*, and many Orders of the King and Council here, full well knowing ſeveral Articles were in the ſecret Committee againſt the ſaid Earl, not only for cheating his Majeſty in *Ireland*, but for combining with the Earl of *Danby* in *England* to defraud the King, and particularly in the Exciſe-farm, undertaken by the *Daſhwoods*; and notwithſtanding, ſuch is her Power, ſhe ſtill protects the ſaid Earl, not only from his Accounts, but in his Place of Treaſurer, which does reflect upon his Majeſty to keep ſuch a Perſon in Place, in Spight of all the Orders in Council, and his own Convictions; and does wholly diſcourage a Parliament ever to give a Supply, when ſuch are employed; and has procured ſeveral Lords in Favour of the ſaid Earl of *Ranelagh*, as well to the preſent as former Governors, to the Diſhonour of the King, and Interruption of Juſtice.

XV. That ſhe got Grants in *Ireland*, in other Perſons Names, as well to Crown-rents, as others, to the great Diſorder, Diſtraction, and Vexation of the Subjects, who are liable to have their Eſtates and Titles queſtioned and diſturbed by Commiſſions of Inquiry, and otherways, as Officers for the King.

XVI. That ſhe procured to herſelf a Grant of the Revenues, ariſing by the Wine-licences, towards the Defraying of her extravagant Debts, moſt contrary to the expreſs Letter of the Act of Parliament, which provides moſt poſitively, That the Revenues, ariſing therefrom, ſhall not be employed or granted to any private Uſe whatſoever; yet ſuch was her Power with his Majeſty, and the Earl of *Danby*, late Lord-treaſurer, that ſhe procured three able honeſt Servants to his Majeſty, to be turned out of their Commiſſions in the Wine-licence Office, becauſe they would not lend her Money upon the Security of the ſaid Revenue, contrary to the Act of Parliament abovementioned; and ſuch is her Power with the Earl of *Eſſex*, and other Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Treaſury, that ſhe hath procured Doctor *Taylor*, her Servant, to be made a Commiſſioner in the new Commiſſion of Wine-licence Office, in Prejudice of thoſe Perſons turned out by the Earl of *Danby*, as aforeſaid, on Purpoſe that he, the ſaid Doctor *Taylor*, ſhould govern that Branch of the Revenue (in Spight and Contempt of an Act of Parliament, appointing it to a publick End and Government) for the Ducheſs's Uſe and Behalf; neither can it be for any other End and Purpoſe, for that the ſaid Doctor *Taylor*, by Reaſon of the many Affairs he has to manage of the Ducheſs, cannot attend the King's Service.

XVII. That ſhe hath, and doth relieve and countenance in her Family and Lodgings in *Whitehall*, ſeveral Servants, whom ſhe knows to be Papiſts, and ill affected to the Proteſtant Religion and Government, giving them frequent and private Acceſs to his Majeſty, to the Hazard and Danger of his Majeſty's Perſon, and in Contempt of a late Act of Parliament, whereby all Papiſts whatſoever (except Father *Huddleſton* *, ſeven Women-ſervants,

* A *Benedictine* Monk.

and ſome foreign Servants to her Majeſty) were prohibited to come within the Limits of his Majeſty's Palace or Court; notwithſtanding which Act of Parliament, ſhe hath, and ſtill doth not only relieve in her Lodgings, as aforeſaid, ſeveral Servants of the Popiſh perſuaſion, but ſhe hath lately taken into her Service a *French* Papiſt, whom ſhe formerly preferred to his Majeſty, as a Confectioner, and who was entered of his Majeſty's Service upon the aforeſaid Act; which ſaid Confectioner doth daily prepare Sweet-meats and other Banquetings, in Triumph over the late freſh Act of Parliament, for his Majeſty at her Lodgings, ſo that his Majeſty may be in an eminent Danger from the aforeſaid *French* Papiſt, who has ſuch Opportunity to poiſon his ſacred Majeſty, by mixing Poiſon in the Sweet-meats, whom God long preſerve.

XVIII. That, the Day before his Majeſty fell ſick at *Windſor*, ſhe perſuaded her Majeſty, being then in her Lodgings, to eat a Meſs of Broth, prepared by ſome of her Papiſt-ſervants; whereupon his Majeſty fell immediately ſick, it being the Opinion of ſome able Phyſicians, that his Majeſty's Diſeaſes were much augmented, if not wholly created, by the aforeſaid Broth.

XIX. That, during his Majeſty's Sickneſs, ſhe introduced ſeveral unknown Perſons, by a Back-door, to his Majeſty's Bed-chamber, who, in all Likelihood, were Romiſh Prieſts, *French* Phyſicians, Agents or Miniſters of the *French* King's; all which Perſons could have no honeſt or lawful Buſineſs with his Majeſty, at that Time eſpecially, being privately introduced, and his Majeſty's proper Servants, belonging to his Bed-chamber, being all ſent out, except ſuch as were Popiſhly affected, her Creatures conſequently, and her Footmen ordered to wait in the Anti-chamber, as is judged, to prevent any Body's Hearing or Seeing them, as if they had been of his Majeſty's Bed-chamber.

XX. That ſhe has, by her Creatures and Friends, given out, and whiſpered abroad, that ſhe was married to his Majeſty, and that her Son, the Duke of *Richmond*, is his Majeſty's legitimate Son, and conſequently Prince of *Wales*, his Health being frequently drunk by her, and her Creatures, in her Night-debauches and Merry-meetings, to the great Diſhonour and Reflexion of his Majeſty, and the manifeſt Peril and Danger of theſe Kingdoms, who may hereafter, by ſuch falſe and ſcandalous Stories, and wicked Practices, be embroiled in Diſtractions, if not in Blood and Civil Wars, to the utter Ruin of his Majeſty's Subjects, and Subverſion of the Proteſtant Religion; it being manifeſt, ſhe, being a Papiſt herſelf, will breed her Son in the ſame Religion, however ſhe may pretend to the Contrary *.

XXI. That, ſhe having that high and diſhonourable abſolute Dominion and Power over the King's Heart, ſhe has Opportunity to draw from him the Secrets of his Government, Opportunity by herſelf, or other Engines of her's, to poiſon, or otherwiſe to deſtroy the King; Opportunity, at leaſt, to promote a *French* Papiſt Intereſt, ſo that it is not only impoſſible the Proteſtant Religion ſhould live, but it is not poſſible the King can have a due Senſe of the Danger he was, or may be in, from the Romiſh Conſpiracy, which has, is, or may be againſt his Royal Perſon and Government.

XXII. That ſhe has had the higheſt Honours and Rewards conferred on her, and her's, to the high Diſhonour of God, the Encouragement of Wickedneſs and Vice (which by ſuch Examples is overſpread the Nation, and for which God's Anger is kindled and inflamed againſt us) ſuppreſſing and diſcouraging of Virtue, whoſe Rewards thoſe high Titles and Honours ought to be, and this to the eternal Reproach of his Majeſty's Reign and Government.

* This proved a Miſtake.

A brief and perfect Journal of the late Proceedings and Succeſs of the *Engliſh* Army in the *Weſt-Indies*, continued until *June* the 24th, 1655. Together with ſome Queries inſerted and anſwered. Publiſhed for Satisfaction of all ſuch who deſire truly to be informed in theſe Particulars. By *I. S.* an Eye-witneſs.

*Veritas nudata celari non poteſt.*

*London*, printed 1655. *Quarto*, containing twenty-ſeven Pages.

IN all Records, ancient or modern, of the Actions and Tranſactions of Kingdoms and Nations, there are not to be ſeen more ſuitable Succeſſes, attending ſtrange and occult Proceedings, than lately in the *Weſt-Indies*; and although the Managing of ſo grand Affairs, and Matters of high Concernment, were committed to ſome, who had the Repute of being well principled, valiant and politick in War, yet there wanted not Means to fruſtrate the Deſign, and Expectations of moſt Men, the Particulars whereof I ſhall deliver in as brief and true a Manner as poſſibly I may; but before I proceed further, it will not be amiſs to inſert theſe Queries with their Reſolutions.

1. Whether or not the Setting forth of this Army were really intended for the Glory of God, and Propagation of the Goſpel?

2. Whether thoſe that were of this Army were fit Inſtruments to be employed in the Exaltation of God's Work, and Pulling down of Antichriſt.

3. And *laſtly*, whether the Hand of Almighty God hath not been plain and manifeſtly ſeen in Oppoſition to their Actings and Proceedings?

To the *Firſt* is anſwered, that after divers ſerious Debates and Reſults, Pro and Con, it was at length reſolved, by the Supreme Authority and Council of State, to ſend an Army into the *Weſt-Indies*; what Preparation was made, is not unknown to moſt of the Nation; but for what, or againſt whom, was ſcarce underſtood by any, except ſome few Superiors; and for this Cauſe, divers conſcientious Men, who preferred the Service of God, before that of Men, and Treaſure in Heaven, beyond Riches and Honour on Earth, ſcrupled the Deſign, and deſerted the Service: For what zealous Heart would willingly embrace an unknown Enterpriſe, which might perhaps tend to his own Deſtruction ſooner than his Enemies, by endeavouring to pull that down, which God hath ſet up, and to ſet up that which he never called him unto? Shall a Multitude periſh, through Means of ſome few particular Men, in fulfilling that Proverb, by pinning their Faith on others Sleeves? Hath not God conferred as much of the Gifts of Grace and Nature on the mean Men of the World, as on thoſe of the greateſt Rank and Dignity? Doth Honour add Zeal, Riches, Valour; or have the moſt Eminent, in Office and Command, always the greateſt Eminency of Wiſdom and Conduct? Certainly we have found otherwiſe, for oftentimes ſuch involve themſelves in eminent and irrecoverable Dangers; nor is it always Pregnancy of Wit, Valour, and Diſcretion, although theſe be famous in War, that gives the Victory, but God that worketh all in all, and who can ſay, What doſt thou?

To conclude the Deſign to be altogether grounded on a wrong and corrupt Principle, were to accuſe our Grandees with Folly, Ir-

religion, and what not; when indeed it is beyond the Ability of Man to pry into the ſecret Thoughts and Intents of the Heart, it is only the Almighty can do it; and although there may be a probable Conjecture given of the Intent of the Workman, by the Inſtrument he taketh in Hand, yet God hath been ſometimes pleaſed to make the Wicked Inſtruments of Good; but it doth not therefore follow, that ſuch ſhould be employed in good Works, neither the Servants of God in bad; all created Things move in their proper Sphere; the natural Man acts in his natural Function, and mindeth only the Things of the World; and the ſpiritual Man (although he be in the World) is not of the World, but mindeth the Things of the Spirit, and the Fulfilling of the Glory of God, whoſe Power and Juſtice are as well ſeen in the Deſtruction of the Wicked, as Preſervation of the Righteous.

Now to return to the good Intent of the Cauſe whereof I treat, if we reflect upon the Conſequence of Actions, it will ſoon appear, there was Nothing leſs aimed at, than God's Glory, and Eſtabliſhment of the Goſpel, nor Nothing more coveted, than Gain to themſelves, and Eſtabliſhment in the rich Poſſeſſions of others; but Servants often diſobey the Command of their Maſters, and act contrary to his Will and Pleaſure; it is poſſible it might be ſo now, and that might cauſe their greater Puniſhment.

If we look upon this Expedition in Reference to the Lawfulneſs thereof (as it is in itſelf) we may find, by theſe following Conſiderations, that it was both lawful, juſt, and warrantable by the Word of God, and Law of Nations. *Firſt*, In Regard thoſe they went out againſt were Idolaters, Hereticks, and Members of the falſe Church. *Secondly*, For that they, ſome Years ſince, moſt wickedly, and inhumanly murthered and deſtroyed divers of our Nation that traded peaceably with them in the *Weſt-Indies*. *Thirdly*, There was no Breach of League in the Proſecution of this War, there being no Articles of Peace or Ceſſation in Force betwixt both Nations, to the Southward of the Tropick. *Laſtly*, Conqueſt is free to all People, no Law of Nations can prohibit the Power of the Sword; it is only God that ſets its Bounds and Limits, and where his Pleaſure is, it ſhould make a final Conqueſt, there it is free Inheritance to the Conqueror, and his Succeſſors. By that Power did the *Normans* invade and conquer *England*, ſince which Time there have no leſs than Twenty-five Kings and Queens ſucceſſively, although not ſucceſsfully, reigned: By the ſame Power was there lately a Period put to that Government, and a new eſtabliſhed: By this Power had the Kingdom of *France* been ſubject to the Crown of *England*, and by the ſame Power again recovered; by this Power are the *Turks* and Infidels, at this Day, Poſſeſſors of the beſt and fruitfulleſt Parts of the Earth; and by the ſame Power *Julius Cæſar* became Conqueror of the whole World; many and incredible are the Difficulties and admirable Exploits run through and performed by this Power, and that ſometimes by a weak Hand; for, when the Omnipotent puniſheth the Wicked, and correcteth his own People, he often maketh Choice of one and the ſame Means to be inſtrumental for both.

And thus much for the Legality of the Cauſe, by which we muſt not meaſure the good Intent; if we do, we may deceive ourſelves, for, as hath been ſaid, the very Actions and Deportments of this Army were ſuch, that no Good at all might be expected from them, either in their Intent or Proceeding: To condemn all, becauſe many were guilty, were an Act of much Injuſtice; ſome might be better principled, otherwiſe of all Armies were they moſt miſerable, but the Byaſs of Riches and Honours many Times carrieth Men headlong to Deſtruction.

A Common-wealth of People is as Man's Body, ſome Member may be corrupted, and yet the Vitals preſerved, and the Head not impaired; in ſuch Caſes the ſkilful Surgeon, that takes Care to keep and preſerve the Microcoſm, diſmembereth that Part from the reſt of the Body, that might otherwiſe deſtroy the whole Fabrick.

Thoſe who are called unto high Places, and bear Rule and Dominion over Nations, ought not only to be repleat with true Zeal and Wiſdom, but alſo Valour and State Policy, that ſo, the Gifts of Grace and Nature being united, they may (as pious Patrons, and good Surgeons) preſerve the Body of the Nation, in ſpiritual and temporal Health.

God hath already begun a good Work amongſt us, and let not *England* now deſpair of ſuch a Governor; there are yet ſome Conſequences to be ſhewn, that the primary Intents

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of our Grandees were Nothing ſuitable to the following Actings, or rather Miſactings of this Army. Grapes could not be expected from Thorns, nor Figs from Thiſtles, but rather that the bad Tree ſhould be cut down and caſt into the Fire. *England* is now very populous, and the Abundance of fruitleſs Trees ſo encumber the Vines, that they cannot fructify; the late Civil War hath yet left ſome Species of Malignancy, the Sores and Corruptions of the Nation are not healed, becauſe not cleanſed, for the Tincture of Ungodlineſs is yet ſavoury in their Palates; Men of deſperate Fortunes have deſperate Means of Remedy, they ſubſiſt not by Sweat of their own Brow, but reap the Fruit of others Labours, ſowing the Seed of Sedition, and abominable Wickedneſs, in a Land where they have no right Inheritance: Can a Chriſtian Commonwealth flouriſh either in Godlineſs, Plenty, or Peace, when it abounds with ſuch profane vile Caterpillars, and Corrupters of all good Manners? Is it not Juſtice in God, and Wiſdom in Man, to expel ſuch unworthy and unwelcome Gueſts from among his People? *Ireland* hath already a ſufficient Share, and *Barbadoes*, with the reſt of thoſe ſmall Iſlands, ſubject to this Dominion, who were wont to be a Receptacle for ſuch Vermin, are now ſo filled, that they vomit forth of their Superfluities into other Places.

Could there be a leſs cruel, and more juſt Means uſed, than to employ ſuch in a Foreign War? The *Indies* are ſpacious, pleaſant, and rich, too rich indeed for either the vicious Inhabitants, or no leſs vicious Invaders. But thoſe, whom *England* ſent forth on this firſt Expedition, were not many, their Number was compleated elſewhere, and the Deſign being advanced with much Secrecy, even to the Members of the Army itſelf, manifeſtly argueth what they were which were intended for that Service; even ſuch who willingly proceeded, although they knew not whither.

That which now remaineth, is the Proof of the Cauſe, whether really intended for God's Glory, and Propagation of the Goſpel, as was firſt propounded; the Arguments and Conſequences, conducing to the Confirmation hereof, are briefly comprehended in this, that, if it had pleaſed God in Mercy, for the Righteous Sake, to proſper the Proceedings of the Wicked, and to give the *Spaniards* and their rich Poſſeſſions into the Hands of thoſe who were more ſinful than themſelves, that then there would be a fair Gap opened for the Inriching divers good People of the Nation, and utter Extirpation of all idle, profane, and irreligious ones that ſhould be ſent over as Soldiers and Servants into this new-conquered Commonwealth, that ſo, all Impediments being removed, the Glory of God, above all Things elſe, might be exalted, and the Goſpel have free Paſſage and Recourſe throughout the Dominions.

*Secondly*, Whether the Inſtruments were ſuitable to the Work, hath been in Part already reſolved, but more fully will appear in the following Journal, wherein is declared, what and whence they were that acted, alſo what and where their Actions were from Time to Time, together with the Manner of Succeſs.

In the whole written Word of God may not be ſeen in any one Inſtance, that ever he employed thoſe of his People (in his intended Work and Service) which remained polluted in their Sins and Wickedneſs, but always firſt brought them, by ſome Means or other, unto true Humiliation and Repentance; and this was ſometimes performed by giving Part of them over to be deſtroyed of their Enemies; in which is ſeen, that, by God's Permiſſion, Good is ſometimes acted by Means of the Wicked; good Conſequences may be drawn from bad Subjects, as in the former Senſe, but that ever ſuch ſhould perſevere in any good or godly Work (as to the Compleating thereof) is not only very improbable, but impoſſible, for that, which is divided againſt itſelf, cannot ſtand; human Reaſon will alſo tell us that any rare and curious Piece of Work cannot be performed by dull and unfit Inſtruments.

But to return to the Reſolutions of the third and laſt Query, that the Hand of God hath been plain and manifeſtly ſeen in Oppoſition to their Actions, doth not only appear in the Manner of Succeſs, but alſo of Proceeding, and that in ſo miraculous a Manner, that ſcarcely any Age may parallel; God indeed confounds the Counſels of the High and Mighty, and turneth their Wiſdom into mere Fooliſhneſs: That an Army ſo numerous, ſtrong, and well provided ſhould be ſo cowed out, beaten, and ſhamefully repulſed, by leſs than a Handful of Men in Compariſon, was certainly the Work of God, and it is marvellous

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in our Eyes. O that Men could be ſenſible of the Guilt of Sin, and humble themſelves by Repentance, before Deſtruction ſweep them hence that they be no more ſeen; or that they could take Enſample by the Deſtruction of others to perſiſt no longer in the Ways of Wickedneſs! But ſuch were the obdurate Hearts, and ſeared Conſciences of this People, that neither Bleſſings nor Curſings could mollify; the golden Calf was already ſet up in their Hearts, and, although *Aaron* were preſent with them, yet there wanted a *Moſes* to deſtroy it, and ſupplicate the Almighty to avert his juſt Judgments from a People that were ſo exceeding ſinful.

*Now follows the Journal itſelf, wherein is deſcribed each Proceeding and Action in due Place as they happened (with all Things pertinent thereunto). Whereby the judicious and impartial Readers may, at Leiſure, give that ſolid and juſt Conſtruction of each particular Matter, according as the Juſtneſs or Unjuſtneſs of the Cauſe requireth, which probably (through Haſte, Multiplicity of Buſineſs, and a troubled Spirit) I may not have ſo well performed in Reſolution to the former Queries.*

AFter it was abſolutely reſolved to ſend an Army into the *Weſt-Indies*, Preparations were accordingly made as well by Land as Sea; the Generals appointed for both were his Excellency *Robert Venables*, and the Right Honourable *William Pen*, Men who had ſeen much of God's Actings for his People, in going in and out before them to their Deliverance, and crowning their Endeavours with many glorious and triumphant Victories; divers good Ships and Frigates were allotted for this Service, had they been but as well victualled and manned, and all Seamen, that were willing to proceed in the Service, received Entertainment; but, for Want of a due Complement, many Freſh-water Sailors, and others, were preſſed. Drums were alſo beaten up for ſuch Voluntary Soldiers as were willing to ſerve the Commonwealth beyond Sea; which gave Encouragement to ſeveral who go by the Name of Hectors, and Knights of the Blade, with common Cheats, Thieves, Cutpurſes, and ſuch like lewd Perſons, who had long Time lived by the Sleight of Hand, and Dexterity of Wit, and were now making a fair Progreſs unto *Newgate*, from whence they were to proceed towards *Tyburn*; but, conſidering the Dangerouſneſs of that Paſſage, very politickly directed their Courſe another Way, and became Soldiers for the State. Some ſlothful and thieviſh Servants likewiſe, to avoid the Puniſhment of the Law, and coveting a yet more idle Life, followed after in the ſame Path; there were alſo drawn forth, out of moſt of the old ſtanding Regiments, ſuch as were newly enliſted, to compleat the Number. For thoſe who were better principled, and knew what Fighting was, were (as it ſhould ſeems reſerved for a better Purpoſe, ſome few only excepted, which were as a Mixture of little Wine with much Water, the one loſing its proper Strength and Vigour, and the other thereby little bettered. And thus went on the Preparation by Land, whilſt the Ships were rigging, victualling, and manning; the general Rendevouz for the Navy and Army was at *Portſmouth* and thereabouts; where, by the Tenth of *November*, 1654, moſt of the Ships were arrived, and ſuch Proportions of Victuals and other Neceſſaries ordered to be compleated, as each Veſſel could conveniently ſtore; ſome that was defective was alſo exchanged, notwithſtanding there remained much in the Fleet. There likewiſe the Sailors and Soldiers received ſome Wages for better Encouragement before their Departure.

On the Eighteenth of *December* following, divers Companies of Soldiers were ſhipped, and the Rear-admiral, having Orders, ſet Sail accordingly with his Squadron the next Day. Within two Days after, followed the Generals with the Remainder of the Fleet and Land-army, conſiſting, in all, of about Three thouſand Men, divided into five Regiments, beſides Commiſſioners, Treaſurers, and other Officers of the States. The next Rendezvous appointed was the Iſland of *Barbadoes*, whither it pleaſed God to grant them a fair Paſſage and ſafe Arrival, and that within four Days one of another; ſo that the whole Fleet, being about thirty

thirty Sail, one Half being Victuallers, were riding together in *Caſtle-Bay* by the firſt Day of *February*, there remaining behind only two Ships of the Commonwealth's, the *Great* and *Little Charity*; which proved afterwards prejudicial to the Army, in their Proceeding, not only in Reſpect of the proper Signification of their Names (which indeed, in that Senſe, were both wanting) but Quality of their Loading, the one being ordered to carry Mortar-pieces, Granado-ſhells, and Store of other Ammunition; and the other, Horſes with Arms and Furniture for Horſemen; but, through what Intent or Policy they were left in *England*, more than an ordinary Capacity cannot apprehend; and, although Expedition be ſaid to be the Life of Action, yet, through inconſiderate Raſhneſs, many a gallant Deſign and Action are merely overthrown.

Immediately after the Arrival of the Fleet, as aforeſaid, the Soldiers were all put on Shore, and diſtributed into ſeveral Quarters on the Iſland, where they had allowed ſuch Diet as the Country afforded, which was none of the worſt. The Carpenters of each Ship were ordered to ſet up thoſe Shallops, with Expedition, which were brought over in Quarters out of *England*; and all the Coopers were buſied in Trimming and Fitting of Water-caſks. In the mean Seaſon, two Frigates, with a Commiſſioner and others, were diſpatched to the Iſlands of *Chriſtophers* and *Meaves*, for the Raiſing of as many Voluntiers there, as were thought convenient; neither were the Colonels and other Officers at *Barbadoes* negligent in compleating their Regiments and Companies, and raiſing new; the Iſlanders likewiſe contributed, of Free-coſt, to ſet forth a Trop of gallant Horſe, for the Furtherance of this Service, the Carcaſes whereof were afterwards, at the Iſland of *Hiſpaniola*, either eaten, for Want of other Food, or there left behind, for the Uſe of the Enemy. During the Abode of the Fleet at *Barbadoes*, divers *Dutch* Veſſels (near twenty in Number) were made Prizes; whereof ſome were there found at Anchor; others the Frigates, that were a cruiſing at Sea, brought in, and that in Regard they preſumed to traffick thither with ſuch Commodities, as were prohibited by the late Articles of Peace concluded betwixt both Nations. The Victuallers taken were employed to the Uſe of the Navy, and the Veſſels for Tranſportation of Soldiers.

It is alſo remarkable, that, in the mean Time, there was an Order for all Boys, belonging to the Fleet, although not Supernumeraries, to be cancelled out of the States Books, and, for the Future, not to have any Allowance of Diet, or Wages, notwithſtanding there was no Care taken for their Tranſportation homewards, or Diſpoſal otherwiſe; they, ſtill remaining in the Ships, became burthenſome to thoſe, on whom they had Dependency, in participating of ſuch Victuals, as they had ſparingly allowed for themſelves: But, the Hand of Providence, as it ſhould ſeem, willing, in Part, to eaſe them of their Burthen, a Shark-fiſh devoured at one Time two Youths, belonging to a States Ship, as they were ſwimming near the Veſſel. All, that may be attributed to the good Intent of this rigorous Order, was for the better Husbanding of vital Proviſions, and to prolong the Time of Victualling. But this, with other Matters, if it be not Treaſon to ſpeak it, might have been more ſeaſonably performed at Home.

The new Shallops being launched, and the Fleet furniſhed with freſh Water, and other Neceſſaries, were in a Readineſs to depart; the Field-army was alſo drawn down and ſhipped, they being now ſo numerous, that each Ship's Share was as many as they could well carry.

*March* the Thirty-firſt, they ſet Sail from that Iſland, and, within two Days, paſſed betwixt the Iſlands of *Martinico* and *Sancta-Lucia*, where they anchored that Night; the Day following, they weighed from thence, and, paſſing by the ſmall Iſlands of *Dominico*, *Guardaloupe*, *Monſerat*, and *Meaves*, the Sixth of *April*, came by the *Lee* under *Chriſtophers*, where thoſe voluntary Soldiers, that came off from that Iſland and the next adjacent, were already ſhipped in Prizes there taken, and waited only the Motion of the Fleet: The Number of theſe were about Thirteen-hundred, which, together with the other *Barbarians* (*viz.* Men of *Barbadoes*) compleated Five-thouſand, beſides Women and Children, whom, out of ill-grounded Confidence and high Preſumption, they had brought along with them; which made them ſeem rather as a People that went to inhabit ſome Country already conquered, than to conquer: But for this, perhaps, they had too good a Precedent.

What Manner of Soldiers theſe Planters proved, may ſoon be imagined; for, if we look,

look, with an impartial Eye, upon the major Part of thoſe, that came out of *England*, to be, as indeed they were, raw Soldiers, Vagabonds, Robbers, and renegado Servants, certainly theſe Iſlanders muſt be the very Scum of Scums, and mere Dregs of Corruption, and ſuch, upon whoſe Endeavours it was impoſſible to expect a Bleſſing.

But to return to the Fleet, who now ſhaped their Courſe towards the Iſland of *Hiſpaniola*, conceiving it requiſite to reduce that by the Way, as well for the Refreſhment of the Army, as to keep Men in Action until the long-expected Arrival of more Granado-ſhells and Mortar-pieces, there being only one in the Fleet, beſides ſome wooden ones lately made, which were deemed unfit for ſo great an Enterpriſe as was intended.

*April* the Eighth, they paſſed by *Sancta Cruz*, and the Day following was ordered to be obſerved, throughout the Fleet, as a Day of Humiliation, for the good Succeſs of the Army; but one Day was not effectual for the Humbling of thoſe, who had remained ſo many Years obdurate in Wickedneſs. The next Iſland was that of *St. John*, and, having gained the Length of the Weſtern End thereof, the Diſtance to *Hiſpaniola* was two-and-twenty Leagues.

The Colonels and other Officers were now ordered to get their Men in Readineſs to land; and, to augment the Number, there was drawn forth a Regiment of rugged Sailors, whoſe Manners argued them better fed, than either inſtructed in the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion, or Rudiments of martial Diſcipline.

*April* the Thirteenth, they came fair by the Iſland, and plainly diſcovered the Town of *Domingo*; and, after ſome Conſultation had with the pretended Pilots and Guides, for the better Landing and Conduct of the Army to the Town, the Land-general, with a Squadron of Ships, ſeven-thouſand Foot-ſoldiers, a Troop of Horſe, and three Days Proviſion of Victuals, went farther to the Leeward, and landed the Day following in Safety, ſome ten Leagues to the Weſtward of the Town.

No ſooner were they all landed, having no Oppoſition, but they began to promiſe to themſelves Mountains of Gold; nothing buſied their Minds and Thoughts more, than the Riches of the Place; their Talk was all of the Money, Plate, and gallant Plunder, they were like to have; but they were ſoon taken off from theſe vain Hopes, Proclamation being then made, in the Head of the Army, to this Effect: ‘ That, when they ſhould enter into ‘ the Town (not including the Pleaſure of ‘ God in the Buſineſs) they ſhould not plunder ‘ any Money, Plate, or Jewels, neither kill ‘ any tame Cattle, upon Pain of Death.

Thus may be ſeen the avaricious Intents of ſome (more than ordinary) Men, who deſire rather to heap up to themſelves Abundance of Treaſure, enjoy fair Houſes, rich Plantations, and all Things ſuitable thereunto, than to glorify God in their Actions; making the Price of Blood their Inheritance, and that, before they know, whether they ſhall firſt obtain, or afterwards live to poſſeſs.

The chiefeſt Part of the Army, thus landed, gained but evil Encouragement by the late Proclamation; yet, after ſome Signals of Diſcontents, on they marched, in a Way that directed through Woods of incredible Thickneſs, receiving little or no Oppoſition, except the exceſſive Heat of the Sun, and intolerable Drought, that oppreſſed them, having not had, in many Miles March, one Drop of Water. Thoſe, who took upon them to conduct the Army in the moſt commodious Ways and Paſſages near Water, proved but blind Guides, and deceived them, ſo that ſome became exceeding faint, ſcarce able to march; others were neceſſitated to drink their own Urine; and all in general ſo extremely weakened, that it was wonderful to behold.

The Ships, that landed them, ſoon after turned up to Windward unto the General, who continued with the Fleet, plying to and again within View of the Town; only one Squadron was commanded into a Bay, two Leagues to the Weſtward of the Town of *Domingo*, whereinto a large freſh-water River diſburtheneth itſelf: There the Remnant of the Army, being three Regiments, were landed, and that within two Days after the other; the Place, appointed for Conjunction of both Parties, was at this River; notwithſtanding, Colonel *Bullard*, with thoſe Regiments, without any farther Order, marched towards the Town, and, for Want of Water, ſoon retreated, performing not any Thing worth the Memory. By this Time, the Land-general, with the main Body of the Army, came up, and, after ſome ſhort Refreſhment at the River, proceeded alſo towards the Town; but, before they came within three Miles thereof, a ſmall

ſmall Party of the Enemy ſuddenly encountered the Forlorn-hope, conſiſting of five-hundred Men, and forced them to an unſeemly Retreat. The next Regiment, with ſome others, ſeconding, were alſo repulſed, and the General himſelf, left in a lone Condition, very hardly eſcaped; the Body of the Army coming up, the *Spaniards* at length retreated into a Fort of theirs, not far diſtant from thence, and ſome, purſuing, were cut off with the great Shot from the Fort, which was ſituate near the Sea-ſide, and commanded that Paſſage through the Wood to the Town. In this Exploit, ſome were loſt on either Part; but the greateſt Number were *Engliſh*, amongſt which Captain *Cox*, the chief Guide for that Place, was one.

The General, taking into Conſideration the Diſability of the Army at that Time, and exceeding Want of Water amongſt them (there being none betwixt that and the Town, except in the former Fort; which, as it was none of the ſtrongeſt Fortifications, being only a plain Brick-wall, triangular, and without Flankers, yet was it furniſhed with nine Pieces of good Ordnance, and about three-hundred deſperate Fellows to manage them; and there appeared little Hopes, that thoſe, who, even then, received ſo much Damage by leſs than Half that Number, in the High-way, ſhould now ſtorm and take the Place by ſudden Aſſault, without eminent Loſs to the whole Army, being alſo unprovided of Ladders and other Neceſſaries for that Purpoſe) whereupon a Retreat was made unto the River in the Bay, where they refreſhed with Water, and ſuch Proviſions of Victuals, as were daily brought on Shore from the Ships: Preparation was alſo made for another March; a Mortar-piece was landed, with Granado-ſhells and two ſmall Drakes; Scaling-ladders were likewiſe made, but never uſed; for, being too ponderous for Carriage, they were ſent by Water, and ſo to be landed in a convenient Place near the Town. All Things being now in Readineſs, as was ſuppoſed, the Twenty-fourth of *April*, the Army proceeded on their March, the Guides promiſing to direct them in a Way they had not yet known, which led to a freſh-water River, diſtant but two Miles from the North-part of the Town, whither they might paſs without Danger of any Fort. That there was ſuch a Path, was known to be certain; but, taking another to be it, they drew near the Way they had formerly gone, advancing but ſlowly, by Reaſon the Mortar-pieces and ſmall Drakes, for Want of Horſes and Furniture, the Soldiers drew, by Turns.

The Day following, before Noon, they approached near the Fort, but with worſe Succeſs than before; for the Enemy, having charged the Forlorn-hope, beat them clearly to the General's Regiment, and routed thoſe alſo, executing them in the Backs, in as great Numbers as they liſted.

Major-general *Haines*, being then in the Van of the Army, was moſt unworthily and ſhamefully deſerted by the Soldiers, notwithſtanding that he earneſtly intreated that, for God's Sake, ſome few of them would ſtand by him, if but ten in Number; but ſuch was their vile Cowardice and Baſeneſs of Spirit, that not one Man would do it; whereupon he ſacrificed his Life, amongſt the Thickeſt of his Enemies, at as dear a Rate, as became a ſtout Soldier, and gallant Commander, who, in his Life-time, was as much beloved of his Friends, as feared by his Enemies; ſuch was his Worthineſs; too worthy, indeed, to be a Member of ſo Anti-chriſtian an Army.

The *Spaniards* purſued this Victory, made as great a Slaughter as they were able, and that, without the leaſt Reſiſtance, near the one Half of the Army flying before them, to the great Amaze and Diſcouragement of the reſt, that were not as then marched up. Some, having broken off the Head of their Lances, continued ſtill the Purſuit, knocking down ſome, beating and driving others along, with their Lance-ſtaves, like Slaves and cow-hearted Villains, until, at length, being tired with Slaughter, not able to proceed farther (like as the painful Workman, after a laborious and hard Day's Labour, goeth to reſt) they returned to the Town, carrying with them, as ſure Trophies of Victory, ſeven *Engliſh* Colours.

The Number, at this Time, ſlain out-right, were no leſs than ſix-hundred Men, beſides two-hundred more that crept into Buſhes, and were left behind in the Woods, whom the Negroes and *Molattoes* ſoon after diſpatched; there were alſo three-hundred wounded, whereof many were paſt Recovery, moſt of them all receiving their Hurts in their Backs. As for thoſe that did all this Spoil and Miſchief (O Miracle to believe, and Shame to think of it!) exceeded not in all the Number of fifty Men. The Purſuit now ended, theſe running Regi-

ments ſtood ſtill, taking Opportunity (with Sorrow and Shame) to look back on their miſerable Fellows, groaning with Wounds, and weltering in Blood.

The *Spaniards* Manner of Onſet was thus: After they had fired their Volley of ſmall Shot out of the Woods (being aſſiſted by Negroes and *Molattoes*) they moſt deſperately fell in, and charged with their ſharp Steel Lances, which, being directed by able Bodies and ſtrong Arms, found little Oppoſition of the weak and feeble Multitude, parched by the Heat of the Sun, and half dead with Thirſt, no Care being taken to ſupply this Defect. The other Diſadvantages were theſe: The Diſ-equality betwixt the *Engliſh* Pikes and *Spaniſh* Lances was ſuch, that the one being over long, and top-heavy, could not be managed with that Dexterity, and to ſo good a Purpoſe (eſpecially in narrow Ways and Woods) as the Lance, which is about three Quarters of that Length; neither are the *Engliſh* Half-pikes of ſufficient Length to reach theſe Lances; the *Spaniards* alſo (by often Uſe and Practice) become more expert and ready in the Uſe of theſe Weapons than *Engliſhmen*, who, although perhaps old Soldiers, never made Uſe of Pike or Lance (except againſt Horſes). Divers, likewiſe, in this Expedition, that were of more Valour and Strength than others, and would have fought, were ſo overwhelmed, and trampled under Foot (by the ſhameful Flight of the Multitude that were about them) that they were not able to make Reſiſtance, but became a Prey, with the reſt, unto the mercileſs Enemy. But, above all, the Hand of the Almighty was much ſeen in the Buſineſs, who ſtruck ſo great a Terror in their Hearts, that they became the People of his Wrath, fitted to Deſtruction.

After this ſad Succeſs, and lamentable Loſs, the Army, that Night, drew up nearer the Fort, as if they intended to execute Revenge upon that; and, having found a convenient Place, within Muſquet-ſhot thereof, where the Enemy could not bring any great Gun to bear, the Pioneers cut down the Trees, and made a Kind of Breaſt-work, ſuch as the Time would permit, and there planted the Mortar-piece; which being then in a Readineſs to do Execution on the Fort, ſpeedy Orders were given to mount it on another Carriage, fit to be drawn off, and to burn that; which being performed, and the Granado-ſhells buried under Ground, the Army began their March back to the Watering-place in the Bay. But, what Ground there was for this Action, or what the real Intent of the Thing ſignified, let thoſe determine, who have Power to puniſh Offences and reward Deſerts.

In the mean Seaſon, the General of the Navy, with divers Ships, anchored in the Road, at ſuch a Diſtance, as that the Forts could reach them with great Shot, and they both the Forts and Town; and, having diſcerned Parties of Men paſſing to and fro, without the Town, conceived them to be the *Engliſh* Army there incamped, and thereupon ſent in divers Boats with Proviſion of Victuals, and other Neceſſaries for their Supply; who, approaching near the Shore, diſcovered their Error, and found them to be *Spaniards*, who, as it ſeems, had the Leiſure to caſt up Outworks, and ſo returned on board in Safety, both going and coming underneath the Fort and Bank-ſides, from Danger of the Shot, by which they manifeſtly found how good and convenient a Place it was to have landed an Army of Men.

The Army lying in the Bay, as formerly, had not that Supply of Victuals from the Ships as before, but were neceſſitated to go abroad in Parties through the Woods, to ſeek for Cattle; and, oftentimes meeting with ſome few Negroes, were by them put to the Rout, and divers ſlain; others, caſting away their Arms, betook themſelves to their Heels, and ſo eſcaped the Fury of theſe naked Pagans; and, at ſome Times, when neither Men nor Beaſts were near, only the Leaves of Trees making ſome little Noiſe, and Crabs ſtirring in the Woods, poſſeſſed them with ſuch eminent Fear, that, leaving their Weapons behind, they ran over Clifts into the Sea; but at length this bold Army was grown ſo politick, that they would no more adventure into the Woods amongſt theſe Cow-killers (whoſe fable Deformities had often ſtruck as great a Terror in their Hearts, as *Pluto* and all his infernal Rout could do, had they been there preſent to have tortured them) exerciſing their Valour only on Horſes, Aſſes, Necoes, and ſuch like, making a Slaughter of all they met, greedily devouring Skin, Intrails, and all, to ſatiate their Hungers; and thus were all their Troop-horſes belonging to the Army by them eaten, the General's own hardly eſcaping; this Behaviour and Diet they continued for ſome Days.

What Number of Men had been loſt in ſmall Parties, and by Straggling (beſides at the total Rout)

Rout) was not known, until, by a general Muſter, was found, that, of Nine-thouſand ſeven-hundred Men firſt landed, there remained then only Eight-thouſand (the Sea-regiment included). Many of theſe were ſick and wounded, and moſt of them faint-hearted, not fit for Service. To have adventured a third Time with ſuch, in the Face of the Enemy, were an Act of no leſs Raſhneſs than Madneſs; for, had the Commanders been ever ſo valiant, able, and worthy (except it had pleaſed God miraculouſly to perform the Work by them alone, which could be as little expected as deſerved) theſe Sheep-like Soldiers (I mean in Courage, not Innocence) would queſtionleſs have left them in the Lurch; Experience had already ſhewn it, and too true they ſhould have found it; and again, to have ſhipped this wretched Rabble, not well knowing whither to go, or how to diſpoſe of them, would alſo have been the Deſtruction and Loſs of the whole Fleet, having Proviſions but for a ſhort Time, for ſo great a Multitude: Of theſe two Evils, it pleaſed Providence, that the leaſt was choſen, and a Place was now thought on, abſolutely fit indeed for ſuch an Army, where they might have Food without Fighting, and a Land to inhabit without Oppoſition, and that within ſome few Days Sail. This being reſolved upon, Care was taken to ſhip the Men, the Mortar-piece, two ſmall Drakes, and two Iron Guns (which were placed in a ſmall Fortification by them, made at the Mouth of the River, for the better Securing of the Watering-place). Before the Performance of theſe Things, I ſhould have declared how Adjutant-general *Jackſon* (that great Man of little Courage) was caſhiered for a Coward, and the Ceremony performed, of breaking his Sword over his Head, for Example to others; but my Opinion is, that, if all of like Nature had been ſo dealt with, there would not have been many whole Swords left in the Army.

The Third of *May*, all were ſhipped, except the Bodies of ſeventeen-hundred Men, (moſt of whoſe Arms, ſeven Field-colours, with all their Honours, if any they had, were left behind: It is alſo obſervable, that as, at their Landing, they had no Oppoſition, ſo neither, at their Shipping off; the *Spaniards*, with their ſmall Numbers, rather ſhewed themſelves defenſive, than offenſive, reſting content with what they had already done, ſtrongly fortifying for the Future; whereas, if they had taken but this laſt Opportunity (by the Diſability, Weakneſs, and Cowardice of the Army) to have charged in with two or three hundred able reſolute Men, within few Days before, or at their Going off, certainly they had deſtroyed and ſpoiled the moſt Part of them all; who were more willing and ready to run into the Sea, and there periſh, than to oppoſe or look upon their Enemies.

All the Benefit or Good the Army had found, in this Place, was only, at the firſt, ſome few Cattle, and a good Quantity of Sugar, Part whereof they made Uſe of, caſting the reſt into the River, to dulcify that (ſuch was their Ignorance and Folly) but this ſweet Diet had ſowre Sauce.

The Fleet alſo recruited with freſh Water out of this fair and goodly River (whoſe golden Sands had a bloody Price) and, the Soldiers being all on Board, as aforeſaid, they ſet Sail that Day before the Wind, and before they had performed the leaſt Part of their Intent or Deſires.

Having now briefly, but truly, related their Manner of Proceedings and Succeſs on this unfortunate Iſland, it will not be altogether impertinent to deſcribe the Situation of the Town and Forts adjacent, with the Nature and Quality of the Country; which take as follows.

The Town of *Sancta Domingo* (Metropolis of *Hiſpaniola*, and Reſidence of the *Spaniſh* Viceroy) is ſituate on the South-ſide of the Iſland, diſtant from the Eaſtermoſt Cape or Land's-end, twenty-eight Leagues, having, North Latitude, 18 Degrees, 22 Minutes: It is well watered, and, in ſome Sort, ſtrengthened, by a great River, which paſſeth near the North-eaſt Part thereof; at the Mouth of this River is a Harbour, which, although of no great Magnitude, yet is capable of entertaining Ships of good Burthen: The Entrance to the Harbour is through a Bay of reaſonable Latitude, where there is good Anchorage, and a Road for Ships; on the Larboard-ſide going in, is a Fort ſtrengthened with twelve, or more, good Guns, which commandeth the Harbour and South-weſt Side of the Town; the other Parts whereof, on the Land-ſide, have, for their Defence, an old ruinated Wall, encompaſſed thick with Lime-trees, which is, now lately, well repaired, and ſtrongly fortified. Within one Mile's Circumference of the Town, is open Ground, and plain Fields, or *Savinars*, as they there call them, being made by Induſtry

and Art, as are all their Ways and Paſſages through the Woods and Fields, for Sugar-canes, with other open Places for Huſbandry; the whole Land being naturally over-grown and covered over with Trees, amongſt which, of Lemon, Orange, Cocoa, Cabbage, Palmetto, Cedar, Maſtick, and *Lignum-vitæ* Trees, there are good Plenty.

About two Miles to the Weſtward of the Town, and near the Bay-ſide, is placed another Fort, the Deſcription whereof, as alſo the Damage it did the Army in their March towards the Town, I have already declared.

Four Miles farther to the Weſt from thence, is that River and Bay formerly ſpoken of, where the Army incamped, and the Fleet took in freſh Water; which Place the *Spaniards* had not then fortified; but, it is to be ſuppoſed, that, in the Strengthening of that, and all Places elſe of Conſequence, in the *Weſt Indies*, they have not ſince been negligent.

The Commodities theſe Rivers afford, beſides the Goodneſs of their Waters, conſiſt in the divers Sorts of dainty Fiſh therein abounding, as alſo Pieces of Gold Minerals, waſhed from forth their Banks at certain Times, together with Sand-gold, a ſmall Quantity whereof was found by ſome *Engliſh* Soldiers: The Diſcommodities theſe Streams ingender are Allegators, which, farther up in the Country, are in too great Plenty.

The whole Land (except ſome Hills of great Aſcent, is certainly very fruitful, which, although it produce not ſuch Fruits and Corn as *England* doth, and other more temperate Climates (the ſcorching Heat of the Sun depriving it of that Happineſs) yet of Sugar-canes, Oranges, Lemons, Bonanoes, Bonuiſt, Plantanes, Pine-apples, Potatoe and Caſſadra Roots (whereof they make their Bread) with divers other Roots and Fruits, there is no Scarcity.

It is alſo repleniſhed with Store of Oxen and Cows of good Magnitude, as well wild as tame. Sheep there are ſome, not many, and abundance of Hogs, and fair Horſes, which Laſt are there of little Uſe or Service in War, by Reaſon of the exceeding thick Woods. But, beyond all, the ineſtimable Mines of rich Gold and Silver, hid within the Bowels of that Land, make Amends for all other Defects. The North and Weſt Parts of the Iſland are ſcarcely at all inhabited, except by ſome few Cow-killers, Rogues that have been thither baniſhed for Murther, or ſome other Villainy, who make it their Labour to kill and deſtroy many Cattle, and that only for their Tallow and Hides, which are ſent in to the *Spaniards*: As for the Towns and Villages, in the habitable Parts, they are neither fair nor many, the Chiefeſt whereof I have already mentioned; which, doubtleſs, at the Time of the *Engliſh* Army's being there, was very rich; for, the neighbouring Villages and Plantations being alarmed by their Landing, they had the Leiſure to convey themſelves, with much Treaſure, Plate, and Jewels, thither, as to a Place of their beſt Strength and Refuge.

And thus much of *Hiſpaniola*. The Iſland of *Jamaica* muſt now be the Subject of my following Diſcourſe, whither the Fleet approached: The Seventh of *May* was obſerved as another Day of Humiliation, for all ſuch, whom Hunger, Thirſt, and the Sword of the Enemy had not yet given a feeling Senſe of their preſumptuous Wickedneſs, and Diſobedience towards God. And, conſidering the great Cowardice that had lately poſſeſſed them, it was alſo proclaimed to the whole Army, that whoſoever ſhould be found to turn his Back to the Enemy, and run away, the next Officer, that brought up the Rear of that Diviſion, ſhould immediately run him through, which, if he failed to perform, himſelf was to ſuffer Death without Mercy: Which ſtrict Order might have wrought better Effect at *Hiſpaniola*, there being little Probability of Engaging with an Enemy in this Place.

The Ninth of *May*, they drew nigh the Iſland, and, having ſailed about ſixteen Leagues within the South-ſide thereof, the Day following came to an Anchor in a ſpacious Harbour, called alſo *Jamaica*, where there was good Ground, and deep Water; and, manning all their ſmall Veſſels and Boats with Soldiers, ſoon landed the Army in a Bay, that lay yet farther within the Harbour, and that without the Loſs of one Man; for the *Spaniards*, having only three or four ſmall and ſlight Breaſt-works, with ſome few Guns, and ſeeing ſo numerous an Army in Readineſs to land, made not many Shot, but fled in Haſte to the Town of *Oriſtano*, which was altogether unfortified, and diſtant from thence ſix *Engliſh* Miles, from whence they conveyed away all Things of Value and Concernment, together with their Families, and departed farther into the Country; for ſuch was their Weakneſs, and Diſability

for

for Reſiſtance, that their Number (on that Part of the Iſland) exceeded not five hundred Men, beſides ſome Negroe Slaves; but, what they could not act by Force of Arms, they did by Policy; as too ſoon will appear.

The *Engliſh* Army, being poſſeſſed of the Breaſt-works, and Guns that commanded the Landing-place; the Forlorn-hope was drawn forth, and ſent towards the Town, who, that Night, would not adventure to enter therein, until the Morrow following; at which Time they found it deſtitute of Inhabitants, or any Thing elſe neceſſary for their Entertainment, or Accommodation, except bare Walls, Bedſteads, Chairs, and Cow-hides: Soon after, the General, with the whole Army, conſiſting of about ſeven-thouſand Men, marched up thither; where there then came in divers *Spaniards*, which ſeemed to be of Quality, to treat, bringing with them, as Preſents for the General, Wine, Poultry, divers Sorts of Fruits, and other Rarities that the Country yielded, promiſing alſo to ſend in Beeves, ſufficient for the Maintenance of the Army, with other large Overtures, and high Compliments.

This Treaty being continued for certain Days, the Enemy had free Egreſs and Regreſs as well into the Town, and *Engliſh* Quarters, as elſewhere, continuing their welcomed Preſents, bringing Cattle for the Uſe of the Army, and behaving themſelves with ſuch civil and kind, although feigned, Deportment, that they invited divers Soldiers of the Army to viſit them in their Quarters, where they had Wine given them, and were much made of; by which Means they gained Knowledge, by ſome overcome with Liquor, that they had been at *Hiſpaniola*, and how they were there dealt withal, as alſo the Extremities and Wants they were driven to in their Marches, for Want of Water and other Neceſſaries, in thoſe hot Countries, whereby they were much diſabled. The *Spaniards* underſtanding this, and viewing the preſent weak Condition of the Army (by which they gueſſed at the Future, if their Wants were not ſupplied from Time to Time) were now animated to put in Practice their uttermoſt Endeavours for Preſervation of their Goods and Eſtates, and not to ſtand to any Articles of Agreement, to depart the Iſland, with ſome few Cloaths only to their Backs, as was expected; notwithſtanding, they fairly diſſembled the Matter, and, to avoid all Suſpicion, ſent their Governor, as they pretended, an old decrepid Seignior, full of the *French*-diſeaſe, and brought in betwixt Two in a Hammock, to ſign the Articles of Agreement, which he, with ſome others, accordingly did.

In the mean Seaſon, theſe ſubtle and ſly *Spaniards* had conveyed far away in the Woods all their Riches and beſt Goods, which, in ſome Days after the Army was poſſeſſed of the Town, remained in the *Spaniſh* Quarters near at Hand, and might have been ſoon intercepted; they alſo gathered up all the ableſt and beſt Horſes, during the Treaty, as well in the *Engliſh* Quarters, as their own; and, the Time limited for their Departure from the Iſland, according to the Articles ſigned, being near expired, they drove away moſt of all the Cattle near the Town, and, following after their Goods, Wives, Children, and Servants, which were gone before at leaſt three Days Journey, ſwept and cleared the Country, as they went, of all vital Proviſions, leaving their old pocky Governor as a Hoſtage for their Return.

And thus were they overcome by the Subtlety and Deceit of the *Spaniards* at *Jamaica*, as well as they had been lately vanquiſhed by their Lances at *Hiſpaniola*; and all the Redreſs, that could be now thought on, was to ſend a Party in Purſuit of them: Colonel *Bullard*, with Two-thouſand Men, was employed on the Buſineſs, Part of which Number were ſhipped in ſmall Veſſels and Shallops, and ſo conveyed by Water unto a Bay, ſeventeen Leagues to the Eaſtward of that where the Fleet lay, where they came in Conjunction with the reſt that had marched thither on Foot. The politick Intent of this grand Deſign was to ſurpriſe the *Spaniards* and their Luggage, betwixt both Parties, as they were ſhipping off for the Main, which was ſuppoſed would be at that Place; but in that they deceived themſelves, for the Enemy had no ſuch Intent, but rather directed their Paſſage through By-ways, thick Woods, and over high Hills and large Mountains, of which there are Plenty, having Scouts and Sentinels abroad, in each paſſable Way and Path, to diſcover the Approach of any; it being almoſt an impoſſible Thing for an Army, except well acquainted with the Country, to follow or find them out; and, again, the exceſſive Heat of the Sun, the Want of Water in many Places, with other Defects and Impediments, naturally incident to the Place, and diſagreeing to *Engliſh* Conſtitutions, did more weaken and diſable them in

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ten Miles march there, than Forty in their own Country. But I ſhall now leave this purſuing Party, to wander in the Woods a While, and there kill Cattle, if any they find, to preſerve Life, rather than hazard it at ſo great Diſadvantages againſt the *Spaniards*, and ſhew in what Poſture and Condition thoſe in the Town were in, who, after the Departure of the *Spaniſh* Cators, were in ſo great Want, that Dogs and Cats were the beſt Part of their Diet, with ſuch Sort of Food as they had formerly taſted at *Hiſpaniola*, as Horſes, Aſsnecoes, and ſuch like; there being a ſtrict Order, that, on Pain of Death, none ſhould preſume to kill any Cows or Oxen; and, if at any Time there went forth, by eſpecial Order, ſome ſmall Party that brought in Beeves, they were diſtributed among the ſuperior Officers of the Army, the inferior Men having only inferior Meat; the often Uſe whereof made them ſomewhat participate of the Nature of the Beaſts; ſometimes living the Life of Dogs, and, at other Times, bearing the Burthen of Aſſes; and what other Encouragement or Comfort could they have, than to ponder in their Minds thus, *Solamen miſeris ſocios habuiſſe doloris*.

*Jamaica* Harbour, *May* the Twenty-fourth, it was reſolved, at a Council of War, that the General of the Navy, and Rear-admiral, in the Ships *Swift-ſure* and *Paragon*, with moſt of the *Flemiſh* Ships, ſhould return for *England*, Orders being given for their ſpeedy Fitting, and recruit with freſh Water and other Neceſſaries.

*May* the Twenty-fifth, there happened an ill Accident in the Fleet; the Ship called the *Diſcovery*, of the States, a Veſſel of good Force and Burthen, was unhappily fired by filling Brandy-wine in the Steward-room; the Flame of the Candle, taking hold of that combuſtible Liquor, ſo vehemently increaſed the Fury of the Fire, that there was no Prevention. Wherefore, to avoid further Danger, moſt of the Ships Boats, that could be had in Readineſs, towed her off on a Bank of Sand, ſome Diſtance from the Fleet, where, after ſhe had conſumed about four Hours, her Magazine of Powder blew up, and did no more Harm; the Ship *Swift-ſure*, being then ready to careen, had moſt of her beſt Guns there on Board, which were all afterwards, by Induſtry and Art, taken up, notwithſtanding that they lay in above three Fathom Water.

*June* the Firſt, Colonel *Bullard*, after a long March to little Purpoſe, returned with his Party to the Town, bringing with him ſome Cattle, and giving Notice of great Abundance that are in the more remote Parts of the Country; ſince which Time there have gone forth divers Parties, who have alſo brought in Droves of Cattle, and, amongſt the reſt, a *Spaniſh* Lady, with ſome Attendants, who, were ſhe but as good as great, as virtuous as ponderous, and as fair as fat, certainly ſhe would far exceed any three Ladies of *England*, in Worth, Weight, and Beauty.

*June* the Sixth, the Ship *Cardiff* ſet Sail for *England*, as the Harbinger of the reſt of the Fleet which were to follow after.

And, the Ninth following, a general Muſter was taken of the Land Army, whoſe Number was found to be much diminiſhed of late, not ſo much by any peſtilential or violent Diſeaſe, as for mere Want of natural Suſtenance, which, in common Reaſon, may ſeem ſtrange, that, of all Men, Soldiers ſhould ſtarve in a Cook's-ſhop, as the Saying is, or periſh for Want of Food in a Country ſo abounding with Fleſh, Fiſh, and other vital Proviſions; but it is to be hoped, that, for the Future, they may have an Allowance of better and more wholſome Diet than yet they have had, if the Tyranny of their Commanders, or Slothfulneſs of themſelves, or both, prevent not.

There lately arrived at *Jamaica* divers Victuallers with Proviſions for the Fleet, alſo Arms and Ammunition for the Army; but Hoes and Hatchets were fitter for them.

*June* the Twentieth, there came in hither three ſmall Veſſels, Prizes, which were taken by the *Selby* and *Grantham* Frigates, who were ordered to lie plying to and again off the Iſland of *Hiſpaniola*; ſome *Spaniards*, in them taken, reported, that, at the firſt Appearance of the *Engliſh* Fleet before the Town of *Domingo*, the Inhabitants deſerted the Place, and went all into the Woods, where they continued for three Days, leaving their Magazine of Powder behind, which they had once intended to have blown up; but, perceiving that, in that Time, neither the Ships approached the Harbour, which they much dreaded, nor any elſe came to moleſt them, they re-entered the Town; and being much encouraged and ſtrengthened by thoſe of the Country, who daily came in thither, fortified what they might, and, blocking up the Mouth of their Harbour with ſome

Veſſels

Veſſels which they there ſunk, reſolved to uſe their uttermoſt Endeavours to maintain the Place.

*Oriſtano*, *June* 24. There was this Day a Rumour that General *Venables* was departed this Life, which was but a Rumour, not real; but his Excellency hath not been current, ſince his being at *Hiſpaniola*. The grand Buſineſs, that the Army is now upon, is to ſettle each Regiment in the ſeveral Quarters, where they have Parcels of Land, equally proportioned unto them, which being ſubdivided amongſt the Officers, according to their reſpective Places, ſome ſmall Share is like to fall unto the common Soldiers; but what Improvement may be made thereof, or how it will pleaſe Almighty God farther to deal with this Army, let Time and Truth manifeſt; the good Hand of Providence having taken me from amongſt them, that ſo, according to my earneſt Deſires, I might no longer be a Spectator or Recorder of their Actions. I ſhall therefore now conclude, only including a brief Deſcription of the Iſland of *Jamaica*, by comparing it, in divers Reſpects, with *Hiſpaniola*, together with ſome few Paſſages by the Way Homeward.

The Iſland of *Jamaica* is ſituated betwixt the Main and the Iſle of *Cuba*, diſtant from the one 96 Leagues, and from the other 20, the Center whereof lieth directly in the ſame Lat. with the Town of *Sancta Domingo*, in *Hiſpaniola*, already deſcribed, and hath, Longitude Weſt from thence, 2 Deg. 18 Min: Its Magnitude is ſcarcely one Third of the ſaid Iſland, being in Length 46, and Breadth 14 Leagues. Notwithſtanding, for the Quality and Quantity of Land, it is no leſs fruitful, and altogether as plentiful in Fiſh, Fowl, and Cattle of all Sorts; it is more mountainous and leſs woody; Rivers there are divers, but the Spring-heads of ſome ariſing from Copper Mines, the Water is ſomewhat unwholſome, and unſavoury, unleſs corrected by Boiling, which the *Spaniards* uſed. Its chiefeſt Defects and Impediments are theſe: It produceth not any Mines of Gold and Silver, as doth *Hiſpaniola*, and other Parts of the *Indies*. It is alſo ill ſituated for Traffick, lying ſuch a Diſtance to Leeward, that it is a moſt difficult Thing for Veſſels to turn up ſo far to Windward as to get clear of the Iſlands and Rocks, which are therefore neceſſitated to make their Paſſage through the Gulf of *Florida*, which is accounted dangerous, except at ſome Seaſons of the Year.

*June* 25. The Fleet, bound for *England*, ſet Sail from *Jamaica*, Vice-Admiral *Goodſon*, in the *Torrington* Frigate, being left Admiral of that Squadron, ordered to remain in the *Indies*, they conſiſting of all the *Engliſh* Frigates of this Fleet, alſo three of the beſt ſailing *Flemiſh* Ships, which compleated the Number of twelve Sail, beſides Victuallers and Prizes there remaining,

*July* 8. The Fleet gained the Length of Cape St. *Antonio*, being the Weſtermoſt Cape of the Iſle of *Cuba*, and the Thirteenth following, they lying to Windward, having a freſh Gale Eaſterly, came near under the Tropick, and ſhort of the Cape of *Florida*, about thirty Leagues, where there happened another ſad Diſaſter: The *Paragon* Navy, a Ship of the ſecond Rank, and, at that Time Rear-Admiral, took Fire, and conſumed to her Powder-room, and ſo blew up; the Rear-Admiral *Dakins*, and ſome others, with much Danger and Difficulty eſcaped, divers Ships Boats, which were neareſt, coming in to their Aſſiſtance, notwithſtanding there periſhed about one Hundred and forty Men. By what Means this lamentable Accident was firſt occaſioned, is not yet certainly known; but too certain it is, that the chief Neglect was in the Steward's Room, from whence the Fire broke forth, violently increaſing, paſt Remedy, as the People were aſſembled together at Divine Exerciſe in the Forenoon.

*July* 19. Having hitherto had the Weather variouſly inclined, many Calms, and ſome Storms, with Diverſity of Winds, but all of ſhort Continuance, the Fleet now entered the Gulf of *Florida*, and the Twenty-ſecond following, paſſed forth of the ſame, the Extent thereof being, in Length, from the Cape of *Florida*, to the uttermoſt Iſlands North of *Cuba* ſixty-eight Leagues, and in Breadth, from thoſe Iſlands to the Main, twenty Leagues, the Current there ſetting N. N. E. the Swiftneſs or Slackneſs whereof dependeth on the Falling of the Rains, which about the Month of *Auguſt*, are conſtantly very great; many exceeding large *American* Rivers being augmented thereby, the ſpacious Bay of *Mexico* becomes their Receptacle, and ſo disburtheneth its ſwelling Floods, through this narrow Streight, into the *Virgivian* Ocean; it is therefore of ſome called the Gulf of *Mexico*.

*August* 4. The Fleet gained the Length of the *Bermudas*, ſince when, for the Generality, being favoured with fair Winds and ſeaſonable Weather, the Twenty-ſecond of this Inſtant, they had alſo the Length of the Weſtern Iſlands.

*Auguſt* 30. They deſcried the *Engliſh* Shore, near the *Lizard*, and having a ſtrong Gale, S. S. W. the Day following the Fleet anchored at *Spithead*, near *Portſmouth*; three Sail, having been ſeparated from the reſt by obſcure Weather in the Night, before their Entrance into the Gulf, came in hither alſo this Day, ſome few Hours before the other.

And now for ever bleſſed be the Divine Creator, who hath dealt thus mercifully with us, the unworthieſt of his Servants, giving us ſo large Experience of his abundant Goodneſs towards us, and bringing us once more unto the Land of our Nativity. The Lord in Mercy ſo incline the Hearts of this Nation, that thoſe grand Sins of Preſumption and Covetouſneſs may no longer reign amongſt them, leſt, ſeeking after Shadows, they loſe the real Subſtance; or coveting the Good, or Gold of others, they incur the high Diſpleaſure of Almighty God upon themſelves, and ſo become the Scorn and Deriſion of their Enemies, and a By-word to other Nations. *Avertat Deus.*

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*England*'s Mourning Garment; worn here by plain Shepherds, in Memory of their ſacred Miſtreſs, *Eliſabeth*, Queen of Virtue, while ſhe lived, and Theme of Sorrow, being dead. To which is added the true Manner of her Imperial Funeral: After which follows the Shepherds Spring-ſong, for Entertainment of King *James*, our moſt potent Sovereign. Dedicated to all that loved the deceaſed Queen, and honour the living King.

*Non Verbis ſed Virtute.*

*London*, by *V. S.* for *Thomas Millington*, and are to be ſold at his Shop under St. *Peter*'s Church in *Cornhill*. *Quarto*, containing forty-eight Pages.

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*This is the Fifteenth in the Catalogue of the* Harleian *Pamphlets, and contains many peculiar Curioſities: Its chief Object, it is certain, was to perpetuate the deſerved Character of Queen* Eliſabeth, *whom our Author has, without the borrowed Help of Bombaſt, and undeſerved Praiſe, deſcribed to be moſt religious to God; temperate in all Things; juſt, merciful, and charitable to her Subjects; a faithful Ally, and true Friend to her diſtreſſed Neighbours: But, in this Compaſs, he has adorned her juſt and admirable* Encomium, *with the Hiſtory of her Royal Anceſtors, from King* Henry VII. *incluſive; and, amongſt other Things, his Caution to diſcontented, murmuring Subjects is worthy our Obſervation.*

*Theſe,*

*Theſe, with other Particulars, are concluded with a* Funeral Song, *by Way of* Paſtoral; *then follows the Form, or Order of the Proceſſion, made at her Funeral. To which is added, the Shepherd's Spring-ſong in Gratulation of King* James I's *Acceſſion to the Throne of* England.

To all true Lovers of the right gracious Queen *Eliſabeth*, in her Life; being undoubtedly thoſe faithful Subjects that now honour and affect our moſt potent Lord King *James*, after her Death.

*MY Epiſtle to you is like the little Town that the* Cynick *would have perſuaded the Citizens was ready to run out at the great Gates, being ſcarce ſo long as the Title. In a Word, the Negligence of many better able hath made me bold to write a ſmall Epitome, touching the abundant Virtues of* Eliſabeth, *our late ſacred Miſtreſs; treating of her Princely Birth, chaſte Life, Royal Government, and happy Death; being a Lady born, living, reigning, dying, all for* England's *Good. The Manner is handled between Shepherds; the Form of Speech, like the Perſons, rude; Affection exceedeth Eloquence, and I have not ſhewn much Art, but expreſſed the Duty of a loving Heart; ſhed ſome Tears in reading our Shepherds Sorrow; and, in that true Paſſion, let your Love to our Royal Lord* be ſhewn, who hateth Hypocrites, as juſt Men Hell: Farewel all of you, that give the dead Queen a ſad Farewel, and the living King a glad Welcome; the reſt are Time-pleaſers, and I write not to them.*

Fœlicem fuiſſe infauſtum.

THENOT. COLLIN.

*Thenot.*

COLLIN, thou look'ſt as lagging as the Day,
When the Sun, ſetting towards his Weſtern Bed,
Shews, that like him, all Glory muſt decay,
And frolick Life, with murky Clouds o'erſpread,
Shall leave all earthly Beauty 'mongſt the Dead;
Such is the Habit of thy new Array:
Why art thou not prepar'd to welcome *May*,
In whoſe clear Moon thy Younglings ſhall be fed,
With Night's ſweet Dews, and open Flowers of Day?

*Collin.*

I anſwer thee with Woe and Welaway,
I am in Sable clad, ſith ſhe cannot be had
That me and mine did glad;
There's all I'll ſay.

*Thenot.*

Well ſpoken, Swain, let me thy Sorrow ken,
Rich Soul, though wrong'd by idle antick Men,
And driven by Falſhood to a clowdy Den,
Tell me thy Grief.

*Collin.*

O it is paſt Relief; and which is worſt of worſt,
Bayards and Beaſts accurſt, with groſſeſt Flattery nurſt,
Have ſung her ſacred Name, and prais'd her to their Shame,
Who was our laſt and firſt.

*Thenot.*

Dear *Collin*, do not check the humbleſt Song,
The Will is ever Maſter of the Work;
Thoſe, that can ſing, have done all Shepherds Wrong,
Like Lozels in their Cottages to lurk:
The Air's the Air, though it be thick and murk;
If they, to whom true Paſtorals belong,
In needful Lays uſe neither Pipe nor Tongue,
Shall none the Virtuous raiſe?

* King *James* I.

*Collin.*

Yes, thoſe that merit Bays,
Though Tears reſtrain their Lays,
Some weeping Hours or Days
Will find a Time,
To honour Honour ſtill, not with a rural Quill,
But with the Soul of Skill,
To bleſs their Rhime.
Aye me! why ſhould I dote
On Rhimes, on Songs or Note?
Confuſion can beſt quote
Sacred *Eliſa*'s Loſs,
Whoſe Praiſe doth grace all Verſe,
That ſhall the ſame rehearſe;
No Gold need deck her Hearſe;
To her all Gold is Droſs.

With that, *Collin*, in Diſcontent, broke his Pipe, and, in that Paſſion, as if his Heart had been like his Pipe, parted each Piece from the other; he fell without Senſe on the Earth, not then inſenſible of his Sorrow; for it yielded, wept, and groaned at once with his Fall, his Weepings and his Sighs. Poor *Thenot* ſhouted for Help, at whoſe Call came ſome Nymphs full of Sorrow for their Sovereign; and, no whit amazed to ſee him lie as dead, their Hearts were ſo dead, with thinking of that which had aſtoniſhed his: But yet, as Gathering of Companies draws more and more to wonder, ſo procured it among the Shepherds, that left none but their Curs to attend their Flocks, themſelves flocking about *Thenot* and *Collin*, who now recovered from his Trance; and, all aſking the Reaſon of his Grief, with Tears abounding in his Eyes, that likewiſe drew more abundantly from theirs, he diſtractedly anſwered,

*——Illum nec enim reprehendere fas eſt,*
*Qui fleat hanc, cujus fregerunt ſtamina parcæ,*
*Solus honor ſequitur mortales ille miſellos.*

And therewithal, making a Sign for the Shepherds and Nymphs to ſit down, he told them, they had loſt that ſacred Nymph, that careful Shepherdeſs *Eliſa*; but, if it pleaſed them to lend Attention, he would repeat ſomething of her worth Memory, that ſhould live in Deſpite of Death; whereupon a ſtill Silence ſeized them all, ſaving only now and then, by ſighing, they expreſſed their Hearts Sorrow, and *Collin* thus began:

Seeing Honour only followeth Mortals, and the Works of the Virtuous die not with their Deaths; and yet thoſe Works, nevertheleſs, with the Honour and Rites due to the Departed, might be much blemiſhed, if there were no Gratitude in their Succeſſors: Let us, poor Rurals, though no otherways able to erect Statues for our late dread Sovereign worthy all Memory, amongſt ourſelves repeat Part of her excellent Graces, and our Benefit obtained by her Government; for, to reckon all, were *Opus infinitum*, a Labour without End.

She was the undoubted Iſſue of two Royal Princes, *Henry* of *Lancaſter*, and *Eliſabeth* of *York*; in whoſe Union the Quiet of us poor Swains began; for, until that bleſſed Marriage, *England* was a Shambles of ſlaughtered Men, ſo violent was the Blood of Ambition, ſo potent the Factions, and ſo implacable their Heads; whoſe Eyes were never cleared till they were waſhed in Blood, even in the dear Blood of their Objects Hearts. This King, Grandfather to our late Queen, was the firſt *Britiſh* King, that, many a hundred Years before, wore the Imperial Diadem of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*; in him began the Name of *Tewther* * deſcended from the ancient *Britiſh* Kings to flouriſh; the Iſſue Male of Royal *Plantagenet* ending in his Beginning; his Wife, Grandmother to our late *Eliſabeth*, being the laſt *Plantagenet*, whoſe Temples were here circled with a Sphere of Gold: Which King and Queen lived and loved, and now lie entombed in that moſt famous Chapel, built at his Kingly Charge, in the Abbey of *Weſtminſter*. King *Henry*, dying in a good Age, left *England*, rich, beautiful, and full of Peace, and ſo bleſſed with his Iſſue, after royally matched to *Scotland* and *France*, beſides his undoubted Heir, King *Henry* of famous Memory, the VIIIth, that no Kingdom in the Earth more flouriſhed.

His Son, † the Father of our *Eliſabeth*, was to his Enemies dreadful, to his Friends gracious, under whoſe Enſign the Emperor himſelf ſerved ‡, ſo potent a Prince he was; beſides, ſo liberal and bounteous, that he ſeemed, like the Sun in his Meridian, to ſhower down Gold round about the Horizon; but he died too, and

* Or *Teudor*. † King *Henry* VIII. ‡ In *France*.

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left us three princely Hopes *; all which have severally succeeded each other, royally maintaining the Right of *England*, and resisted all foreign Wrong.

For King *Edward*, our late Sovereign's Brother, though he died young in Years, left Instance he was no Infant in Virtues; his Learning, Towardness, and Zeal were thought fitter for the Society of Angels than Men, with whom no Doubt his Spirit lives eternally.

Such Assurance have we of the Happiness of that royal, gracious, and worthy Lady *Mary*, his eldest Sister, who in her Death expressed the Care of her Kingdoms, so much lamenting one Town's Loss, that she told her Attendant-ladies, if they would rip her Heart, when she was dead, they should find *Calais* written in it. O *Thenot*, with all you other Nymphs and Swains, learn, by this worthy Queen, the Care of Sovereigns, how heart-sick they are for their Subjects Loss; and think what Felicity we poor Worms live in, that have such royal Patrons, who cark for our Peace, that we may quietly eat the Bread of our own Labour, tend our Flocks in Safety, asking of us nothing but Fear and Duty, which Humanity, allows, and Heaven commands.

With this *Thenot* interrupted *Collin*, telling him, there were a Number of true Shepherds misliked that Prince's Life, and joyed greatly at her Death; withal beginning to shew some Reasons, but *Collin* quickly interrupted him in these Words:

*Peace*, Thenot, *Peace*, *Princes are sacred Things,*
*It fits not Swains to think amiss of Kings.*

For, saith he, the Faults of Rulers, if any be faulty, are to be reprehended by them that can amend them; and, seeing none is superior to a King but God, to him alone refer their Actions. And, whereas thou termest them true Shepherds that so envied that Lady's Government, thou art deceived; they are still, as they then were, proud, Fanatick-spirited Counterfeits, expert in nothing but Ignorance, such as hate all Rule; for who resisteth Correction more than Fools, though they deserve it most? Believe me, *Thenot*, and all you well-affected Swains, there is no greater Mark for a true Shepherd to be known by than Humility, which, God knows, those Mad-men most want; too much Experience have we of their Thread-bare Pride, who bite the Dead as living Curs may Lions: Not contented with their Scandals of that royal Lady, our late Sovereign's Sister, but they have troubled the clear Springs of our Mistress *Elisabeth*'s blessed Government; nay, myself have seen and heard with glowing Ears some of them, even in the Fields of *Calydon* ‡, when his Excellency, that is now our Imperial Shepherd, was only Lord of their Folds, speak of his Majesty more audaciously and malapertly, than any of us would do of the meanest Officer; for, as I said even now, if Rulers chance to slip, it is most insufferable that every impudent Railer should, with the Breath of his Mouth, stir up the chaffy Multitude, whose Ears itch for Novelties, whose Minds are as their Numbers divers; not able to judge themselves, much less their Sovereigns: But they ought, if they be true Pastors, to follow the great *Pan*, the Father of all good Shepherds Christ, who teacheth every of his Swains to tell his Brother privately of his Fault, and again and again; by that glorious Number, Three, including Numbers numberless, before it be told the Church. If then they must, being true Shepherds, deal so with their Brethren, how much more ought their Followers do to their Sovereigns, being Kings and Queens? And not, in the Place where Sacred and Moral Manners should be taught, contrarily to teach the Rude to be more unmannerly, instructing every Puny to compare with the most reverend Prelate; and, by that Example, to have every Cobler account himself a King.

Oh, said *Thenot*, *Collin*, there are some would ill think of you, should they hear you thus talk, for they reprove all out of Zeal, and must spare none.

Peace to thy Thoughts, *Thenot*, answered *Collin*, I know thou knowest there is a Zeal, that is not with Knowledge acquainted; but let them and their mad Zeal pass, let us forget their Railings against Princes, and begin with her Beginning, after her Royal Sister's Ending, who departing from this earthly Kingdom the Seventeenth of *November*, in the Year of our Lord 1558, immediately thereupon *Elisabeth*, the Hand-maid to the Lord of Heaven, and Empress of all Maids, Mothers, Youths, and

* King *Edward* VI. Queen *Mary* I. and Queen *Elisabeth*. ‡ i. e. *Scotland*.

Men then living in this *Engliſh* Earth, was proclaimed Queen with general Applauſe, being much pitied, for that buſy Slander and reſpectleſs Envy had, not long before, brought her into the Diſfavour of her Royal Siſter *Mary*, whom we laſt remembered: In the Continuance of whoſe Diſpleaſure, ſtill made greater by ſome great Enemies, how ſhe eſcaped, needs no Repeating, being ſo well known. Preſerved ſhe was from the Violence of Death, her Blood was precious in the Sight of God, as is the Blood of all his Saints; it was too dear to be poured out like Water on the greedy Earth; ſhe lived, and we have lived under her, forty and odd Years, ſo wonderfully bleſſed, that all Nations have wondered at their own Afflictions and our Proſperity; and ſhe died, as ſhe lived with us, ſtill careful of our Peace, finiſhing, even then, the greateſt Wonder of all, our Deſerts conſidered, by appointing the Kingdom to ſo juſt and lawful a Ruler to ſucceed her, whom all true *Engliſh* knew for their undoubted Lord, immediately after her Death. But, leſt we end e're we begin, I will return to her, who, being ſeated in the Throne of Majeſty, adorned with all the Virtues, Divine and Moral, appeared to us like a goodly Palace, where the Graces kept their ſeveral Manſions.

*Firſt*, *Faith* abundantly ſhone in her, then young, and loſt not her Brightneſs in her Age; for ſhe believed in her Redeemer, her Truſt was in the King of Kings, who preſerved her, as the Apple of his Eye, from all treacherous Attempts, as many being made againſt her Life, as againſt any Princeſs that ever lived; yet ſhe was ſtill confident in her Saviour, whoſe Name ſhe glorified in all her Actions, confeſſing her Victories, Preſervings, Dignities, to be all his, as appeared by many luculent Examples; this one ſerving for the reſt, that, after the Diſſipation of the *Spaniſh Armatho* *, accounted *Invincible*, ſhe came in Perſon to *Paul*'s-croſs, and there, among the Meaneſt of her People, confeſſed, *Non nobis*, *Domine*, *non nobis*; *ſed nomini tuo Gloria* †. And as ſhe was ever conſtant in cheriſhing that Faith, wherein ſhe was from her Infancy nouriſhed; ſo was ſhe faithful of her Word with her People, and with foreign Nations. And albeit I know ſome, too humourouſly affected to the *Roman* ‡ Government, make a Queſtion in this Place, Whether her Highneſs firſt broke not the Truce with the King of *Spain*? To that I could anſwer, were it pertinent to me in this Place, or for a poor Shepherd to talk of State, with unreprovable Truths, that her Highneſs ſuffered many Wrongs before ſhe left off the League.

O, ſaith *Thenot*, in ſome of theſe Wrongs reſolve us, and think it no unfitting Thing, for thou, that haſt heard the Songs of that warlike Poet *Phileſides*, good *Melœbee*, and ſmooth-tongued *Melicert*, tell us what thou haſt obſerved in their Sawes, ſeen in thy own Experience, and heard of undoubted Truths touching thoſe Accidents, for that they add, I doubt not, to the Glory of our *Eliſa*.

To this Intreaty *Collin* condeſcended, and thus ſpake: It is not unknown, the *Spaniards*, a mighty Nation, abounding with Treaſure, being War's Sinews, torn from the Bowels of Mines, fetched from the Sands of *Indian* Rivers, by the miſerable captived Natives, have purpoſed to be Lords of *Europe*. *France* they have attempted, and failed in; *Navarre* they have greatly diſtreſſed; *Lombardy*, the Garden of the World, they are poſſeſſed of; *Naples* and *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Corſica*, are forced to obey their Laws; and, that they reckoned *England* ſhould be theirs, with ſuch ſmall Eaſe, even, in a Manner, with Threatening, their Songs taught little Infants, from *Andaluſia* to *Galicia*, bear Witneſs. The Dice were caſt, her Majeſty's Subjects craftily put into the Inquiſition upon every ſmall Colour; if they eſcaped, which ſeldom ſorted out ſo well, alive, could of their Goods have no Reſtitution. Their King gave Penſions to our Queen's rebellious fugitive Subjects, and not only to ſuch, that, in Regard of their Religion, fled the Land, but unto ſuch as had attempted to reſiſt her in active Rebellion; and yet, not ſtaying there, out of his Treaſury propoſed Rewards for ſundry to attempt the Murder of her ſacred Perſon; of which perfidious Guilt ſhe never was tainted; let any *Spaniard*, or *Spaniſh* affected *Engliſh*, prove where ſhe ever hired, abetted, or procured any ſuch againſt

* al. *Armada*.

† Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us; but to thy Name be Glory, &c.

‡ i. e. *Romiſh* or *Popiſh*.

their King's Majeſty, and I will yield to be eſteemed as falſe as Falſehood itſelf; nay, they cannot deny, but that, even with the Rebels of her Realm of *Ireland*, ſtirred up to barbarous and inhuman Outrages by the *Spaniſh* Policy, ſhe hath no Way dealt but by fair and laudable War.

But before I enter into her Majeſty's Lenity, in that *Iriſh* War, againſt ſundry known Rebels, and Puniſhing ſome of her Subjects, that, upon a Zeal to her, or, perchance, to get themſelves a Glory, adventured their own Lives, by Treachery, to cut off the Lives of ſome great Leaders of the Rebels: I will a little digreſs, leſt I ſhould be thought, after her Death, to maintain the Fire of Hate, which I ever, in Heart, deſired might honourably be quenched between theſe potent Kingdoms of *England* and *Spain*.

I wiſh all that read this, to bury old Wrongs, and to pray that it would pleaſe God of his inеſtimable Mercy to root out all Malice from Chriſtian Nations; and as our Royal Sovereign, now reigning, hath conſerved League and Peace with all Princes, ſo, for the Weal of *Chriſtendom*, it may more and more increaſe, that the open Enemies of Chriſt may the better be repelled from thoſe wealthy Kingdoms in the *Eaſt*, where they have, many hundred Years, moſt barbarouſly tyranniſed; for no Man doubts, but the Blood ſhed within theſe thirty Years, as well of *Engliſh*, as *Scotiſh*, *Spaniſh*, *Dutch*, and *Portugueſe*, in the Quarrel of Religion, might, if God had ſo been pleaſed, been able to have driven the Heathen * Monarch from his neareſt Hold in *Hungaria*, to the Fall of *Danubia* in the *Euxine* Sea, eſpecially with the Aſſiſtance of the *French*, that have cruelly fallen either upon others Swords.

But I truſt God hath ſuffered this Offence to add more Glory to our mighty King, that he ſhould be the moſt famous of all his Predeceſſors, as, indeed, he is the moſt mighty, and hath been raiſed to this Realm, as a Saviour, to deliver *England*, and make it more abundant in Bleſſings, when many looked it ſhould have had all her Glory ſwallowed up of Spoil.

The Highneſs of his Imperial Place, Greatneſs of his Blood, Mightineſs of his Alliance, but moſt, his Conſtancy in the true Profeſſion of Religion, even amidſt my Sorrows, *Thenot*, fill me with Joys: When I conſider how a Number, that gaped for our Deſtruction, have their Mouths ſhut cloſe, yet empty, where they thought to eat the Sweets of our painful Sweat; but God be praiſed, as I ſaid before, her Highneſs, that ruled us many Years in Peace, left us, in her Death, more ſecure, by committing us to our lawful Prince, matched to a Royal fruitful Lady, that hath borne him ſuch hopeful Iſſue, that the Days we lately feared, I truſt, are as far off, as this Inſtant is from the End of all earthly Times; who ſhall not only, with their Royal Father, maintain theſe his Kingdoms in happy Peace, but ſubject more under him, and ſpread the Banners of Chriſt in the Face of Miſbelievers.

In this Hope I here break off, and return to our late Sovereign's Care of keeping Faith, even toward her rebel Subjects, which I will manifeſt in ſome two or three Examples of the *Iriſh*.

When the Rebel *O Neale*, in the Time of that memorable Gentleman, Sir *Henry Sidney*, his Deputy-ſhip of *Ireland*, was mightily ſtrengthened in his Country, and ſo potent, that the Deputy had many dangerous and unadvantageable Skirmiſhes againſt him: A Servant of her Majeſty's, one *Smith*, thinking to do a worthy Piece of Service, by poiſoning *O Neale*, prepared a little Bottle, parted in the Midſt; one Side containing good Wine, the other with tempered Poiſon of the ſame Colour; and that he carries to *O Neale*, under Colour of Gratification, for that his Army lay far from the Sea, or Merchantable Towns, and he thought Wine was unto him very dainty, which *O Neale* accepted kindly; for that the ſaid *Smith* was born in *O Neale*'s Country, and ſuch the *Iriſh* do eſpecially, and before others, truſt, to bring Meſſages even from their greateſt Enemies, under whom they ſerve.

But, the Deceit being quickly eſpied, *Smith* was, by *O Neale*, ſent bound to the Deputy, to whoſe Plot he would fain have imputed the ſame Practice; but, contrarily, the Deputy publickly puniſhed the ſaid *Smith*, and her Majeſty refuſed him for her Servant, ſaying, ſhe would keep none near her that would deal treacherouſly, no though it were againſt Traitors.

* *Turkiſh*.

The

The like Example was ſhewn on another, that would have attempted the Poiſoning of *Rory Og*, a bloody and dangerous Rebel.

To which may be added, that her Highneſs, among other Treſpaſſes objected by her Attorney againſt a convicted Deputy, was, that he went about by Poiſon to have took away the Life of *Feff Mac Hue*, a Rebel more immane and barbarous than any of the other two; the Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, yet living, opening at the ſame Time, how juſt a Spirit her Majeſty was poſſeſſed with, that ſhe hated Treaſon, even to Traitors; much more then to anointed Kings, whoſe Honours and Reputations ſhe ſo maintained, that ſhe not long ſince puniſhed, by Fine and Impriſonment, a wealthy Railer, for unreverent Words ſpoken againſt the Perſon of King *Philip*, her open and profeſſed Enemy; ſo faithful, ſo juſt, ſo gracious was ſhe.

And to make it more plain, that *Spain* intended *England* the firſt Wrong, ſo long Time before it was muttered; but after that memorable Battle of *Lepanto*, wherein Don *John* of *Auſtria* obtained the triumphant Chriſtian Victory againſt the *Turks*; to reward him, *England* was the Kingdom ſet down, being then in her Majeſty's Poſſeſſion; but he had it, when they could give him it that promiſed the ſame, which was at latter *Lammas*. And I truſt his Niece ſhall have as good Succeſs with her pretended Title; for, if God ſtrengthened her Majeſty ſo, that, againſt her being a Woman, they could not prevail, we truſt his Almightineſs will be as careful of our King, being already Lord of three ſuch People as have ſeldom been equalled in Battle, except they have unnaturally contended among themſelves; the Sight of which Day, dear Shepherds, let us pray never again to ſee. Beſides, to expreſs her farther Intent, to preſerve Faith and League, notwithſtanding infinite open Wrongs, and certain Knowledge, that a Navy for Invaſion of this Realm had been preparing more than fifteen Years; yet did ſhe bear, until, againſt all Law of Nations, the Ambaſſador-Lieger of *Spain*, honoured with many Favours, did, notwithſtanding, plot and confederate with native Traytors of this Land; and, the Matter being apparently proved, he was, by her mild Sufferance, admitted to depart the Realm, without any Violence, to his perpetual Reproach, and her never dying Glory. Well, I will here conclude; touching this Virtue of Faith, both towards God and Man, ſhe was as firm in the one as Mortality could be, and in the other approved glorious among all the Princes of her Time.

For *Hope*, the ſecond Divine Virtue, ſhe rather therein abounded, than was any Way wanting; for her Hope was no Way wandering, ſhe believed, and it came to paſs; her Enemies ariſe, but, before their Ariſing, ſhe was certain to ſee them fall; ſhe having, by Example of Things paſt, nothing doubted of Things to come: And ſhe was not deceived till the Hour of her Death, for ever her Expectation was fulfilled; ſhe kept Peace within, chacing the Spoiler without; and, even as it is ſung of *Epaminondas*, that valiant *Theban* Captain, in his laſt victorious Battle, wherein yet Death of him got Victory, he thus gloried, Herein am I comforted, that I die a Conqueror. For, even when Death laid his laſt Siege to her yet unvanquiſhed Life, *Tyrone*, the long Diſturber of her State, beſought Mercy at her Feet. O Nymphs and Shepherds, doubt not ſhe was full of Divine Hope, whoſe Heart obtained ever the Thing it faithfully deſired, and that her Deſires were all of Faith: I could add infinite Examples to theſe already alledged, but that it is needleſs to caſt Water in the Sea, or to make a Queſtion of that all Men know, and will confeſs, except ſome whoſe Hearts are Strangers from Truth, and the profeſſed Receptacles of Falſehood.

Her *Charity*, the third and principal Divine Grace to the Eyes of Mortals (for that Faith and Hope bend principally their Service to Heaven, and Charity's Effects are manifeſted on Earth) hath been extended over all her Realms, and ſtretched to the Comfort of her oppreſſed Neighbours. The Multitudes of Poor daily relieved from her Purſe, the Numbers of ſick Perſons yearly viſited, and, by her own Hand, their corrupt Sores touched, the Waſhing of poor Women's Feet, and Relieving their Wants, was a Sign ſhe was humble as well as charitable; for Humility is Charity's Sifter, they are two Twins born at one Time, and, as they are born together in any Soul whatever, ſo do they live and die together; the humble Spirit being ever charitable, and the charitable ever humble; for it is as impoſſible to have a proud Man charitable, as to reconcile Fire and Water, or to make Accord between any Contraries. As ſhe was, in theſe Particulars, exceeding all Ladies of her Time, given

given to this helpful Virtue, so had she general Impositions through all her Kingdom, for her well able Subjects to follow her Example; and so much did her Example prevail, that, besides the ordinary and weekly Alms distributed through the Realm, there have been more particular Alms-houses built for the Relief of the Aged, than in any six Princes Reigns before. And as all Parts of *England* have, in this Imitation, been very forward, so hath the City of *London* exceeded all; wherein divers private Men have built sundry Houses for the Poor, and allowed them Pensions; but the Corporations have been most bountiful, as most able; and, among all, the right Worshipful the Merchant-taylors have exceeded the rest, all having done well, that have done any Thing, but they best of any other, as I will one Day, in a Song of liberal Shepherds, thankfully express; though, for myself, I know him not in the least Gift to whom I am, in that Sort, bound; but I ken not, *Thenot*, how I may, for there is none living but may lack. As the City, so many Knights, Gentlemen, honourable and devout Persons, have followed her Example; above the rest, an honourable, careful, reverend, and learned Watchman, as full of Mildness and Piety, as he is of Years, and Griefs for his good and royal Mistress's Loss, within few Miles of this City, hath built a worthy Receptacle * to the like charitable End.

As for the Poor and Decrepid with Age her Royal Majesty had this charitable Care, so for Soldiers and Suitors she was very provident: The last being oppressed, in any Part of her Realms, by Men of much Wealth and little Conscience, she allowed them Council and Proceedings, *in forma pauperis*, and Maintenance Weekly, in the Terms, for some Part of their Succour. For Soldiers and Men of Service, her Decrees of Provision are extant: Besides, it is most clear, no Prince in the World, to Land or Seamen, was more bountiful, or willing, than her Highness; out of her Coffers it went: But there is an old Proverb, *Thenot*, 'Carriage is dear;' and I have heard, but I will stand to nothing, base Ministers and Under-officers curtail the Liberalities of great and potent Masters. Some have, in her Time, been taken with the Manner, and, besides bodily Punishment and Fines, displaced: As I well remember, and cannot omit, amidst my Grief, to tell, though somewhat from this Subject it dissent, being of a Fellow too mean; how her Highness, in one of her Progresses, walking in the Garden of a House where she was received, being somewhat near the High-way, heard on a sudden a Market-woman cry, and, from an Arbour, beheld one of her own Servants, a Taker-up † of Provision, use the Woman uncivilly; whereupon, the Cause being examined, and the poor Woman found by the same Fellow to be wronged, as well before as then, her Highness caused him presently to be discharged of her Service, and punished: Yet, the Fault being but sleight, the Taker was countenanced to make Suit to be restored, and, some half Year after, fell down before her Majesty, desiring Mercy and Restoring: Her Highness, pitying his Distress, commanded him to be provided for in some Place, where he could not wrong her poor Subjects; but, in any Case, not to make him a Taker. Many such false ones she hath punished with Death. I could in this, as all the rest, reckon Multitudes of Examples; but I will knit all up with her Excellence in this Act of Charity extended to her Neighbours ‡, whom she hath, by her Bounty, delivered from the Tyranny of Oppression; and aided the Right of others ‖ against rebellious Subjects; others § assisted to recover their Kingdoms, not sparing Millions to sustain the Quarrel of the Righteous: The Reward of which Mercy and Charity she now finds, receiving infinite Glories for her abounding Charity, being done for his Cause that leaveth no Deed of Mercy unrecompensed.

As she was richly stored with Divine Graces, so, in Moral Virtues, no Princess, ever living in the Earth, can be remembered to exceed her. Her Wisdom was, without Question, in her Life, by any unequalled; she was sententious, yet gracious in Speech; so expert in Languages, that she answered most Ambassadors in their native Tongues; her Capacity was therewith so very apprehensive, and Invention so quick, that, if any of them had gone beyond their Bounds, with Majesty undaunted, she would have limited them within the Verge of their Duties; as she did royally, wisely,

* Called Queen *Elisabeth*'s College at *Greenwich*. † Purveyor. ‡ The *Dutch*.
‖ The King of *France*. § The King of *Navarre*.

and

and learnedly the laſt ſtrutting *Poland* Meſſenger, that thought, with ſtalking Looks and ſwelling Words, to daunt her undaunted Excellence: But, as he came proud, he returned not without Repentance, having no other Wrong here, but the Sin of his own Saucineſs.

Many ſuch Examples I could ſet down, but I will ſatisfy you with one more: When the *Spaniards*, having their *Armatho** ready, temporiſed with her Highneſs's Commiſſioners in the *Low-Countries*, thinking to find her Highneſs unprovided; at laſt, when they accounted all ſure, they ſent her their King's Choice, either of Peace or War, wittily included in four *Latin* Verſes; portending, That, if ſhe would ceaſe to defend the *Low-Countries*; reſtore the Goods taken by Repriſal from the *Spaniards*; build up the Religious Houſes diverted in her Father's Time, and let the *Roman* † Religion be received through her Land, why then ſhe might have Peace; if not, it was too late to expect any. Which proud commanding Ambaſſy, with royal Magnanimity, gracious Wiſdom, and fluent Wit, ſhe anſwered inſtantly in one known proverbial Line ‡, which ſhe ſuddenly made into a Verſe:

*Ad Græcas hæc fiant mandata Calendas.*

O *Thenot*, did not Aſſurance of our Kingly Poets Love to the Muſes ſomewhat comfort me, I ſhould utterly deſpair ever to hear Paſtorical Song again filled with any Conceit; ſeeing her Excellence, whoſe Brain, being the *Helicon* of all our beſt and quaint Inventions, is dried up by the inevitable Heat of Death.

Her *Juſtice* was ſuch, as never any could truly complain of her; neither did ſhe pardon Faults unpardonable, as, Murder, Rape, Sodomy, that Sin almoſt not to be named; neither was there in her Time, with her Knowledge, Extremity of Juſtice ſhewn to other Malefactors: If any ſuch did fall, it was either by Falſhood or Malice of the Evidence, or ſome other Secret, wherewith poor Shepherds are unacquainted; only this we are taught, That God ſometimes puniſheth the Sins of Parents on their Children, to many Generations.

But, for herſelf, ſhe was always ſo inclined to Equity, that, if ſhe left Juſtice in any Part, it was in ſhewing Pity, as in one general Puniſhment for Murder it appeared; whereas, beforetime, there was extraordinary Torture, as, Hanging wilful Murderers alive in Chains; ſhe, having Compaſſion, like a true Shepherdeſs of their Souls, though they were of her erring and utterly infected Flock, ſaid, Their Death ſatisfied for Death, and Life for Life was all could be demanded; and affirming more, That much Torture diſtracted a dying Man. In Particular, ſhe ſaved many; among ſome unworthy of her Mercy, that proud Fellow, who unjuſtly named himſelf *Doctor Parry*; and another, as I remember, called *Patrick*, an *Iriſhman*. The Firſt, having offended in Burglary, againſt a Lawyer able and willing to take away his Life, thereto urged by many Miſdemeanours; and, for that *Parry* doubted his Attempt to kill, and Act of Felony, was without Compaſs of Pardon, conſidering the Place where it was done, and againſt whom, he thought a Leaſe of Life ſafeſt, which, of her benign Mercy, he obtained, for twenty-one Years; but, e're three of them were paſt, he did unnaturally attempt her Death, that had given him Life; for which traiterous Ingratitude he worthily was cut off. The *Iriſhman* likewiſe, being pardoned for a Manſlaughter, proved as unthankful, and ended, as he lived, ſhamefully. Beſides, ſhe was ſo inclinable to Mercy, that her juſt and ſevere Judges told her, how ſome deſperate Malefactors, building on Friends and Hopes of Pardon, cared not for Offending, but even ſcoffed at Authority; whereof when ſhe heard, ſhe took ſpecial Care, conſidering it was as great Injuſtice to pity ſome, as ſpare others; taking Order to ſign no Pardon, except the Judge's Hand were at it firſt, who truly knew the Cauſe why the Party was condemned; by which Means, Murderers and preſumptuous Offenders were cut off from all Hope.

One notable Example of her Juſtice, among many, I will here remember: Certain, condemned for Piracy, having made ſome End with them they wronged, lay for their Lives at her Mercy; and, the Judge of her Admiralty having ſignified favourably of the Quality of their Offence, ſhe was moved to pity them, and had commanded their Pardon to be drawn.

* Al. *Armada*. † *Popiſh*. ‡ Theſe Commands ſhall be obeyed at latter *Lammas*.

drawn. In the mean Time, two of them, trained up in the Faſhion of our common Cutters, that, I may tell thee, *Thenot*, ſwarm rather like Devils, than Men, about the Country; that ſwear, as if they had Licenſe to blaſpheme, and ſtab Men, as if they had Authority; nay, ſometimes themſelves, for very Trifles: Two ſuch, I ſay, were in the Company of theſe condemned Pirates, hourly hoping for their Lives, and braving either other of their Manhood, ſaying, One durſt more than the other. The Eldeſt, being Maſter of their late Ship, wherein they had ſailed to that Place of Sorrow, ſlices his own Fleſh with a Knife, aſking the other, If he durſt do as much? The Younker was very ready, and two or three Times followed the old Fool, in that deſperate Wounding of himſelf. This brutiſh Act, being committed in the Priſon belonging to her Majeſty's own Houſe, came quickly to her royal Ear, and, ſome few Days after, their Pardon to be ſigned; who graciouſly gave Life to all the reſt, but commanded them, by expreſs Name, to Execution, ſaying, They were unworthy Mercy, that had none of themſelves; adding, It was very likely, that ſuch, as in Priſon, and in their State, would be ſo cruel to ſhed their own Blood, would have ſmall Compaſſion of others, whom they overcame at Sea: And ſo, leaving them to the Law, they were worthily executed.

Of her *Mercy* nothing can be ſaid more, but that it equalled, or rather, as I ſaid before, exceeded her Juſtice; among infinite Numbers, whom ſhe pardoned, that * one, eſpecially, being a clear Witneſs, who ſhot the Gun off againſt *Greenwich*, even into her Majeſty's Barge, and hurt the next Man to her, at broad Day-light; almoſt impoſſible to be excuſed by Negligence or Ignorance; for that any Man, having his Piece charged, would rather, upon Retiring Home, have diſcharged it among the Reeds, than toward the Breadth of the River, whoſe ſilver Breaſt continually bore up a Number of Veſſels, wherein Men paſſed, on ſundry Affairs. However wilful, or unwilful, the Act was, done it was, and, by a Jury, he was found Guilty, and adjudged to die. Towards Execution he was led, with ſuch Clamour and Injuries of the Multitude, as ſeldom any the like hath been ſeen, or heard; ſo heinous and odious his Offence appeared unto them, that, being upon the Ladder, ready to be caſt off, the common People had no Pity of him; when, even juſt in that Moment of Deſpair and Death, her Majeſty ſent a gracious Pardon, which delivered him, to all Men's Wonder. I want but the *Arcadian* Shepherd's enchanting Phraſe of Speaking, that was many Times Witneſs to her juſt Mercies and merciful Juſtice; yet, rude as I am, I have preſumed to handle this excellent Theme, in Regard the Funeral haſtens on, of that ſometime moſt Serene Lady; and yet I ſee none, or, at leaſt, not paſt one or two, that have ſung any Thing, ſince her Departure, worth the Hearing; and, of them, they that are beſt able ſcarce remember her Majeſty. I cannot now forget the excellent and cunning *Collin*, indeed (for, alas! I confeſs myſelf too too rude) complaining, that a liberal *Mecænas* long ſince, dying, was immediately forgotten, even by thoſe that, living, moſt laboured to advance his Fame; and theſe, as I think, cloſe Part of his Songs:

Being dead, no Poet ſeeks him to revive,
Though many Poets flatter'd him alive.

Somewhat like him, or at leaſt to that Purpoſe, of a Perſon more excellent, though in ruder Verſe I ſpeak:

Death now hath ſeiz'd her in his icy Arms,
That ſometime was the Sun of our Delight:
And, pitileſs of any after Harms,
Hath veil'd her Glory in the Cloud of Night.
Nor doth one Poet ſeek her Name to raiſe,
That living, hourly, ſtriv'd to ſing her Praiſe.
He that ſo well could ſing the fatal Strife
Between the Royal Roſes, white and red,
That prais'd ſo oft *Eliſa* in her Life,
His Muſe ſeems now to die, as ſhe is dead:
Thou ſweeteſt Song-man of all *Engliſh* Swains,
Awake for Shame, Honour enſues thy Pains.
But thou alone deſerv'dſt not to be blam'd
He that ſung forty Years her Life and Birth,
And is by *Engliſh Albions* ſo much fam'd,
For ſweet mixt Lays of Majeſty and Mirth,
Doth of her Loſs take now but little Keep;
Or elſe I gueſs he cannot ſing, but weep.

* Named *Appletree*.

Neither doth *Coryn*, full of Worth and Wit,
That finiſh'd dead *Muſæus'* gracious Song,
With Grace as great, and Words, and Verſe as fit,
Chide meagre Death for doing Virtue Wrong:
He doth not ſeek with Songs to deck her Hearſe,
Nor make her Name live in his lively Verſe.
Nor does our *Engliſh Horace*, whoſe ſteel Pen
Can draw Characters which will never die,
Tell her bright Glories unto liſt'ning Men,
Of her he ſeems to have no Memory.
His Muſe another Path deſires to tread,
True Satyrs ſcourge the Living, leave the Dead.
Nor doth the Silver-tongued *Melicert*
Drop from his honied Muſe one ſable Tear,
To mourn her Death that graced his Deſert,
And to his Lays open'd her Royal Ear.
Shepherd, remember our *Eliſabeth*,
And ſing her Rape, done by that *Tarquin*, Death.
No leſs do thou, ſweet Singer *Corydon*,
The Theme exceedeth *Edward*'s *Iſabel*;
Forget her not in *Poly-Albion*,
Make ſome Amends, I know thou lov'dſt her well.
Think 'twas a Fault to have thy Verſes ſeen,
Praiſing the King, e're they had mourn'd the Queen.
And thou delicious ſportive *Muſidore*,
Although thou haſt reſign'd thy Wreath of Bay,
With Cypreſs bind thy Temples, and deplore
*Eliſa*'s Winter in a mournful Lay:
I know thou can'ſt, and none can better ſing
Hearſe Songs for her, and *Pæans* to our King.
Quick *Antihorace*, though I place thee here,
Together with young *Mœlibee* thy Friend:
And *Heroes* laſt *Muſæus*, all three decree,
All ſuch whoſe Virtues highly I commend.
Prove not ingrate to her that many a Time
Hath ſtoop'd her Majeſty, to grace your Rhyme.
And thou that ſcarce haſt fledg'd thy infant Muſe
(I uſe thine own Word) and commend thee beſt,
In thy proclaiming *James*; the reſt miſuſe
The Name of Poetry, with Lines unbleſs'd.
Holding the Muſes to be maſculine,
I quote no ſuch Abſurdity in thine.
Thee do I thank for Will, thy Work let paſs,
But wiſh ſome of the former had firſt writ,
That from their Poems, like reflecting Glaſs,
Steel'd with the Purity of Art and Wit,
*Eliſa* might have liv'd in every Eye,
Always beheld till Time and Poems die.
But ceaſe you Goblins, and you under Elves;
That with rude Rhymes and Meetres reaſonleſs,
Fit to be ſung for ſuch as your baſe ſelves,
Preſume to name the Muſes Patroneſs.
Keep your low Spheres, ſhe hath an Angel Spirit,
The learned'ſt Swain can hardly ſing her Merit.
Only her Brother King, the Muſes truſt
(Blood of her Grandfire's Blood, plac'd in her Throne)
Can raiſe her Glory from the Bed of Duſt,
To praiſe her Worth belongs to Kings alone.
In him ſhall we behold her Majeſty,
In him her Virtue lives and cannot die.

At this *Thenot* and the reſt deſired him to proceed in his Diſcourſe of her Virtues; remembering where he left, at Juſtice; and, though the Matter pleaſed them ſo well, that they could endure the Hearing many Days, yet, ſeeing the Sun began to dye the Weſt Sea with Vermilion Tincture, the Palace of the Morning being hidden in ſable Clouds, and that the Care of their Flocks muſt be reſpected, requeſted him to be as brief, as the Time limited him.

To which *Collin* anſwered: *Thenot*, I perceive thou art as all or the moſt Part of the World is, careful only of thine own; and, however Friends fall, yet Profit muſt be reſpected. Well thou doſt well; and in this I doubly praiſe thee; to cark for Sheep and Lambs, that cannot tend themſelves, and not to mourn as without Hope our great Shepherdeſs; who, after long Life and Glory on Earth, hath obtained a longer and more glorious Life in Heaven. But to proceed: As ſhe was conſtant in Faith, ſtedfaſt in Hope, chearful in Giving, prudent in Speaking, juſt in Puniſhing, but moſt merciful in Pardoning; ſo, for the third Moral Virtue, Temperance, there was, in no Age before, a Woman ſo exalted to earthly Honour ever read of; that ſo long, ſo graciouſly, in outward and domeſtick Affairs, governed her Kingdom, Family, and Perſon, with like Moderation.

*Firſt*,

*Firſt*, for her Kingdom, what can be deviſed more near the Mean, than ſhe hath in all Things followed? For in Religion, as in other Things, there hath been an extreme Erring from the Truth, which, like all Virtues, being indeed the Head of all, keepeth Place in the Midſt; ſo hath ſhe eſtabliſhed the *true Catholick* and *Apoſtolical Religion* in this Land, neither mingled with Multitudes of idle Superſtitions; nor yet wanting true Honour and Reverence for the Miniſtry, in laudable and long received Ceremonies.

But here I ſhall be carped at, in that I call the Religion profeſſed in her Time, *true Catholick* and *Apoſtolical*; conſidering the See of *Rome*, and ſuch *Engliſh* only, as be her ſworn Sons, think that Seat all one to hold the Apoſtolical Faith; excluding her Majeſty, and all other Chriſtian Princes with their Subjects, that have not fallen before that Chair, as People worthy to be cut off from Chriſt's Congregation; giving them Names of *Proteſtants*, *Lutherans*, and I know not what. And on another Side, a ſelected Company *, that would needs be counted Saints and Holy ones, when there is nothing but Corruption in their Hearts, they forſooth condemned her ſacred Government for *Antichriſtian*; when, to the Amazement of ſuperſtitious *Romans*, and ſelf-praiſing Sectaries, God approved his Faith by his Love towards her. And leſt I ſhould be taſked of Ignorance, and termed a *Nullifidian* in defending neither of theſe Sides; and only of the Faith that the *Collier* profeſſed, which was ever one with the moſt: I ſay, I was born and brought up in the Religion, profeſſed by that moſt Chriſtian Princeſs *Eliſabeth*, who believed not that the Spirit of God was bound or tied to any one Place, no more to *Rome*, than *Antioch*; that the Candleſtick of any Church might be removed, for neglecting their firſt Love, and teaching Traditions of Men, inſtead of ſacred Verity; and no Man can deny but the Church of *Rome* hath ſo taught, and ſtandeth not in her firſt Eſtate; but, if it were in the Primitive Church, perfectly and fully eſtabliſhed, then hath it received many Traditions ſince, which our *Eliſabeth*, nor any of her faithful Subjects would obey, being no Way by God's Word thereunto warranted; beſides, there are apparent Proofs that the Church of *Rome* hath many hundred Years perſecuted with great Cruelty; which is no Badge of the true Apoſtolical Church.

For the other Sort, it is well known, they are, for the moſt Part, ignorant and mechanick People, led by ſome few hot-ſpirited Fellows, that would fain have all alike. Theſe tying themſelves to a more ſtrait Courſe outwardly than other Men, and though they beutterly objected to the *Romaniſts*, yet have they more he Saints and ſhe Saints, among them than are in the *Romiſh* Calendar; where none, or at leaſt but very few, are called Saints, but holy Virgins, Martyrs, and Confeſſors; but all the Brethren and Siſters of the other Side are, at the firſt Receiving into their Communion, ſainted, if it be but *Kit* Cobler, and *Kate* his Wife; and both he and ſhe preſume they have as ſufficient Spirits to teach and expound the Scriptures, as either *Peter*, or *John*, or *Paul*, for ſo bluntly they term the bleſſed Apoſtles; but their Vanity and Pride our *Eliſabeth* hated, and therefore bridled their Ways, and was not moved with their Hypocritical Faſts; becauſe *they faſted to Strife and Debate*, as it is written by the Prophet *Eſaiah*, lviii. and *to ſmite with the Fiſt of Wickedneſs*.

Her Highneſs, therefore, taught all her People the undoubted Truth; that Faith in Chriſt alone, the Way, the Door, and the Life; not turning either to the right Hand, or to the left; and in this, being the beſt Mean, her Temperance chiefly appeared; this Rule ſhe taught her Kingdom, her Family, herſelf; at leaſt cauſed them to be taught by excellent Paſtors, to whom humbly ſhe gave publick Ear.

As in this, ſo for Apparel, Manners, and Diet, ſhe made Laws, and gave Example in her own Perſon; to curb the Vanity of Pride in Garments, by expreſs Statutes, appointed all Men and Women to be apparelled in their Degree and Calling. To repreſs the Exceſs of Drinking and hated Sin of Drunkenneſs, ſhe hath commanded no Drink in her Land to be brewed above an eaſy Price; and, to avoid Gormandiſing, ſhe hath Yearly commanded the *Lent* and Faſting-Days to be kept, as in Times before, not for Superſtition's Sake, but common Policy, to have God's Creatures received indifferently; and alſo to increaſe Mariners for the Strength of the Iſle, whoſe Numbers, while Fiſh is contemned, by Neglect of Fiſh-

* *Anabaptiſts* and *Puritans*.

ing, mightily decay; Fiſhers, being indeed, pretty trained Mariners, by Reaſon that they have Experience in moſt of the Havens, Creeks, Shoals, Flats, and other Profits and Dangers near the Places they uſed. But what ſhould I ſay, if they, that will only make the Scripture their Cloke, and yet reſpect not this Part? Obey the Magiſtrate for Conſcience; their Sin fall upon themſelves. I truſt the Prince is excuſable, that would his Subjects would do well; and ſo I am certain was her Excellence.

True, ſaid *Thenot*, but, for all her Laws, theſe Courſes were little ſet by; I have ſeen Upſtarts jet it gayer than Lords, Numbers drink till they have ſeemed dead, and Multitudes eat Fleſh even upon *Good Friday*. What Remedy? ſaid *Collin*; they, that will break the King's Law, make little Account of God's; ſuch Subjects are like falſe Executors, they perform not the Legacies of the Dead; her Highneſs was not the worſe, for that good Laws were violated; they, that dealt ſo with her, dealt worſe with God; offending him double, by breaking his Laws and her's. But in her own Houſehold and Perſon ſhe obſerved all theſe Rules; and, though many Abroad by Corruption were winked at, yet ſometimes there were ſome taken and paid Home.

But her excelling Self, though her Table was the abundantlieſt furniſhed of any Princes in the World with all Variety; yet fed ſhe oftenеſt of one Diſh, and that not of the Daintieſt. For Quaffing, as it was unfitting her Sex, ſo ſhe extremely abhorred it, hating Superfluity as Hell; and ſo far was ſhe from all Niceneſs, that I have heard it credibly reported, and know it by many Inſtances to be true, that ſhe never could abide to gaze in a Mirror, or Looking-glaſs; no not to behold one, while her Head was tyred and adorned; but ſimply truſted to her attendant Ladies for the Comelineſs of her Attire; and, that this is true, *Thenot*, I am the rather perſuaded, for that, when I was young, almoſt thirty Years ago, Courting it now and then, I have ſeen the Ladies make great Shift to hide away their Looking-glaſſes, if her Majeſty had paſſed by their Lodgings.

O humble Lady, how meek a Spirit hadſt thou? How far from affecting Beauty, or vain Pride; when thou deſiredſt not to ſee that Face, which all thy Subjects longed daily to behold, nd ſundry Princes came from far to wonder t.

As in all theſe Things ſhe kept truly the Mien, ſo likewiſe in her Gifts; as I firſt noted, touching her Charity, which was ſtill ſo tempered, notwithſtanding her great Charge, in aiding her diſtreſſed Neighbours, that ſhe was ever truly liberal, and no Way prodigal; as I truſt his Royal Majeſty ſhall by the Treaſure find.

As ſhe was adorned with all theſe Virtues, ſo was ſhe indued with Fortitude and Princely Courage, ſo plentifully, that her Diſpleaſure ſhook even her ſtouteſt Adverſaries; and thoſe unnatural Traytors, that came armed ſundry Times, with bloody Reſolution to lay violent Hands on her ſacred Majeſty, her very Looks would daunt, and their Inſtruments, prepared for her Death, dropped from their trembling Hands, with Terror of their Conſciences, and Amazement to behold her Countenance; nay, when ſhe knew they came of Purpoſe to kill her, ſhe hath ſingled divers of them alone, and let ſome paſs from her with mild Caveats afar off; whoſe Lenity rather increaſing than diminiſhing their Malice, they have followed Deſtruction, which too timely overtook them.

I could, in this Place, name many particular Men, as *Parry*, and others; but I will content you with one private Example overpaſſing the General: Fortitude ſhe ſhewed in her Youth, in her Captivity, and in her Glory, at all Times; for Defence of her Faith, and all oppreſſed true Profeſſors thereof; ending with this Example of her high Courage and aſſured Confidence in God. When *Appletree*, whom I remembered before, had hurt her Waterman, being next to her in the Barge; the *French* Ambaſſador being amazed, and all crying, *Treaſon*, *Treaſon*; yet ſhe, with an undaunted Spirit, came to the open Place of the Barge, and bid them never fear, for, if the Shot were made at her, they durſt not ſhoot again; ſuch Majeſty had her Preſence, and ſuch Boldneſs her Heart, that ſhe deſpiſed all Fear, and was, as all Princes are, or ſhould be, ſo full of Divine Fulneſs, that guilty Mortality durſt not behold her, but with dazzled Eyes.

But I wonder, ſaith *Thenot*, ſhe in ſo many Years built no goodly Edifice, wherein her Memory might live.

So did ſhe, anſwered *Collin*, the goodlieſt Building

Building * in the Earth, ſuch as like floating Iſles commanded the Seas, whoſe outward Walls are dreadful Engines of Braſs, ſending fearful Thunder amongſt Enemies. And the Inhabitants of thoſe wooden Iſles are worthy Sea-men, ſuch as dread no Danger, but, for her, would have run even into Deſtruction's Mouth. I tell thee, *Thenot*, I have ſeen, in a Fight, ſome, like nimble Spirits, hanging in the Air by little Cords; ſome lading Ordnance with deathful Powder; ſome charging Muſquets, and diſcharging Ruin on their Enemies; ſome at the Foreſhip, other buſy at the Helm, ſkipping here and there like Roes in Lightneſs, and Lions in Courage; that it would have poured Spirit into a ſick Man to ſee their Reſolutions. For ſuch Tenants made ſhe many Buildings, exceeding any Emperor's Navy in the Earth, whoſe Service, I doubt not, will be acceptable to her moſt worthy Succeſſor, our dread Sovereign Lord the King.

Other Palaces ſhe had great Store of, which ſhe maintained and yearly repaired, at leaſt would have done, if thoſe, that had Care of her Surveying, would have been as careful for her's as for their own.

What ſhould I ſay of her? The cloudy Mantle of the Night covers the Beauty of the Heaven; and this Evening looks like thoſe four Days that preceded the Morning of her Death. The Beaſts, the Night that ſhe ended her Fate in Earth, kept an unwonted Bellowing, ſo that I aſſure thee, *Thenot*, being aſſured of her Sickneſs, I was troubled, being awakened with their Cries, with Imagination of her Death, that I pitied not my bleating Flocks, who, with their innocent Notes, kept Time with my true Tears, till the Hour of her Death was paſt, when immediately a heavy Sleep ſhut up the Windows of mine Eyes; at which Time, as I have ſince heard, Death's eternal Sleep utterly benumbed all her Senſes, whoſe Soul, I doubt not, hath already entered endleſs Reſt, whither God will draw her glorified Body in his great Day. Sweet Virgin, ſhe was born on the Eve of that Bleſſed Virgin's Nativity, holy *Mary*, Chriſt's Mother; ſhe died on the Eve of the *Annunciation* of the ſame moſt holy Virgin; a bleſſed Note of her endleſs Bleſſedneſs, and her Society in Heaven with thoſe wiſe Virgins, that kept Oil ever in their Lamps, to await the Bridegroom. She came unto the Crown after her Royal Siſter's Death, like a freſh Spring even in the Beginning of Winter, and brought us Comfort, as the clear Sun doth to Storm-dreſſed Mariners; ſhe left the Crown likewiſe in the Winter of her Age, and the Beginning of our Spring; as if the Ruler of Heaven had ordained her Coronation in our ſharpeſt Winter, to bring us Happineſs, and uncrowned her in our happieſt Spring, to leave us in more Felicity by her Succeſſor. O happy Beginning, and more happy End; which, notwithſtanding, as natural Sons and Subjects, let her not go unwept for to her Grave. This Evening let us be like the Evening, that drops dewy Tears on the Earth; and, while our Hinds ſhut up the Sheep in their Folds, ſing a Funeral Song for the Loſs of Divine *Eliſabeth*; invocating abſent Scholars to bewail her, whom, in ſundry Schools, ſhe cheriſhed, and perſonally, in either of their Univerſities, viſited; let us bid Soldiers lament her, towards whom, beſides many apparent Signs of her exceeding Love, this is one moſt worthy Memory: She came amongſt them mounted at *Tilbury*, being gathered into a Royal Army againſt the *Spaniſh* Invaſion; promiſing to ſhare with them in all Fortunes, if the Enemy durſt but ſhew his Face on Land. Let Citizens likewiſe ſhed Tears for her Loſs, eſpecially thoſe of *London*, to whom ſhe was ever a kind Sovereign, and bountiful Neighbour.

I need not bid the Courtiers weep, for they can never forget the Countenance of their gracious Miſtreſs, till they have engraven in their Hearts the Favour of their moſt Royal Maſter. For, as poor Shepherds, though we are not able to ſuit ourſelves in Blacks fine enough to adorn ſo Royal an Interment; yet, *Thenot*, quicken thy Invention, *Dryope* and *Chloris* ſhall bear Part; and let us conclude our Sorrow for *Eliſa* in a Funeral Hymn, that ſhall have Power to draw from the ſwelling Clouds Waters to aſſiſt our Woe. The Springs, taught by the Tears that break from our Eyes, already overflow their Bounds: The Birds ſit mute to hear our Muſick, and our harmleſs Flock hearken to our Moans.

To this they all, as gladly as their Grief would ſuffer them, conſented. *Collin* for his broken Pipe took *Cuddyes*, who could neither ſing nor play, he was ſo full of Paſſion and Sighs.

* A fine Fleet of Ships.

The

## *The Funeral Song between* Collin *and* Thenot, Dryope *and* Chloris, *upon the Death of the ſacred Virgin* Eliſabeth.

*Collin.*

YE ſacred Muſes dwelling,
Where Art is ever ſwelling;
Your learned Fount forſake,
Help Funeral Songs to make;
Hang them about her Hearſe,
That ever loved Verſe.
*Clioe* write down her Story,
That was the Muſes Glory.

*Dryope.*

And, ye ſoft-footed Hours,
Make ready Cypreſs Bowers;
Inſtead of Roſes ſweet,
(For pleaſant Spring-time meet)
Strew all the Paths with Yew,
Night-ſhade and bitter Rue.
Bid *Flora* hide her Treaſure;
Say, 'tis no Time of Pleaſure.

*Thenot.*

And, you Divineſt Graces,
Veil all your ſacred Faces,
With your bright ſhining Hair,
Shew every Sign of Care:
The Heart, that was your Fane,
The cruel Fates have ſlain:
From Earth no Power can raiſe her,
Only our Hymns may praiſe her.

*Chloris.*

Muſes, and Hours, and Graces,
Let all the hallow'd Places,
Which the clear Moon did view,
Look like a ſable Hue:
Let not the Sun be ſeen,
But weeping for the Queen,
That Grace and Muſe did cheriſh;
O that ſuch Worth ſhould periſh!

*Collin.*

So turn our Verſe, and on this lofty Pine
Each one engrave for her ſome Funeral Line:
*Thus I begin.*

Collin's *Epitaph.*

*Eliſa*, Maiden Mirror of this Age,
Earth's true *Aſtræa*, while ſhe liv'd and reign'd,
Is thrown by Death from her triumphant Stage;
But by that Fall hath endleſs Glory gain'd;
And fooliſh Death would fain, if he could weep,
For Killing her, he had no Power to keep.

Thenot's *Epitaph.*

*Eliſa*, rich and royal, fair and juſt,
Gives Heaven her Soul, and leaves her Fleſh to Duſt.

Dryope's *Epitaph.*

There is no Beauty but it fades,
No Glory, but is veil'd with Shades:
So is *Eliſa*, Queen of Maids
Stoop'd to her Fate.
Yet Death, in this, hath little thriv'd,
For thus her Virtues have atchiev'd,
She ſhall, by Verſe, live ſtill reviv'd,
In Spight of Hate.

Chloris's *Epitaph.*

*Eliſa*, that aſtoniſhed her Foes,
Stoop'd her rebellious Subjects at her Feet;
Whoſe Mind was * *ſtill the ſame* in Joy, in Woes;
Whoſe Frown was fearful, and her Favours ſweet:
Sway'd all this Land, but moſt herſelf ſhe ſway'd,
Liv'd a chaſte Queen, and dy'd a Royal Maid.

Theſe Epitaphs ended, the Nymphs and Shepherds led by *Collin* and *Thenot*, who before plaid heavy Tunes on their Oaten Pipes, got to their ſeveral Cottages, and ſpent their Time till Midnight, mourning for *Eliſa*: But Sleep, the Equaller of Kings and Captives, baniſhed

* Her Royal Word or Motto was, *Semper Eadem.*

their

their Sorrows. What Humour they are in after Reſt, you ſhall, in the Morning, hear; for commonly, as the Day is, ſo are our Affections diſpoſed.

## *The Order and Proceeding at the Funeral of the Right, High, and Mighty Princeſs* Eliſabeth, *Queen of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *from the Palace of* Weſtminſter, *called* Whitehall, *to the Cathedral Church of* Weſtminſter, *the 28th of* April, 1603.

FIRST, the Knight Marſhal's Man, to make Way.

Next, the Two-hundred and forty poor Women, by four and four.

Then, Servants of Gentlemen, Eſquires, and Knights.

Two Porters.

Next, four Trumpets.

After them

*Roſe, Purſivant at Arms.*

Two Serjeants at Arms.

*The Standard of the Dragon.*

Two Equeries leading a Horſe.

Then the Meſſengers of the Chamber, four by four.

Children of the Almonry.
Children of the Wood-yard.
Children of the Scullery.
Children and Furners of the Paſtry.
The Scalding-houſe.
The Larder.

After them

*Grooms.*

Wheat-porters.
Coopers.
Wine-porters.
Conducts in the Bake-houſe.
Bell-ringer.
Maker of Spice-bags.
Cart-takers, choſen by the Board.
Long-carts.
Cart-takers.
Of the Almonry.
Of the Stable.
Of the Wood-yard.
Scullery.
Paſtry.
Scalding-houſe.
Poultry.
Catery.
Boiling-houſe.
Larder.
Kitchin.
Laundry.
Ewry.
Confectionary.
Wafery.
Chaundry.
Pitcher-houſe.
Buttery.
Cellar.
Pantry.
Bake-houſe.
Compting-houſe.

Then Noblemen's and Ambaſſadors Servants.

Grooms of the Chamber.

Four Trumpets.

*Bluemantle.*

A Serjeant at Arms.

*The Standard of the Greyhound.*

Two Equeries leading a Horſe.

Yeomen of the Servitors in the Hall, four and four.

Cart-takers.
Porters.
Almonry.
Harbingers.
Wood-yard.
Scullery.
Paſtry.
Poultry and Scalding-houſe.
Purveyors of the Poultry.
Purveyors of the Acatry.
Stable.
Boiling-houſe.
Larder.
Kitchen.
Ewry.
Confectionary.
Wafery.
Purveyor of the Wax.
Tallow-chandlers.
Chaundry.
Pitcher-houſe.

Brewers.

Brewers.
Buttery.
Purveyors.
Cellar.
Pantry.
Garneter.
Bake-houſe.
Compting-houſe.
Spicery.
Chamber.
Robes.
Wardrobe.

Earls and Counteſſes Servants.

Four Trumpets.

*Portcullis.*

A Serjeant at Arms.

*The Standard of the Lion.*

Two Equeries leading a Horſe trapped with Velvet.

Serjeant of the Veſtry.
Children of the Chapel in Surplices.
Gentlemen of the Chapel in Copes.

*Clerks.*

Deputy Clerk of the Market.
Clerks extraordinary.
Cofferer.
Diet.
Maſter Cook for the Houſhold.
Paſtry.
Larder.
Scullery.
Wood-yard.
Poultry.
Bake-houſe,
Acatry.
Stable.

*Serjeants.*

Gentleman Harbinger.
Wood-yard.
Scullery.
Paſtry.
Catery.
Larder.
Ewry.
Cellar.
Pantry.
Bake-houſe.

Maſter Cook of the Kitchen.

Clerks of the Equery.

Second and third Clerk of the Chaundry.
Second and third Clerk of the Kitchen.

Surveyors of the Dreſſer.

Surveyor of the Dreſſer for the Chamber.

Muſicians.
Apothecaries and Surgeons.
Sewers of the Hall.
Marſhal of the Hall.
Sewers of the Chamber.
Groom-Porter.

Gentlemen-Uſhers and Waiters.
Clerk, Marſhal, and Avenor.
Chief Clerk of the Wardrobe.
Chief Clerk of the Kitchen.
Two Clerks Comptrollers.
Clerk of the Green-cloth.
Maſter of the Houſhold.
Cofferer.

*Rouge Dragon.*

A Serjeant at Arms.

*The Banner of* Cheſter.

Clerks of the Council, four and four.
Clerks of the Privy-Seal.
Clerks of the Signet.
Clerks of the Parliament.
Doctors of Phyſick.
The Queen's Chaplains.
Secretaries for the *Latin* and *French* Tongues.

*Rouge Croſs.*

Two Serjeants of Arms.

*The Banner of* Cornwall.

Aldermen of *London.*
Sollicitor, Attorney, and Serjeant.
Maſter of the Revels, and Maſter of the Tents.
Knights Batchelors.
Lord Chief Baron, and Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas.
Maſter of the Jewel-houſe.
Knights Ambaſſadors, and Gentlemen-Agents.
Sewers for the Queen.
Sewers for the Body.
Eſquires of the Body.

*Lancaſter and Windſor.*

*The Banner of* Wales.

*The Banner of* Ireland.

Maſert

Maſter of the Requeſts.
Agents for *Venice* and the *States*.
Lord Mayor of *London*.
Sir *John Popham*, Sir *John Forteſcue*.
Sir *Robert Cecill*, principal Secretary.
Comptroller and Treaſurer of the Houſhold.
Barons.
Biſhops.
Earls eldeſt Sons.
Viſcounts.
Dukes ſecond Sons.
Earls.
Marquiſſes.
Biſhop Almoner, *Preacher*.
Lord-Keeper.
The *French* Ambaſſador.
Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Four Serjeants of Arms.

*The great embroidered Banner of* England.

*Somerſet* and *Richmond*.
*York*, Helmet and Creſt.
*Cheſter*, Target.
*Norroy King at Arms*, Sword.
*Clarenceaux King at Arms*, Coat.

After them the Gentlemen-Uſhers with white Rods.

The lively Picture of her Highneſs's whole Body, crowned, and in her Parliament Robes, lying on the Corpſe, embalmed and leaded, borne in a Chariot, drawn by four Horſes trapped in black Velvet.

About it, ſix Banner-Rolls on each Side: Gentlemen-Penſioners, with their Axes downwards.

With them the Footmen.

A Canopy borne over the Chariot by four Noblemen.

The Earl of *Worceſter*, Maſter of the Horſe, leading the Palfry of Honour.

Two Eſquires and a Groom, to attend and lead him away.

Gentleman-Uſher, *Garter King at Arms*.

Lady Marchioneſs of *Northampton*, aſſiſted by the Lord-Treaſurer and Lord-Admiral.

Chief Mourner, her Train ſupported by Mr. Vice-chamberlain.

Two Earls, Aſſiſtants to her.
Fourteen Counteſſes, Aſſiſtants.
Gentlewomen of the Privy-chamber.
Counteſſes.
Viſcounteſſes.
Earls Daughters.
Baroneſſes.
Maids of Honour of the Privy-chamber.

Captain of the Guard, with all the Guard following, five and five in a Rank, their Halberds downward.

## *The Shepherds Spring Song, in Gratulation of the royal, happy, and flouriſhing Entrance, to the Majeſty of* England, *by the moſt potent and prudent Sovereign,* James, *King of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland.

*COLLIN.*

THenot and *Chloris*, red-lipp'd *Dryope*,
Shepherds, Nymphs, Swains, all that delight in Field,
Living by harmleſs Thrift your fat Herds yield,
Why ſlack ye now your loved Company?
Up, Sluggards, learn, the Lark doth mounted ſing
His chearful Carrols, to ſalute our King.
The Manis, Black-bird, and the little Wren,
The Nightingale upon the Haw-thorn Brier,
And all the wing'd Muſicians in a Quire,
Do with their Notes rebuke dull lazy Men.
Up, Shepherds, up, your Sloth breeds all your Shames,
You ſleep like Beaſts, while Birds ſalute King *James*.
The grey-ey'd Morning with a bluſt'ring Cheek,
Like *England*'s royal Roſe, mixt red and white,
Summons all Eyes to Pleaſure and Delight,
Behold the Evening's Dews do upwards reek,
Drawn by the Sun, which now doth gild the Sky,
With his Light-giving and World-chearing Eye.
O that's well done; I ſee your Cauſe of Stay,
Was to adorn your Temples with freſh Flowers:
And gather Beauty to bedeck your Bowers,
That they may ſeem the Cabinets of *May*:
Honour this Time, ſweeteſt of all ſweet Springs,
That ſo much Good, ſo many Pleaſures, brings.

For now alone the Livery of the Earth
Gives not Life, Comfort to your bleating Lambs,
Nor fills the ſtrutting Udders of their Dams,
It yields another Cauſe of gleeſome Mirth,
This Ground wears all her beſt Embroidery,
To entertain her Sovereign's Majeſty.
And well ſhe may, for never *Engliſh* Ground
Bore ſuch a Sovereign as this royal Lord:
Look upon all Antiquities Record,
In no Inrollment ſuch a King is found.
Begin with *Brute* (if that of *Brute* be true)
As I'll not doubt, but give old Bards their Due.
He was a Prince unſettled, fought a Shore
To reſt his long-toſs'd *Trojan* ſcatter'd Race:
And (as 'tis ſaid) found here a Reſting-place:
Grant this: But yield, he did falſe Gods adore.
The Nations were not call'd to Chriſt that Time,
*Black Pagan* Clouds darken'd this goodly Clime.
*So, when Diſſenſion* brought the *Romans in*,
No *Cæſar*, till the godly *Conſtantine*,
(Deſcended truly from the *Britiſh* Line)
Purged this Iſle's Air from Idol-hated Sin;
Yet he in Care of *Rome* left Deputies.
Our *James* maintains (himſelf) his Dignities.
The *Saxon*, and the *Dane*, ſcourg'd with ſharp Steel,
(So did the *Norman* Duke) this beauteous Land,
Invading Lords reign with an iron Hand:
A gentler Ruling in this Change we feel,
Our Lion comes as meekly as a Dove,
Not conqu'ring us by Hurt, but hearty Love.
Even as a Calm to Tempeſt-toſſed Men,
As Bread to the faint Soul with Famine vex'd;
As a cool Spring to thoſe with Heat perplex'd,
As the Sun's Light into a fearful Den,
So comes our King: Even in a Time of Need,
To ſave, to ſhine, to comfort, and to feed.
O Shepherds, ſing his Welcome with ſweet Notes,
Nymphs, ſtrew his Way with Roſes red and white,
Provide all Paſtimes that may Senſe delight,
Offer the Fleeces of your Flocks white Coats:
He, that now ſpares, doth in that Saving ſpill;
Where Worth is little, Virtue likes Good-will.

Now from the *Orcades* to the *Corniſh* Iſles,
From thence to *Cambria*, and the *Hiberian* Shore,
The Sound of Civil War is heard no more;
Each Countenance is garniſhed with Smiles,
All in one Hymn, with ſweet Contentment, ſing
The Praiſe and Power of *James* their only King.
Our only King, one Iſle, one Sovereign;
O long-deſired and perfected Good!
By him the Heat of Wrath, and boiling Blood,
Is mildly quench'd; and Envy counted vain,
One King, one People, bleſſed Unity,
That ties ſuch mighty Nations to agree.
Shepherds, *I'll not be tedious in my Song;*
For that I ſee you bent to active Sport;
Though I perſuade me all Time is too ſhort,
To welcome him, whom we have wiſh'd for long.
Well done, dance on; look how our little Lambs
Skip as you ſpring, about their fleecy Dams.
Thus were ye wont to trip about the Green,
And dance in Ringlets, like to fairy Elves,
Striving in Cunning to exceed yourſelves,
In Honour of your late fall'n ſummer Queen:
But now exceed; this *May* excels all Springs,
Which King and Queen, and Prince and Princeſs, brings.
Shout joyfully, ye Nymphs, and rural Swains,
Your Maſter *Pan* will now protect your Folds,
Your Cottages will be as ſafe as Holds,
Fear neither Wolves, nor ſubtle Foxes Trains,
A royal King will of your Weal take Keep,
He'll be your Shepherd, you ſhall be his Sheep.
He comes in Pomp; ſo ſhould a King appear,
God's Deputy ſhould ſet the World at Gaze;
Yet his mild Looks drive us from all Amaze.
Clap Hands for Joy, our Sovereign draweth near,
Sing *Iô*, *Iô*, Shepherds, dance and ſing,
Expreſs all Joy, in welcoming our King.
The Air, the Seaſon, and the Earth accord
In Pleaſure, Order, both for Sight and Senſe:
All Things look freſh to greet his Excellence,
And *Collin* humbly thus ſalutes his Lord:
Dread and beloved, live *England*'s happy King,
While Seaſons laſt freſh as the lively Spring.

A true

A true and perfect Account of the Examination, Confeſſion, Trial, Condemnation, and Execution of *Joan Perry*, and her two Sons, *John* and *Richard Perry*, for the ſuppoſed Murder of *William Harriſon*, Gent. being one of the moſt remarkable Occurrences which hath happened in the Memory of Man, ſent in a Letter (by Sir *T. O.* of *Burton*, in the County of *Glouceſter*, Knight, and one of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace) to *T. S.* Doctor of Phyſick in *London*. Likewiſe Mr. *Harriſon*'s own Account, how he was conveyed into *Turkey*, and there made a Slave for above two Years; and then, his Maſter, which bought him there, dying, how he made his Eſcape, and what Hardſhip he endured; who, at laſt, through the Providence of God, returned to *England*, while he was ſuppoſed to be murdered; here having been his Man-ſervant arraigned, who falſly impeached his own Mother and Brother as guilty of the Murder of his Maſter; they were all Three arraigned, convicted, and executed on *Broadway-hills* in *Glouceſterſhire*. *London*, printed for *Rowland Reynolds*, next *Arundel-gate*, over-againſt St. *Clement*'s Church in the *Strand*, 1676. *Quarto*, containing twenty-three Pages.

UPON *Thurſday*, the ſixteenth Day of *Auguſt*, 1660, *William Harriſon*, Steward to the Lady Viſcounteſs *Campden*, at *Campden* in *Glouceſterſhire*, being about Seventy Years of Age, walked from *Campden* aforeſaid, to *Charringworth*, about two Miles from thence, to receive his Lady's Rent; and, not returning ſo early as formerly, his Wife, Mrs. *Harriſon*, between Eight and Nine of the Clock that Evening, ſent her Servant, *John Perry*, to meet his Maſter on the Way from *Charringworth*; but, neither Mr. *Harriſon*, nor his Servant *John Perry*, returning that Night, the next Morning early, *Edward Harriſon*, *William*'s Son, went towards *Charringworth* to enquire after his Father; when, on the Way, meeting *Perry* coming thence, and being informed by him he was not there, they went together to *Ebrington*, a Village between *Charringworth* and *Campden*, where they were told by one *Daniel*, that Mr. *Harriſon* called at his Houſe the Evening before, in his Return from *Charringworth*, but ſtaid not; they then went to *Paxford*, about Half a Mile thence, where, hearing nothing of Mr. *Harriſon*, they returned towards *Campden*; and on the Way, hearing of a Hat, Band, and Comb, taken up in the Highway, between *Ebrington* and *Campden*, by a poor Woman then leeſing in the Field; they ſought her out, with whom they found the Hat, Band, and Comb, which they

knew to be Mr. *Harriſon*'s; and being brought by the Woman to the Place where ſhe found the ſame, in the Highway, between *Ebrington* and *Campden*, near unto a great Furz-brake, they there ſearched for Mr. *Harriſon*, ſuppoſing he had been murthered, the Hat and Comb being hacked and cut, and the Band bloody; but nothing more could be there found. The News hereof, coming to *Campden*, ſo alarmed the Town, that Men, Women, and Children haſted thence, in Multitudes, to ſearch for Mr. *Harriſon*'s ſuppoſed dead Body, but all in vain.

Mrs. *Harriſon*'s Fears for her Huſband, being great, were now much increaſed; and having ſent her Servant *Perry*, the Evening before, to meet his Maſter, and he not returning that Night, cauſed a Suſpicion that he had robbed and murthered him; and thereupon the ſaid *Perry* was, the next Day, brought before a Juſtice of Peace, by whom being examined concerning his Maſter's Abſence, and his own Staying out the Night he went to meet him, he gave this Account of himſelf: That, his Miſtreſs ſending him to meet his Maſter, between Eight and Nine of the Clock in the Evening, he went down *Campden-field*, towards *Charringworth*, about a Land's Length, where meeting one *William Reed* of *Campden*, he acquainted him with his Errand; and further told him that, it growing dark, he was afraid to go forwards, and would therefore return and fetch his young Maſter's Horſe, and return with him; he did to Mr. *Harriſon*'s Court-gate, where they parted, and he ſtaid ſtill; one *Pierce* coming by, he went again with him about a Bow's Shot into the Fields, and returned with him likewiſe to his Maſter's Gate, where they alſo parted; and then he, the ſaid *John Perry*, ſaith, he went into his Maſter's Hen-rooſt, where he lay about an Hour, but ſlept not; and, when the Clock ſtruck Twelve, roſe and went towards *Charringworth*, till, a great Miſt ariſing, he loſt his Way, and ſo lay the reſt of the Night under a Hedge; and, at Day-break, on *Friday* Morning went to *Charringworth*, where he enquired for his Maſter of one *Edward Plaiſterer*, who told him, he had been with him the Afternoon before, and received three and-twenty Pounds of him, but ſtaid not long with him: He then went to *William Curtis* of the ſame Town, who likewiſe told him, he heard his Maſter was at his Houſe the Day before, but, being not at Home, did not ſee him: After which he ſaith, he returned homewards, it being about Five of the Clock in the Morning, when, on the Way, he met his Maſter's Son, with whom he went to *Ebrington* and *Broxford*, *&c.* as hath been related.

*Read*, *Pearce*, *Plaiſterer*, and *Curtis*, being examined, affirmed what *Perry* had ſaid, concerning them, to be true.

*Perry* being aſked by the Juſtice of Peace, How he, who was afraid to go to *Charringworth* at Nine of the Clock, became ſo bold as to go thither at Twelve? Anſwered, That at Nine of the Clock it was dark, but at Twelve the Moon ſhone.

Being further aſked, Why, returning twice Home, after his Miſtreſs had ſent him to meet his Maſter, and ſtaying till Twelve of the Clock, he went not into the Houſe to know whether his Maſter were come Home, before he went a third Time, at that Time of Night, to look after him? Anſwered, That he knew his Maſter was not come Home, becauſe he ſaw Light in his Chamber-window, which never uſed to be there ſo late when he was at Home.

Yet, notwithſtanding this, that *Perry* had ſaid for his Staying forth that Night, it was not thought fit to diſcharge him till further Inquiry were made after Mr. *Harriſon*, and accordingly he continued in Cuſtody at *Campden*, ſometimes in an Inn there, and ſometimes in the common Priſon, from *Saturday*, *Auguſt* the Eighteenth, unto the *Friday* following; during which Time, he was again examined at *Campden*, by the aforeſaid Juſtice of Peace, but confeſſed nothing more than before; nor, at that Time, could any further Diſcovery be made what was become of Mr. *Harriſon*: But it hath been ſaid, that, during his Reſtraint at *Campden*, he told ſome, who preſſed him to confeſs what he knew concerning his Maſter, that a Tinker had killed him; and to others, he ſaid, a Gentleman's Servant of the Neighbourhood had robbed and murdered him; and others, again, he told, That he was murdered, and hid in a Bean-rick in *Campden*, where Search was in vain made for him: At length he gave out, that, were he again carried before the Juſtice, he would diſcover that to him he would diſcover to no Body elſe: And thereupon he was, *Friday*, *Auguſt* the twenty-fourth, again brought before the

the Juſtice of Peace, who firſt examined him and aſking him whether he would yet confeſs what was become of his Maſter; he anſwered, He was murdered, but not by him: The Juſtice of Peace then telling him, that, if he knew him to be murdered, he knew likewiſe by whom he was; ſo he acknowledged he did; and being urged to confeſs what he knew concerning it, affirmed, that it was his Mother and his Brother that had murdered his Maſter. The Juſtice of Peace then adviſed him to conſider what he ſaid, telling him, that he feared he might be guilty of his Maſter's Death, and that he ſhould not draw more innocent Blood upon his Head; for what he now charged his Mother and his Brother with might coſt them their Lives; but he affirming he ſpoke nothing but the Truth, and that if he were immediately to die he would juſtify it; the Juſtice deſired him to declare how and when they did it.

He then told him, that his Mother and his Brother had lain at him, ever ſince he came into his Maſter's Service, to help them to Money, telling him, how poor they were, and that it was in his Power to relieve them, by giving them Notice when his Maſter went to receive his Lady's Rents; for they would then way-lay and rob him; and further ſaid, That, upon the *Thurſday* Morning his Maſter went to *Charringworth*, going of an Errand into the Town, he met his Brother in the Street, whom he then told whither his Maſter was going, and, if he way-laid him, he might have his Money: And further ſaid, That, in the Evening his Miſtreſs ſent him to meet his Maſter, he met his Brother in the Street, before his Maſter's Gate, going, as he ſaid, to meet his Maſter, and ſo they went together to the Church-yard about a Stone's Throw from Mr. *Harriſon's* Gate, where they parted, he going the Foot-way, croſs the Church-yard, and his Brother keeping the great Road, round the Church; but in the Highway, beyond the Church, met again, and ſo went together, the Way leading to *Charringworth*, till they came to a Gate about a Bow's Shot from *Campden* Church, that goes into a Ground of the Lady *Campden's*, called the *Conygree* (which to thoſe, who have a Key to go through the Garden, is the next Way from that Place to Mr. *Harriſon's* Houſe) when they came near unto that Gate, he, the ſaid *John Perry*, ſaith, he told his Brother, he did believe his Maſter was juſt gone into the *Conygree* (for it was then ſo dark they could not diſcern any Man, ſo as to know him) but perceiving one to go into that Ground, and knowing there was no Way, but for thoſe who had a Key, through the Gardens, concluded it was his Maſter; and ſo told his Brother, if he followed him, he might have his Money, and he, in the mean Time, would walk a Turn in the Fields, which accordingly he did; and then, following his Brother about the Middle of the *Conygree*, found his Maſter on the Ground, his Brother upon him, and his Mother ſtanding by; and being asked, Whether his Maſter was then dead? anſwered, No, for that, after he came to them, his Maſter cried, *Ah Rogues, will you kill me?* At which he told his Brother, he hoped he would not kill his Maſter; who replied, *Peace, Peace, you're a Fool*, and ſo ſtrangled him; which having done, he took a Bag of Money out of his Pocket, and threw it into his Mother's Lap, and then he and his Brother carried his Maſter's dead Body into the Garden, adjoining to the *Conygree*, where they conſulted what to do with it; and, at length, agreed to throw it into the great Sink, by *Wallington's* Mill, behind the Garden; but ſaid, his Mother and Brother bade him go up to the Court, next the Houſe, to hearken whether any one were ſtirring, and they would throw the Body into the Sink: And being aſked whether it were there, he ſaid, He knew not, for that he left it in the Garden; but his Mother and Brother ſaid they would throw it there, and, if it were not there, he knew not where it was, for that he returned no more to them, but went into the Court-gate, which goes into the Town, where he met with *John Pearce*, with whom he went into the Field, and again returned with him to his Maſter's Gate; after which, he went into the Hen-rooſt, where he lay till Twelve of the Clock that Night, but ſlept not; and having, when he came from his Mother and Brother, brought with him his Maſter's Hat, Band, and Comb, which he laid in the Hen-rooſt, he carried the ſaid Hat, Band, and Comb, and threw them, after he had given them three or four Cuts with his Knife, in the Highway, where they were after found: And being asked, What he intended by ſo doing? ſaid, He did it, that it might be believed his Maſter had been there robbed and murdered; and, having thus diſpoſed of his Hat, Band and Comb, he went towards *Charringworth*, &c. as hath been related.

Upon this Confeſſion and Accuſation, the Juſtice of Peace gave Order for the apprehending of *Joan* and *Richard Perry*, the Mother and Brother of *John Perry*, and for ſearching the Sink where Mr. *Harriſon*'s Body was ſaid to be thrown, which was accordingly done, but nothing of him could be there found; the Fiſh-pools likewiſe, in *Campden*, were drawn and ſearched, but nothing could be there found neither; ſo that ſome were of Opinion, the Body might be hid in the Ruins of *Campden-houſe*, burnt in the late Wars, and not unfit for ſuch a Concealment, where was likewiſe Search made, but all in vain.

*Saturday*, *Auguſt* the Twenty-fifth, *Joan* and *Richard Perry*, together with *John Perry*, were brought before the Juſtice of Peace, who acquainting the ſaid *Joan* and *Richard* with what *John* had laid to their Charge, they denied all, with many Imprecations on themſelves, if they were in the leaſt guilty of any Thing, of which they were accuſed: But *John*, on the other Side, affirmed, to their Faces, that he had ſpoken nothing but the Truth, and that they had murdered his Maſter; further telling them, that he could never be at Quiet for them, ſince he came into his Maſter's Service, being continually followed by them, to help them to Money, which they told him he might do by giving them Notice when his Maſter went to receive his Lady's Rents; and that he, meeting his Brother *Richard* in *Campden* Town, the *Thurſday* Morning his Maſter went to *Charringworth*, told him whither he was going, and upon what Errand: *Richard* confeſſed he met his Brother that Morning, and ſpoke with him, but nothing paſſed between them to that Purpoſe; and both he and his Mother told *John* he was a Villain to accuſe them wrongfully, as he had done; but *John*, on the other Side, affirmed, that he had ſpoken nothing but the Truth, and would juſtify it to his Death.

One remarkable Circumſtance happened in theſe Priſoners Return from the Juſtice of Peace's Houſe to *Campden*, viz. *Richard Perry*, following a good Diſtance behind his Brother *John*, pulling a Clout out of his Pocket, dropped a Ball of Inkle, which one of his Guard taking up, he deſired him to reſtore, ſaying, It was only his Wife's Hair-lace; but the Party opening of it, and finding a Slip-knot at the End, went and ſhewed it unto *John*, who was then a good Diſtance before, and knew nothing of the Dropping and Taking up of this Inkle; but being ſhewed it, and aſked, whether he knew it, ſhook his Head and ſaid, Yea, to his Sorrow, for that was the String his Brother ſtrangled his Maſter with. This was ſworn upon the Evidence at their Trial.

The Morrow being the Lord's-day, they remained at *Campden*, where the Miniſter of the Place deſigning to ſpeak to them (if poſſible to perſuade them to Repentance, and a further Confeſſion) they were brought to Church; and in their Way thither, paſſing by *Richard*'s Houſe, two of his Children meeting him, he took the leſſer in his Arms, leading the other in his Hand; when, on a ſudden, both their Noſes fell a bleeding, which was looked upon as ominous.

Here it will be no impertinent Digreſſion, to tell how the Year before Mr. *Harriſon* had his Houſe broken open, between Eleven and Twelve of the Clock at Noon, upon *Campden* Market-day, whilſt himſelf and his whole Family were at the Lecture; a Ladder being ſet up to a Window of the ſecond Story, and an iron Bar wrenched thence with a Ploughſhare, which was left in the Room, and Seven-ſcore Pounds in Money carried away, the Authors of which Robbery could never be found.

After this, and not many Weeks before Mr. *Harriſon*'s Abſence, his Servant *Perry*, one Evening, in *Campden*-Garden made an hideous Outcry; whereat, ſome who heard it, coming in, met him running, and ſeemingly frighted, with a Sheep-pick in his Hand, to whom he told a formal Story, how he had been ſet upon by two Men in white, with naked Swords, and how he defended himſelf with his Sheep-pick; the Handle whereof was cut in two or three Places, and likewiſe a Key in his Pocket, which, he ſaid, was done with one of their Swords.

Theſe Paſſages the Juſtice of Peace having before heard, and calling to mind, upon *Perry*'s Confeſſion, aſked him firſt concerning the Robbery, when his Maſter loſt Seven-ſcore Pounds out of his Houſe, at Noon-day: Whether he knew who *did it*? Who anſwered, Yes, it was his Brother. And being further aſked, Whether he were then with him? He anſwered No, he was then at Church; but that he gave him Notice of the Money, and told him in which Room it was, and where he might have a Ladder that would reach the Window; and that his Brother after told him he had the Money, and had buried it in his Garden, and that they were, at *Michaelmas* next,

next, to have divided it; whereupon Search was made in the Garden, but no Money could be there found.

And being further aſked concerning that other Paſſage of his being aſſaulted in the Garden; he confeſſed it was all a Fiction, and that, having a Deſign to rob his Maſter, he did it, that, Rogue being believed to haunt the Place, when his Maſter was robbed, they might be thought to have done it.

At the next Aſſizes, which were held in *September* following, *John*, *Joan*, and *Richard Perry* had two Indictments found againſt them; one for breaking into *William Harriſon*'s Houſe, and robbing him of One-hundred and forty Pounds, in the Year 1659; the other for robbing and murdering of the ſaid *William Harriſon*, the Sixteenth Day of *Auguſt*, 1660. Upon the laſt Indictment, the then Judge of Aſſizes, Sir *C. T.* would not try them, becauſe the Body was not found; but they were then tried upon the other Indictment for Robbery, to which they pleaded, Not guilty; but, ſome whiſpering behind them, they ſoon after pleaded Guilty, humbly begging the Benefit of his Majeſty's gracious Pardon, and Act of Oblivion, which was granted them.

But though they pleaded Guilty to this Indictment, being thereunto prompted, as is probable, by ſome who were unwilling to loſe Time, and trouble the Court with their Trial, in regard the Act of Oblivion pardoned them; yet they all afterwards, and at their Deaths, denied that they were guilty of that Robbery, or that they knew who did it.

Yet at this Aſſize, as ſeveral credible Perſons have affirmed, *John Perry* ſtill perſiſted in his Story, that his Mother and Brother had murdered his Maſter; and further added, that they had attempted to poiſon him in the Jail, ſo that he durſt neither eat nor drink with them.

At the next Aſſizes, which were the Spring following, *John*, *Joan*, and *Richard Perry* were, by the then Judge of Aſſize, Sir *B. H.* tried upon the Indictment of Murder, and pleaded thereunto, ſeverally, Not guilty; and, when *John*'s Confeſſion, before the Juſtice, was proved, *Viva Voce*, by ſeveral Witneſſes who heard the ſame, he told them, he was then mad, and knew not what he ſaid.

The other two, *Richard* and *Joan Perry*, ſaid they were wholly innocent of what they were accuſed, and that they knew nothing of Mr. *Harriſon*'s Death, nor what was become of him; and *Richard* ſaid, that his Brother had accuſed others, as well as him, to have murdered his Maſter; which the Judge bidding him prove, he ſaid, that moſt of thoſe, that had given Evidence againſt him, knew it; but, naming none, not any ſpoke to it, and ſo the Jury found them all three Guilty.

Some few Days after, being brought to the Place of their Execution, which was on *Broadway-hill*, in Sight of *Campden*; the Mother (being reputed a Witch, and to have ſo bewitched her Sons, they could confeſs nothing, while ſhe lived) was firſt executed; after which, *Richard*, being upon the Ladder, profeſſed, as he had done all along, that he was wholly innocent of the Fact for which he was then to die, and that he knew nothing of Mr. *Harriſon*'s Death, nor what was become of him; and did, with great Earneſtneſs, beg and beſeech his Brother, for the Satisfaction of the whole World, and his own Conſcience, to declare what he knew concerning him; but he, with a dogged and ſurly Carriage, told the People, he was not obliged to confeſs to them; yet, immediately before his Death, ſaid he knew nothing of his Maſter's Death, nor what was become of him, but they might hereafter poſſibly hear.

*For Sir T. O. Knight.*

HONOURED SIR,

'IN Obedience to your Commands, I give 'you this true Account of my being car- 'ried away beyond the Seas, my Continuance 'there, and Return Home. On a *Thurſday* 'in the Afternoon, in the Time of Harveſt, 'I went to *Charringworth*, to demand Rents 'due to my Lady *Campden*; at which Time 'the Tenants were buſy in the Fields, and 'late before they came Home, which occa- 'ſioned my Stay there till the Cloſe of the 'Evening. I expected a conſiderable Sum, 'but received only Three-and-twenty Pounds, 'and no more. In my Return Home, in the 'narrow Paſſage amongſt *Ebrington* Furzes, 'there met me one Horſeman, and ſaid, *Art 'thou there?* And I, fearing that he would have 'rid over me, ſtruck his Horſe over the Noſe; 'whereupon he ſtruck at me with his Sword, 'ſeveral Blows, and run it into my Side, 'while I, with my little Cane, made my De-

'fence as well as I could; at laſt another came 'behind me, run me into the Thigh, laid 'hold on the Collar of my Doublet, and drew 'me to a Hedge, near to the Place; then came 'in another: They did not take my Money, 'but mounted me behind one of them, drew 'my Arms about his Middle, and faſtened 'my Wriſts together with ſomething that ha[d] 'a Spring-lock, as I conceived, by hearing [it] 'give a Snap as they put it on; then they threw 'a great Cloke over me, and carried me away: 'In the Night they alighted at a Hay-rick, 'which ſtood near to a Stone-pit by a Wall-'ſide, where they took away my Money; a-'bout two Hours before Day, as I heard one 'of them tell the other he thought it to be 'then, they tumbled me into the Stone-pit; 'they ſtaid, as I thought, about an Hour at 'the Hay-rick, when they took Horſe again; 'one of them bade me come out of the Pit, 'I anſwered, they had my Money already, 'and aſked what they would do with me; 'whereupon he ſtruck me again, drew me 'out, and put a great Quantity of Money in-'to my Pockets, and mounted me again af-'ter the ſame Manner; and on the *Friday*, 'about Sun-ſetting, they brought me to a lone 'Houſe upon a Heath, by a Thicket of Buſh-'es, where they took me down almoſt dead, 'being ſorely bruiſed with the Carriage of the 'Money. When the Woman of the Houſe 'ſaw that I could neither ſtand nor ſpeak, ſhe 'aſked them, Whether or no they had brought 'a dead Man? They anſwered No, but a 'Friend that was hurt, and they were carry-'ing him to a Surgeon; ſhe anſwered, If 'they did not make Haſte, their Friend would 'be dead before they could bring him to one. 'There they laid me on Cuſhions, and ſuffer-'ed none to come into the Room but a little 'Girl; there we ſtaid all Night, they giving 'me ſome Broth and Strong-waters: In the 'Morning, very early, they mounted me as 'before, and on *Saturday* Night they brought 'me to a Place where were two or three 'Houſes, in one of which I lay all Night, on 'Cuſhions, by their Bed-ſide: On *Sunday* 'Morning they carried me from thence, and, 'about Three or Four o'Clock, they brought 'me to a Place by the Sea-ſide, called *Deal*, 'where they laid me down on the Ground; 'and, one of them ſtaying by me, the other 'two walked a little off, to meet a Man, 'with whom they talked; and, in their Diſ-'courſe, I heard them mention ſeven Pounds; 'after which they went away together, and 'about Half an Hour after returned. The 'Man (whoſe Name, as I after heard, was *Vrenſhaw*) ſaid, he feared I would die be-'fore he could get me on Board; then pre-'ſently they put me into a Boat, and carried 'me on Ship-board, where my Wounds were 'dreſſed. I remained in the Ship, as near as 'I could reckon, about ſix Weeks, in which 'Time I was indifferently recovered of my 'Wounds and Weakneſs. Then the Maſter 'of the Ship came and told me, and the reſt 'who were in the ſame Condition, that he 'diſcovered three *Turkiſh* Ships; we all offer-'ed to fight in the Defence of the Ship and 'ourſelves; but he commanded us to keep 'cloſe, and ſaid he would deal with them well 'enough: A little While after he called us 'up, and, when we came on the Deck, we 'ſaw two *Turkiſh* Ships cloſe by us; into one 'of them we were put, and placed in a dark 'Hole, where how long we continued, be-'fore we landed, I know not: When we 'were landed, they led us two Days Jour-'ney, and put us into a great Houſe, or Pri-'ſon, where we remained four Days and an 'Half; and then came to us eight Men to 'view us, who ſeemed to be Officers; they 'called us, and examined us of our Trades 'and Callings, which every one anſwered; 'one ſaid he was a Surgeon, another that 'he was a Broad-cloth Weaver, and I, after 'two or three Demands, ſaid I had ſome 'Skill in Phyſick: We three were ſet by, 'and taken by three of thoſe eight Men that 'came to view us: It was my Chance to be 'choſen by a grave Phyſician of Eighty-ſeven 'Years of Age, who lived near to *Smyrna*, who 'had formerly been in *England*, and knew *Crowland* in *Lincolnſhire*, which he preferred 'before all other Places in *England*: He em-'ployed me to keep his Still-houſe, and gave 'me a ſilver Bowl, double gilt, to drink in; 'my Buſineſs was moſt in that Place; but 'once he ſet me to gather Cotton-wool, 'which I not doing to his Mind, he ſtruck 'me down to the Ground, and after drew his 'Stiletto to ſtab me, but, I holding up my 'Hands to him, he gave a Stamp, and turned 'from me, for which I render Thanks to my 'Lord and Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, who ſtaid

his

‘ his Hand, and preſerved me. I was there
‘ about a Year and three Quarters, and then
‘ my Maſter fell ſick, on a *Thurſday*, and ſent
‘ for me; and, calling me as he uſed, by the
‘ Name of *Boll*, told me he ſhould die, and
‘ bade me ſhift for myſelf: He died on *Satur-*
‘ *day* following, and I preſently haſtened with
‘ my Bowl to a Port, almoſt a Day's Journey
‘ diſtant; the Way to which Place I knew,
‘ having been twice there employed, by my
‘ Maſter, about the Carriage of his Cotton-
‘ wool: When I came thither, I addreſſed
‘ myſelf to two Men, who came out of a
‘ Ship of *Hamborough*, which, as they ſaid,
‘ was bound for *Portugal* within three or four
‘ Days; I inquired of them for an *Engliſh* Ship,
‘ they anſwered there was none; I intreated
‘ them to take me into their Ship, they an-
‘ ſwered they durſt not, for Fear of being diſ-
‘ covered by the Searchers, which might oc-
‘ caſion the Forfeiture, not only of their Goods,
‘ but alſo of their Lives: I was very impor-
‘ tunate with them, but could not prevail;
‘ they left me to wait on Providence, which,
‘ at length, brought another out of the ſame
‘ Ship, to whom I made known my Condi-
‘ tion, craving his Aſſiſtance for my Tranſ-
‘ portation; he made me the like Anſwer as
‘ the former, and was as ſtiff in his Denial,
‘ till the Sight of my Bowl put him to a
‘ Pauſe: He returned to the Ship, and, after
‘ Half an Hour's Space, he came back again,
‘ accompanied with another Sea-man, and,
‘ for my Bowl, undertook to tranſport me;
‘ but told me, I muſt be contented to lie down
‘ in the Keel, and endure much Hardſhip;
‘ which I was content to do, to gain my Li-
‘ berty; ſo they took me Aboard, and placed
‘ me below in the Veſſel, in a very uneaſy
‘ Place, and obſcured me with Boards and
‘ other Things, where I lay undiſcovered, not-
‘ withſtanding the ſtrict Search that was made
‘ in the Veſſel; my two Chapmen, who had
‘ my Bowl, honeſtly furniſhed me with Vic-
‘ tuals daily, until we arrived at *Liſbon* in *Por-*
‘ *tugal*; where, as ſoon as the Maſter had
‘ left the Ship, and was gone into the City,
‘ they ſet me on Shore money-leſs to ſhift for
‘ myſelf: I knew not what Courſe to take,
‘ but, as Providence led me, I went up into
‘ the City, and came into a fair Street; and,
‘ being weary, I turned my Back to a Wall,
‘ and leaned upon my Staff; over-againſt me
‘ were four Gentlemen diſcourſing together;
‘ after a While, one of them came to me,
‘ and ſpoke to me in a Language that I under-
‘ ſtood not. I told him I was an *Engliſhman*,
‘ and underſtood not what he ſpoke; he an-
‘ ſwered me, in plain *Engliſh*, that he under-
‘ ſtood me, and was himſelf born near *Wiſ-*
‘ *beech* in *Lincolnſhire*; then I related to him
‘ my ſad Condition, and he, taking Compaſſi-
‘ on on me, took me with him, provided for
‘ me Lodging and Diet, and, by his Intereſt with
‘ a Maſter of a Ship bound for *England*, pro-
‘ cured my Paſſage; and bringing me on Ship-
‘ board, he beſtowed Wine and Strong-waters
‘ on me, and, at his Return, gave me eight
‘ Stivers, and recommended me to the Care of
‘ the Maſter of the Ship, who landed me ſafe
‘ at *Dover*, from whence I made Shift to get
‘ to *London*, where being furniſhed with Ne-
‘ ceſſaries, I came into the Country.

Thus, honoured Sir, I have given you a true Account of my great Sufferings, and happy Deliverance, by the Mercy and Goodneſs of God, my moſt gracious Father in *Jeſus Chriſt*, my Saviour and Redeemer; to whoſe Name be aſcribed all Honour, Praiſe, and Glory. I conclude, and reſt

*Your Worſhip's,*

*in all dutiful Reſpect,*

WILLIAM HARRISON.

*SIR,*

‘ IT has not been any Forgetfulneſs in me,
‘ you have no ſooner heard from me; but
‘ my unhappy Diſtemper ſeizing on my right
‘ Hand, ſoon after my Coming down into the
‘ Country, ſo that till now I have been whol-
‘ ly deprived the Uſe of it. I have herewith
‘ ſent you a ſhort Narrative of that no leſs
‘ ſtrange, than unhappy Buſineſs, which ſome
‘ Years ſince happened in my Neighbour-
‘ hood; the Truth of every Particular where-
‘ of I am able to atteſt, and I think it may
‘ very well be reckoned amongſt the moſt re-
‘ markable Occurrences of this Age: You
‘ may diſpoſe of it as you pleaſe, and, in
‘ whatever elſe I can ſerve you, you may free-
‘ ly command me, as, Sir,

*Your moſt affectionate Kinſman,*

Burton, *Aug.* 23, 1676. *and humble Servant,*

THO. OVERBURY.

Many

Many queſtion the Truth of this Account Mr. *Harriſon* gives of himſelf, and his Tranſportation, believing he was never out of *England:* But there is no Queſtion of *Perry*'s telling a formal falſe Story to hang himſelf, his Mother, and his Brother: And ſince this, of which we are aſſured, is no leſs incredible than that of which we doubt; it may induce us to ſuſpend hard Thoughts of Mr. *Harriſon*, till Time, the great Diſcoverer of Truth, ſhall bring to Light this dark and myſterious Buſineſs. That Mr. *Harriſon* was abſent from his Habitation, Employment, and Relations, near two Years, is certain; and, if not carried away (as he affirms) no probable Reaſon can be given for his Abſence; he living plentifully and happily in the Service of that honourable Family, to which he had been then related above fifty Years, with the Reputation of a juſt and faithful Servant; and, having all his Days been a Man of ſober Life and Converſation, cannot now reaſonably be thought in his old Age, ſo far, to have miſbehaved himſelf, as in ſuch a Manner voluntarily to have forſaken his Wife, his Children, and his Stewardſhip, and to leave behind him, as he then did, a conſiderable Sum of his Lady's Money in his Houſe; we cannot, therefore, in Reaſon or Charity, but believe that Mr. *Harriſon* was forcibly carried away; but by whom, or by whoſe Procurement, is the Queſtion. Thoſe, who he affirms did it, he withal affirms never before to have ſeen; and that he ſaw not his Servant *Perry*, nor his Mother, nor his Brother, the Evening he was carried away; that he was ſpirited, as ſome are ſaid to have been, is no Ways probable, in Reſpect he was an old and infirm Man, and taken from the moſt Inland Part of the Nation; and, if ſold, as himſelf apprehends he was, for ſeven Pounds, would not recompenſe the Trouble and Charge of his Conveyance to the Sea-ſide.

Some, therefore, have had hard Thoughts of his eldeſt Son, not knowing whom elſe to ſuſpect; and believe the Hopes of the Stewardſhip, which he afterwards, by the Lord *Campden*'s Favour, enjoyed, might induce him to contrive his Father's Removal; and this they are the more confirmed in, from his Miſbehaviour in it; but, on the other Side, it is hard to think the Son ſhould be knowing of his Father's Tranſportation; and conſequently, of theſe unhappy Perſons Innocency, as to the Murder of him, and yet proſecute them to the Death, as he did; and, when condemned, ſhould be the Occaſion of their being conveyed above twenty Miles, to ſuffer near *Campden*, and to procure *John Perry* to be there hanged in Chains, where he might daily ſee him; and himſelf to ſtand at the Foot of the Ladder, when they were all executed, as likewiſe he did.

Theſe Conſiderations, as they make it improbable the Son ſhould be privy to his Father's Tranſportation, ſo they render the whole Matter the more dark and myſterious, which we muſt therefore leave unto him who alone knoweth all Things, in his due Time to reveal and bring to Light.

Two

# Two Letters written by the Right Honourable *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, late Lord High Chancellor of *England*: One to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*: The other to the Ducheſs, occaſioned by her embracing the *Roman Catholick* Religion.

*As theſe Letters ſerve to reſcue the Memory of the worthy Earl, their Author, from all Imputation of* Popery, *or of being* Popiſhly *affected, and, as I can find, no where recorded, they are deſervedly thus preſerved from the Injury of Time, in the Vindication of that noble Perſonage.*

*SIR*,

I Have not preſumed in any Manner to approach your Royal Preſence, ſince I have been marked with the Brand of Baniſhment; and I would ſtill with the ſame Awe forbear this Preſumption, if I did not believe myſelf bound by all the Obligations of Duty to make this Addreſs to you. I have been too much acquainted with the Preſumption and Impudence of the Times, in raiſing falſe and ſcandalous Reproaches upon innocent and worthy Perſons of all Qualities and Degrees, to give Credit to thoſe bold Whiſpers, which have been too long ſcattered Abroad, concerning your Wife's being ſhaken in her Religion: But when thoſe Whiſpers break out into Noiſe, and publick Perſons begin to report that the Ducheſs is become a *Roman Catholick*: When I heard that many worthy Perſons, of unqueſtionable Devotion to your Royal Highneſs, are not without ſome Fear and Apprehenſion of it; and many Reflexions are made from thence, to the Prejudice of your Royal Perſon, and even of the King's Majeſty; I hope it may not miſbecome me, at what Diſtance ſoever, to caſt myſelf at your Feet, and beſeech you to look to this Matter in Time, and to apply ſome Antidote to expel the Poiſon of it. It is not poſſible your Royal Highneſs can be without Zeal, and intire Devotion for that Church, for the Purity and Preſervation whereof, your bleſſed Father made himſelf a Sacrifice; and to the Reſtoration whereof, you have contributed ſo much yourſelf, and which highly deſerves the King's Protection and yours, ſince there can be no poſſible Defection in the Hearts of the People, whilſt due Reverence is made to the Church. Your Wife is ſo generally believed to have ſo perfect Duty, and intire Reſignation to the Will of your Highneſs, that any Defection in her, from her Religion, will be imputed to Want of Circumſpection in you, and not uſing your Authority; or to your Connivance. I need not tell the ill Conſequence that ſuch a Mutation would be attended with, in Reference to your Royal Highneſs, and even to the King himſelf, whoſe greateſt Security (under God) is in the Affection and Duty of his *Proteſtant* Subjects. Your Royal Highneſs well knows how far I have always been from wiſhing that the *Roman Catholicks* ſhould be proſecuted with Severity; but I leſs wiſh it ſhould ever be in their Power to be able to proſecute thoſe who differ from them, ſince we well know how little Moderation they would or could uſe.

And if this, which People ſo much talk of, I hope, without Ground, ſhould fall out, it might very probably raiſe a greater Storm againſt the *Roman Catholicks* in general, than modeſt Men can wiſh; ſince, after ſuch a Breach, any Jealouſy of their Preſumption would ſeem reaſonable. I have written to the Ducheſs, with the Freedom and Affection of a troubled and perplexed Father. I do moſt humbly beſeech your Royal Highneſs, by your Authority, to reſcue her from bringing a Miſchief upon you

and

and herſelf, that never can be repaired; and to think it worthy your Wiſdom to remove and diſpel thoſe Reproaches, how falſe ſoever, by better Evidence than Contempt; and hope you do believe that no Severity I have, or can undergo, ſhall in any Degree leſſen or diminiſh my moſt profound Duty to his Majeſty, or your Royal Highneſs; but that I do, with all imaginable Obedience, ſubmit to your good Pleaſure in all Things;

*God preſerve your Royal Highneſs, and keep me in your Favour,*

*SIR,*

*Your Royal Highneſs's moſt humble and obedient Servant,*

CLARENDON.

## *The Earl of* Clarendon's *Letter to the Ducheſs of* York.

YOU have much Reaſon to believe that I have no Mind to trouble you, or diſpleaſe you, eſpecially in an Argument that is ſo unpleaſant and grievous to myſelf; but as no Diſtance of Place that is between us, in Reſpect of our Reſidence, or the greater Diſtance in Reſpect of the high Condition you are in, can make me leſs your Father, or abſolve me from performing thoſe Obligations which that Relation requires from me: So when I receive any credible Advertiſement of what reflects upon you, in Point of Honour, Conſcience, or Diſcretion, I ought not to omit the Informing you of it, or Adminiſtering ſuch Advice to you, as to my Underſtanding ſeems reaſonable, and which I muſt ſtill hope will have ſome Credit with you: I will confeſs to you, that what you wrote to me many Months ſince, upon thoſe Reproaches which I told you were generally reported concerning your Defection in Religion, gave me ſo much Satisfaction, that I believed them to proceed from that ill Spirit of the Time that delights in Slanders and Calumny; but I muſt tell you, the ſame Report increaſes, of late, very much, and I myſelf ſaw a Letter, the laſt Week, from *Paris*, from a Perſon who ſaid the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador aſſured him, the Day before, that the Ducheſs was become a *Roman* Catholick; and which makes greater Impreſſion upon me, I am aſſured that many good Men in *England*, who have great Affection for you and me, and who have thought nothing more impoſſible, than that there ſhould be ſuch a Change in you, are at preſent under much Affliction, with the Obſervation of a great Change in your Courſe of Life, and that conſtant Exerciſe of that Devotion which was ſo notorious; and do apprehend, from your frequent Diſcourſes, that you have not the ſame Reverence and Veneration, which you uſed to have, for the Church of *England*, the Church in which you were baptized, and the Church the beſt conſtituted, and the moſt free from Errors, of any Chriſtian Church, this Day, in the World; and that ſome Perſons, by their Inſinuations, have prevailed with you to have a better Opinion of that which is moſt oppoſite to it, the Church of *Rome*, than the Integrity thereof deſerves. It is not yet in my Power to believe that your Wit and Underſtanding, with God's Bleſſing upon both, can ſuffer you to be ſhaken further, than with melancholick Reflections upon the Iniquity and Wickedneſs of the Age we live in, which diſcredits all Religion, and which, with equal Licenſe, breaks into the Profeſſors of all, and prevails upon the Members of all Churches, and whoſe Manners will have no Benefit from the Faith of any Church.

I preſume, you do not intangle yourſelf in the particular Controverſies between the *Romaniſts* and us, or think yourſelf a competent Judge of all Difficulties which occur therein; and, therefore, it muſt be ſome fallacious Argument of Antiquity and Univerſality, confidently urged by Men, who know leſs than many of thoſe you are acquainted with, and ought leſs to be believed by you, that can raiſe any Doubts and Scruples in you; and, if you will, with equal Temper, hear thoſe who are well able to inform you in all ſuch Particulars, it is not poſſible for you to ſuck in that Poiſon, which can only corrupt and prevail over you, by ſtopping your own Ears, and ſhutting your own Eyes. There are but two Perſons in the World, who have greater Authority with you than I can pretend to, and am ſure they both ſuffer more in this Rumour, and would ſuffer much more, if there were Ground for it, than I can do; and truly I am as unlikely to be deceived myſelf, or to deceive you, as any Man who endeavours to pervert you in your Religion; and, therefore, I beſeech you, let me have ſo much Credit with you, as to perſuade

you to communicate any Doubts or Scruples, which occur to you, before you ſuffer them to make too deep an Impreſſion upon you. The common Argument, that there is no Salvation out of the Church, and the Church of *Rome* is that only true Church, is both irrational and untrue; there are many Churches, in which Salvation may be attained, as well as in any one of them; and were many even in the Apoſtles Time, otherwiſe they would not have directed their Epiſtles to ſo many ſeveral Churches, in which there were different Opinions received, and very different Doctrines taught. There is, indeed, but one Faith, in which we can be ſaved, the ſtedfaſt Belief of the Birth, Paſſion, and Reſurrection of our Saviour; and every Church, that receives and embraces that Faith, is in a State of Salvation: If the Apoſtles preached true Doctrine, the Reception and Retention of many Errors does not deſtroy the Eſſence of a Church; if it did, the Church of *Rome* would be in as ill, if not in a worſe Condition, than moſt other Chriſtian Churches, becauſe its Errors are of a greater Magnitude, and more deſtructive to Religion. Let not the canting Diſcourſe of the Univerſality and Extent of that Church, which has as little of Truth as the reſt, prevail over you; they, who will imitate the greateſt Part of the World, muſt turn Heathens; for it is generally believed, that above Half the World is poſſeſſed by them, and that the *Mahometans* poſſeſs more than Half the Remainder: There is as little Queſtion, that of the reſt, which is inhabited by Chriſtians, one Part of Four is not of the Communion of the Church of *Rome*; and God knows, in that very Communion, there is as great Diſcord in Opinion, and in Matters of great Moment, as is between the other Chriſtians.

I hear you do, in publick Diſcourſes, diſlike ſome Things in the Church of *England*, as the Marriage of the Clergy; which is a Point that no *Roman* Catholick will pretend to be of the Eſſence of Religion, and is in Uſe in many Places, which are of the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, as in *Bohemia*, and thoſe Parts of the *Greek* Church which ſubmit to the *Roman*. And all Men know, that, in the late Council of *Trent*, the Sacrament of both Kinds, and Liberty of the Clergy to marry, was very paſſionately preſſed, both by the Emperor and King of *France*, for their Dominions; and it was afterwards granted to *Germany*, though under ſuch Conditions, as made it ineffectual; which however ſhews, that it was not, nor ever can be, looked upon as Matter of Religion. Chriſtianity was many hundred Years old, before ſuch a Reſtraint was ever heard of in the Church; and, when it was endeavoured, it met with great Oppoſition, and never was ſubmitted to. And, as the poſitive Inhibition ſeems abſolutely unlawful, ſo the Inconveniences, which reſult from thence, will, upon a juſt Diſquiſition, be found ſuperior to thoſe which attend the Liberty which Chriſtian Religion permits. Thoſe Arguments, which are not ſtrong enough to draw Perſons from the *Roman* Communion into that of the Church of *England*, when Cuſtom and Education, and a long ſtupid Reſignation of all their Faculties to their Teachers, uſually ſhuts out all Reaſon to the Contrary, may yet be abundant to retain thoſe who have been baptiſed, and bred and inſtructed in the Grounds and Principles of that Religion, which are, in Truth, not only founded upon the clear Authority of the Scriptures, but upon the Conſent of Antiquity, and the Practice of the Primitive Church: And Men, who look into Antiquity, know well by what Corruption and Violence, and with what conſtant and continual Oppoſition thoſe Opinions, which are contrary to ours, crept into the World; and how unwarrantably the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*, which alone ſupports all the reſt, came to prevail, who hath no more Pretence of Authority and Power in *England*, than the Biſhop of *Paris* or *Toledo* can as reaſonably lay Claim to; and is ſo far from being Matter of Catholick Religion, that the Pope hath ſo much, and no more, to do in *France* or *Spain*, or any other Catholick Dominion, than the Crown, and Laws, and Conſtitutions of ſeveral Kingdoms gave him Leave, which makes him ſo little, if at all, conſidered in *France*, and ſo much in *Spain*; And, therefore, the *Engliſh* Catholicks, which attribute ſo much to him, make themſelves very unwarrantably of another Religion than the Catholick Church profeſſeth; and, without Doubt, they who deſert the Church of *England*, of which they are Members, and become thereby diſobedient to the Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Laws of their Country, and therein renounce their Subjection to the State, as well as to the Church, which are grievous Sins, had

need have a better Excuſe, than the meeting with ſome Doubts which they could not anſwer; and leſs than a manifeſt Evidence, that their Salvation is deſperate in that Communion, cannot ſerve their Turn: And they, who imagine they have ſuch an Evidence, ought rather to ſuſpect, that their Underſtanding hath forſaken them, and that they are become mad, than that the Church, which is repleniſhed with all Learning and Piety requiſite, can betray them to Perdition. I beſeech you to conſider (which I hope will over-rule thoſe ordinary Doubts and Objections which may be infuſed into you) that, if you change your Religion, you renounce all Obedience and Affection to your Father, who loves you ſo tenderly, that ſuch an odious Mutation would break his Heart: You condemn your Father and your Mother (whoſe incomparable Virtue, and Piety, and Devotion, hath placed her in Heaven) for having impiouſly educated you; and you declare the Church and State, to both which you owe Reverence and Subjection, to be, in your Judgment, Antichriſtian: You bring irreparable Diſhonour, Scandal, and Prejudice, to the Duke your Huſband, to whom you ought to pay all imaginable Duty, and who, I preſume, is much more precious to you than your own Life, and all poſſible Ruin to your Children, of whoſe Company and Converſation you muſt look to be deprived; for God forbid, that, after ſuch an Apoſtaſy, you ſhould have any Power in the Education of your Children. You have many Enemies, whom you herein would abundantly gratify, and ſome Friends, whom you will thereby, at leaſt as far as in you lies, perfectly deſtroy, and afflict many others, who have deſerved well of you.

I know you are not inclined to any Part of this Miſchief, and therefore offer theſe Conſiderations, as all thoſe Particulars would be the Conſequence of ſuch a Concluſion. It is to me the ſaddeſt Circumſtance of my Baniſhment, that I may not be admitted, in ſuch a Seaſon as this, to confer with you; when, I am confident, I could ſatisfy you in all your Doubts, and make it appear to you, that there are many Abſurdities in the *Roman* Religion, inconſiſtent with your Judgment and Underſtanding, and many Impieties, inconſiſtent with your Conſcience; ſo that, before you can ſubmit to the Obligations of Faith, you muſt diveſt yourſelf of your natural Reaſon and common Senſe, and captivate the Dictates of your own Conſcience to the Impoſitions of an Authority which hath not any Pretence to oblige or adviſe you. If you will not, with Freedom, communicate the Doubts which occur to you, to thoſe near you, of whoſe Learning and Piety you have had much Experience, let me conjure you to impart them to me, and to expect my Anſwer, before you ſuffer them to prevail over you.

*God bleſs you and yours.*

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A Declaration* of the Right Honourable *James*, Marquis and Earl of *Montroſe*, Lord *Greem* and *Mugdock*, Captain-General of all his Majeſty's Forces, raiſed and to be raiſed for his Service, in his Kingdoms of *Great-Britain*, concerning his Excellency's Reſolution to ſettle his Majeſty, *Charles the Second*, in all his Dominions, *July* 9, 1649. *London*, printed in the Year 1649. *Quarto*, containing five Pages.

* See No. 56. in the Catalogue of the *Harleian* Pamphlets.

ALTHOUGH

ALTHOUGH the univerſal and juſt Reputation of that Cauſe, in which at Preſent I am engaged; the Barbarity of thoſe Rebels, againſt whom I am deſigned; my manifeſt Conſtancy and Fidelity to the Truſt repoſed in me by the late King, of ever bleſſed Memory; my *honeſt* and honourable Behaviour in the late Wars; my candid and ſincere Profeſſion of the true Proteſtant Religion might very well wipe away all thoſe foul and baſe Aſperſions, which my Enemies (and not ſo much mine, as his Majeſty's) have maliciouſly thrown upon me, and remove all thoſe Jealouſies and cauſeleſs Suſpicions, which many have erroneouſly conceived againſt me; yet, that I may clearly demonſtrate my Diſpoſition and paſſionate Deſire to give the World full and perfect Satisfaction of the Candour of my Intentions in this preſent Deſign, I will, this third Time, open the Book of my Soul, and clearly deliver the very Senſe of my Heart, and Tenour of my Reſolutions, in the Proſecution of this preſent Engagement; wherein I ſhall neglect nothing, that may win Credit to my preſent Undertakings, propagate his Majeſty's Service to the beſt Advantage, and ſtir up all his Majeſty's loyal Subjects to an unanimous Conjunction with me in this pious and honourable Enterpriſe.

And, *firſt*, I muſt, with very affectionate Regret, acknowledge myſelf to be deeply ſenſible of that harſh and uncharitable Cenſure, which the Parliament and Kirk of *Scotland* are pleaſed to paſs upon me, giving a Miſ-interpretation to the beſt of my Actions; the very worſt whereof, I am well aſſured, might have juſtly deſerved an honourable Reward: But ſuch is the unhappy Fate of ſome Men (in which Liſt I am unfortunately inrolled) that even their beſt Actions are clothed with Scandal, and their moſt faithful Services rewarded with Diſgrace. But, to ſhew that there ſhall be nothing wanting in me, that may give any Satisfaction to that Kirk and Kingdom, I do here ſolemnly proteſt, in the Preſence of Almighty God, who knows the Secrets of all Hearts, and to whom I muſt one Day give a juſt Account of all my Actions, whether good or evil, That I do intend, nor will act, nothing prejudicial to the Well-being and preſent Government of that Kirk and Kingdom; but will, with the utmoſt Hazard of my Life and Fortune, preſerve them in the full Perfection of their Glory and Splendor; and, by God's Aſſiſtance, will faithfully endeavour to ſettle his Majeſty, my dread Sovereign Lord, in the Thrones of his Kingdoms; to maintain and continue his juſt and indubitable Prerogative, the Privileges of the Parliament, the Authority of the Kirk, and the Immunities of the People; and ſhall freely leave the Continuance, or Alteration, of Government, either in Church or State, in his Majeſty's other Dominions, to the Judgment and Diſcretion of his Majeſty and the Parliaments thereof. And, by the ſame ſolemn Proteſtation, I do further engage to intermeddle with nothing, but the Affairs of the Sword; wherein as always, ſo my Behaviour herein ſhall declare me a Chriſtian, as well as a Soldier; moſt cordially deſiring my Proceedings herein no otherwiſe to be bleſſed, or blaſted, than I ſhall exceed, or confine myſelf to, the Limits of my preſent Declaration.

And, although the Crimes of my Combatants are loud and capital, common even in the Mouths of the loweſt Vulgar; yet I ſhall think it no vain Tautology to make a brief Repetition of their tedious Treaſons, that the World may ſee with what Juſtice and Conſcience I am backed, in purſuing their Deſtruction, who have ſo far abuſed the Credit of Parliaments, that they have made them odious and terrible to the People. And, certainly, the World cannot but take Notice, that their Oaths, Covenants, Proteſtations, Declarations, Faſtings, and Thankſgivings are no other, but Engines of Fraud and Deceit to cheat and delude the People; and their Fears and Jealouſies, and ſo often ſuggeſted Dangers, but Landſkips, or counterfeit Thunders, to amaze and affright the admiriug Multitude, while, through large and ſpecious Pretences, and Expectation of Liberty and Freedom, they are cunningly conveyed into a miſerable and eternal Bondage. Theſe are they, who, cancelling the ſacred Bonds of Religion and Loyalty, forfeited their Truſt both with God and Man; and, in Purſuance of their own baſe and ambitious Ends, eight Years ſince, in the Name, and under the Authority of the Parliament of *England*, waged War againſt their Sovereign, and, under Pretence of the Defence and Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, his Majeſty's Royal

Perſon, the Privileges of Parliament, the Law of the Land, and Liberty of the Subject, drew the over-credulous People into a moſt inteſtine and ſavage Rebellion, to the utter Ruin and Subverſion thereof. For, inſtead of Settling Religion in its ancient Purity, they have ſet open the Flood-gates of Confuſion, and overflowed the Church with a whole Sea of unheard-of Errors, Hereſies, Schiſms, and damnable Blaſphemies, to the Scandal and Ruin thereof: The Privileges of Parliament are quite broken, they have deſtroyed the very Being thereof, not having left ſo much as a Picture of a Parliament: The Law of the Land is quite ſubverted and annihilated, the Stream thereof being wholly turned into the arbitrary Channel of their uſurping Wills: The Liberty of the Subject is ſubjected ſtrangely to the inſupportable Slavery of their monſtrous Tyranny: And, for his Majeſty's ſacred Perſon, it was preſerved indeed, but to a miſerable Cataſtrophe; for, after their many deſperate and bloody Battles, wherein they aimed at, but could not reach it, yet at length, being delivered up to them upon their Faith, and the Faith of the Kingdom, after a long and tedious Impriſonment, wherein he was debarred from all the common Comforts of this Life, and when he had granted ſuch large and free Conceſſions, as even themſelves had voted ſatisfactory, and tending to the Peace of the Kingdom: Yea, and one of his greateſt and moſt ancient Enemies had ingenuouſly acknowledged, in open Parliament, to be ſuch, ſo many, and ſo gracious, as were never before granted by any King, in any Age of the World: Yet, even after all this, laying aſide all Principles of Honour and Honeſty, nulling their own Faith, and the whole Kingdom's, contrary to all their Vows, Proteſtations, and Declarations, to the Truth whereof they had ſo often called God to be a Witneſs; and abjuring all their Oaths, ſolemn Leagues, and Covenants, manifeſting their thirſty Appetites to Royal Blood, after a moſt diſgraceful Manner, they bring his ſacred Perſon to the Mock-bar of Juſtice; where, after many Taunts, Scorns, and Contempts caſt upon the Brow of Sovereign Majeſty, permitting *Unjeckt*, a Villain, to ſpit in his Royal Face, their bloody Preſident paſſed a grim and ugly Sentence upon him, which, upon the Thirtieth of *January*, 1648, was barbarouſly executed upon a Scaffold, in the Face of the Sun, and Sight of his People, before his Royal Court-gate, where, as a Traitor, they ſuffered his Royal Head to be chopped off, by the Hands of the common Hangman. Nor did they ceaſe to purſue their Malice, even after Death, laying the odious Scandals of Tyrant, Traitor, and Murderer on his Royal Name; and yet employ their moſt exquiſite Skill to perpetuate his Memory to Poſterity, in an infamous and loathſome Character.

And, as if they had made a Covenant with Hell to baniſh Modeſty, and put on a Reſolution to be wicked, that their Sin might be as boundleſs as their Wills, and their Rebellion as unlimited as either; they overthrow the Foundation of Government, even in that Inſtant that they declared to maintain it, and are entered into a ſolemn Agreement to aboliſh Monarchy, and, in the Room thereof, to eſtabliſh an eternal Anarchy; and, to that End, have diſinherited all the Royal Iſſue, and proclaimed that their Act, in the cuſtomary Places, with all Solemnity.

For Reſtoring of whom, and Reducing all Things, both in Church and State, into their ancient and fit Channel; although it hath always been my conſtant and ſollicitous Requeſt to his Majeſty, to give me Leave to ſerve him only in a private Command, yet I have received a Commiſſion, under his Royal Hand and Seal, whereby I have full and free Authority to raiſe an Army, and therewith to enter any Part of his Majeſty's Kingdoms of *Great-Britain*, and there to fight with, kill, and ſlay all that I ſhall find armed, or acting in Rebellion againſt his Majeſty; and to give a free and abſolute Pardon to all ſuch, as, in Apprehenſion of their Offences, ſhall lay down their Arms, and ſubmit to Mercy. For the due Execution of which Commiſſion, I declare, that I will, by God's Aſſiſtance, ſpeedily enter the Kingdom of *Scotland*, through which I will march into the Kingdom of *England*, where I will receive into Mercy all ſuch, as, by the Fifth of *November* next enſuing, ſhall lay down their Arms, and, renouncing their Rebellion, humbly ſubmit themſelves to his Majeſty's Obedience, and will give them ſuch Entertainment, as I ſhall find compatible to their Capacities. And I do further declare, that, after that Day, I will receive none to Mercy; and do ſolemnly proteſt, never to lay down Arms, not doubting of God's Aſſiſtance to hold them up, until I have reduced all Re-

bels to their due Obedience; and I will, with all Violence and Fury, purſue and kill them, as Vagabonds, Rogues, and Regicides; not ſparing one that had any Hand in that horrible and barbarous Murder, committed upon the ſacred Perſon of our late dread Sovereign; but utterly extirpate and eradicate them, their Wives, Children, and Families, not leaving one of their curſed Race, if poſſible, to breathe upon the Face of the Earth.

And I do now conjure all his Majeſty's good Subjects, by all Ties, Sacred and Civil, by the Duty they owe to God, by their Loyalty to their Sovereign, by their Love to their native Country, and by their tender Affection to their dear Wives, Children, and Poſterity, that they make their ſpeedy Repair to *Enderneſs* in *Scotland*, or to any other Place upon my March, and join with me in this pious and honourable Engagement, for the Defence of the Proteſtant Religion, the Privileges of Parliaments, the Laws of the Land, the due Execution of Juſtice, and their Redemption from Bondage, and, as a neceſſary Means hereunto, for the ſpeedy Eſtabliſhing of his Majeſty in his Thrones, in Power and Greatneſs, wherein, I doubt not, but we ſhall meet with the Bleſſing of God, and proſperous Succeſs.

From *Hafnia* in the
Kingdom of *Denmark*,
*July* 9, 1649.

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## The Copie of a Letter, written by one in *London* to his Frend, concernyng the Credit of the late publiſhed Detection of the Doynges of the Ladie *Marie* of *Scotland*. Without Date, *Black Letter*, 12*mo*. containing fourteen Pages; and, by ſome, thought to have been written by the learned *Buchanan*.

MANY are the Practiſes of Papiſtes, and other falſe and hollow-harted Subiectes; and Wonder it is, what they dare do and ſay, as if they had the Maieſty of our Prince in Contempt, or did ſtill beare them ſelues bold vpon the Succeſſe of ſome mightie Treaſon, the Bottome whereof hath not yet bene throughly ſearched. Of late hath bene publiſhed, out of *Scotland*, a Treatiſe, detectyng the foule Doynges of ſome that haue bene daungerous to our noble Queene; by which Detection, is induced a very excellent Compariſon for all *Engliſhemen* to iudge whether it be good to chaunge Queenes or no, and, therewith, a neceſſary Enforcement, to euery honeſt Man, to pray hartely for the long Continuaunce of our good Mother to rule ouer vs, that our Poſteritie may not ſee her Place left empty for a perilous Stepedame. Some caryed with Popiſhe Affection, that regardeth neither naturall Prince nor Contrey, and puffed with the Dropſey of a trayterous Humor, labour what they can to diſcredit the ſame Detection, as vntrue. Some of them, whyle they, lyke good ſincere Men forſoth, would fayne ſeme very indifferent Iudges, ſay they will credit Nothing, till they heare both Parties, not remembryng, that, in the ſame one Booke, are both Parties to be heard, the one in the former Parte, both in the Declaration and Oration of Euidence; the other in the latter Parte, in the Parties owne Contractes, Songes, Letters, Iudiciall Procedynges, Proteſtations, Examinations, and Confeſſions. Some other more open Fellowes ſay flatly that all is falſe, the Booke hath no Credit, the Authour is vnknowne, obſcure, the Mater counterfaite, and all is Nothing. If any ſuch Rumors come to your Eare, firſt, I think verely, in Truth you may be bold to ſay to the Partie, *Et tu ex illis es*, thou art alſo one of them. And, for the Mater, I haue thought good to enforme you of ſo much as I know, for Proſe-

of

of the ſame Treatiſe to be of Credite, wherewith you may aunſwere and ſtoppe the Mouthes of ſuch Rumor Spreaders.

The Booke it ſelfe, with the Oration of Euidence, is written in *Latine* by a learned Man of *Scotland*, M. *George Buchanan*, one priuie to the Procedynges of the Lordes of the Kynges ſecret Counſell there, well able to vnderſtand and diſcloſe the Truth, hauyng eaſie Acceſſe alſo to all the Recordes of that Contrey that might helpe hym. Beſides that the Booke was written by hym, not as of hym ſelfe, nor in hys owne Name, but accordyng to the Inſtructions to hym geuen by common Conference of the Lordes of the Priuie Counſel of *Scotland*; by hym onely for hys Learnyng penned, but by them the Mater miniſtred, the Booke ouerſeen and allowed, and exhibited by them as Mater that they haue offred, and do continue in offeryng, to ſtand to and iuſtifie before our Soueraigne Ladie, or her Highneſſes Commiſſioners in that Behalfe apointed. And what Profe they haue made of it already, when they were here for that Purpoſe, and the ſayd Authour of the ſayd Booke one among them, when both Parties, or their ſufficient Procurators, were here preſent, indifferently to be heard, and ſo were heard in deede; all good Subiectes may eaſely gather, by our ſayd Soueraigne Ladyes Procedyng, ſins the ſayd Hearyng of the Cauſe, who, no Dout, would neuer haue ſo ſtayed her Requeſt, but rather would haue added Enforcement, by miniſtring of Aide to the Ladie *Marie* of *Scotland*, for her Reſtitution (the Preſident and Honor of Princes, and her Maieſties own former Example of Sinceritie, vſed in Defenſe of the *Scottiſh* Queene, her ſelfe in *Scotland* againſt *France*, and her Maintenance of the *French* Kinges Honor and Libertie, againſt the hye Attemptes of ſome his Popiſh Subiectes, conſidered) nor would haue lyued in ſuch good Amitie with the yong Kyng of *Scotland*, the Regentes, and the true Lordes Mainteiners of that Side *; if theſe haynous Offenſes, alleged on that Part, had not bene prouable, or if the yong Kyng had bene an Vſurper, or hys Regentes, and other Lordes of that Faction, Traytors, as they muſt haue bene, if all be falſe that is obiected againſt the ſayd Ladie *Marie*. I recite not what Subſcriptions and Aſſentes haue bene to confirme the Booke, and the Maters in it contcined; byſide that I do you to wyte, that one written Copie thereof, in *Latine*, was now, vpon hys late Apprehenſion, found in one of the Duke of *Norfolkes* Mens Houſes, and thether ſent, by his Commaundement, a little before his Apprehenſion, to be ſecretlie kept there, with diuers other Pamphelets and Writynges; whiche Thyng not onely addeth Credit to this Booke, that it was not counterfait, but alſo geueth ſhrewed Saſpicions, that the Duke could not ſo well lyke the Woman, beyng ſuch a Woman, as, for her Perſons Sake, to venture the Ouerthrow of ſuch a floriſhing State, wherein he ſtode before; but that ſome other greater Thing †, it might be, that he lyked, the Gredyneſſe whereof myght temper his Abhorryng of ſo foule Conditions, and of ſo great a Danger to hym ſelfe, to be ſent after his Predeceſſours ‡. The Byſhop of *Roſſe* ‖ lykewiſe doth both knowe, that the Duke had this Booke, and can tell how the Duke came by it. The other Mater of the Contractes, Letters, Songes, *&c.* haue, among other, theſe Proues. Liuely Witneſſes, of great Honor and Credit, can tell, that the very Caſket, there deſcribed, was here in *England* ſhewed; the Letters, and other Monumentes, opened and exhibited; and ſo much, as is there ſayd, to haue bene written or ſubſcribed by the ſayd Ladie *Marie*, the Erle *Bothwell*, or other, hath bene, by Teſtimonies and Othes of Men of Honor and Credite of that Contrey, teſtified and auowed, in Preſence of Perſones of moſt honorable State and Authoritie, to haue bene written and ſubſcribed, as is there alleged, and ſo deliuered without Raſure, Diminution, Addition, Falſifieng, or Alteration, in any Point. And a Nomber there be in *England*, of very good and worſhypfull Calling, byſide the Commiſſioners thereto apoynted, that haue ſeene the Originals them ſelues, of the ſame Handes whoes this Book doth ſay them to be. Whiche Thinges haue been heard and vnderſtoode by thoſe that can tell, and thoſe whoes Truth, in Reporting, is above all Exception.

* See Page 396 above. † *viz.* The Crown of *England* and *Scotland*. ‡ Beheaded for Treaſon. ‖ Agent for the Queen of *Scots*.

Where[illegible]

Wherefore ſithe the *Scottiſhemen* haue, for Satiſfaction of vs, their good Neyghbours, among whom the ſayd Ladie *Marie* remayneth, to the Perill of both Princes as the *Scottiſhemen* ſay, publiſhed theſe Maters, to the Intent that the Impudencie of the ſayd Ladie *Maries* Fautors, in denyeng thoſe Truthes, may not ſeduce *Engliſhe* Subjectes to the Vnderminyng of the Eſtate, Honor, and noble Procedyng of our moſt gracious Soueraigne, and Diuertyng of Affections to vndue Places, and to the great Perill of both Realmes, which the Aduerſaries call, *beneficiall Vnityng*, but is in deede moſt maleficiall Confoundyng, intended to ioyne the Realmes in other Perſones, excluding the Perſon of our ſayd Soueraigne Lady: Let vs receiue this Admoniſhment thankefully, and gather the Frute thereof, to the Stabliſhment of our Loyaltie to our owne Queene, agaynſt whom the Fauorers of the other Side haue banded them ſelues in Hoſtilitie and Treaſon.

This I haue thought good to write to you, for your Satiſfaction in Knowledge of the Caſe; whom I know alreadie ſufficiently ſatiſfied in good and dutifull Affection. God diſcloſe theſe hollow Hartes, or rather God graunt her Maieſtie, and thoſe that be in Authoritie vnder her, an earneſt Will to ſee them, for they will diſcloſe them ſelues faſt enough. And God ſend her *Maieſtie* ſo to remoue the Groundes of her Perill, that not onely we, which by open Thruſtyng our ſelues agaynſt her Enemyes, haue ſet vp our Reſt vpon our Queene *Elizabeth*, and ſhall neuer be admitted to Fauour on the other Side, but alſo all wiſe and honeſt Men may know that it ſhal be ſafe to be true, and daungerous to be falſe. Otherwiſe the Miſchief is euident. For Men in Nature and in Policie will ſeke for their own Safeties, which if they may not finde in Truth, it is a great Auauncement of Falſehode. God long preſerue our good and gracious Queene *Elizabeth*, and make her Enemyes know, that there is ſure Perill in Treaſon, and her true Subjectes bold to ſticke to her without Dread of any Reuenge or Diſpleaſure. So fare ye well.

For further Profe, that the ſayd Letters, written by the ſaid Ladie *Marie*, and mentioned in the ſayd Booke, are not counterfait but her owne, I haue herewith alſo ſent you the moſt autentike Teſtimonie of the three Eſtates of *Scotland*, aſſembled in Parliament. The Copie of which Acte you ſhall receiue Word for Word, as it was enacted in *Scotland* in *December* 1567, and remaineth publikely in Print, ſauyng, that I haue for your more eaſy Vnderſtanding changed the *Scottiſhe* Orthography, which I would to God had been done for *Engliſhemens* better Satiſfaction in Maiſter *George Buchanans* Booke. Howbeit, the ſame is not ſo hard but that, after the Readyng of two Leaues, a Man may eaſily enough grow acquainted with it; and doutleſſe the Knowlege and Monumentes, therein contained, are wel worth ſo ſmall a Trauell to vnderſtand them.

## *The* Scottiſhe *Act of Parliament, touching the Retention of our Soueraine Lordes Mothers Perſone.*

*ITEM*, touching the Article propounded by the Earles, Lordes, and other Noblemen, who tooke Armes at *Carbarie* Hill, vpon the xv. Day of *Iune* laſt by paſt, and touching their Conuenynges of before, and of the Cauſe of the Apprehenſion of the Queene Mother to our Soueraigne Lord: And whether the ſayd Noblemen, and others, which tooke Armes of before her ſayd Apprehenſion, and which ioyned with them, and aſſiſted them at that Tyme, or any Wayes ſence, haue done the Dutie of Noblemen, good and true Subjectes of this Realme, and no Wayes offended, nor tranſgreſſed the Lawes in that Effect, or any Thing depending thereupon, either preceding, or following the ſame.

Our Soueraigne Lord, with Aduiſe of my Lord Regent, and three Eſtates, and whole Body of this preſent Parliament, hath found, declared, and concluded, and by this preſent Act, findeth, declareth, and concludeth, that the Cauſe and Occaſion of the Conuentions and Meſſages of the ſayd Earles, Lordes, Noblemen, Barons, and others, faythfull and true Subiectes, and conſequently, their Takyng of Armes, and Comming to the Fieldes, with open and diſplayed Baners, and the Cauſe and Occaſion of the taking of the ſayd Queenes Perſon,

Perſon, vpon the ſayd xv. Day of *Iune* laſt, by paſt, and holdyng and deteinyng of the ſame, within the Houſes and Fortalice of *Lochleum*, continually, ſence preſently, and in all Tyme comming, and generally all other Thinges inuented, ſpoken, written, or done by them, or any of them to that Effect, ſence the x. of *Febr.* laſt by paſt, vpon the which Day, the late *Henry* Kyng, then the ſayd Queenes lawfull Huſband, and our Soueraigne Lord the Kynges deareſt Father, was treaſonablie, ſhamefully, and horriblie murthered, vnto the Day and Date of this preſent Act, and in all Tymes to come, touchyng the ſayd Queene, and Deteinyng of her Perſon: That the Cauſe, and all Thinges dependyng thereon, or that any Wayes may perteine therto, the Intermiſſion, or Diſponyng vpon her Propertie, Caſualties, or whatſoeuer Thing perteyning, or that any Wayes might perteyne to her, was in the ſayd Queenes own Default, *in ſo far as by diuers her priuie Letters, written wholly with her own Hand, and ſent by her to* Iames *ſometime Earle of* Bothwell, *chief Executor of the ſaid horrible Murther, aſwell before the Committing therof, as therafter, and by her vngodly and diſhonorable Procedyng to a pretended Marriage with him, ſodainly and vnprouiſedly therafter*, it is moſt certain, that ſhe was *priuie, Airt, and Part, of the actual Deuiſe, and Dede of the foreſaid Murther, of the King her lawfull Husband, and Father to our Soueraigne Lord, committed by the ſaid* Iames, *ſometime Earle of* Bothwell, *his Complices and Partakers*. And, therfore, iuſtly deſerueth what ſoeuer hath ben done to her, in any Time by gone, or that ſhal be vſed towardes her, for the ſayd Cauſe in Time comming, which ſhal be vſed by Aduiſe of the Nobilitie, in Reſpect that our ſayd Soueraigne Lordes Mother, with the ſayd *Iames*, ſometime Earl of *Bothwell*, yeid about by indirect and coloured Meanes to colour, and hold backe the Knowlege of the Truth of the Committers of the ſayd Crime. Yet all Men in their Hartes were fully perſwaded, of the Authours and Deuiſers of that miſchieuous and vnworthie Fact, awaityng while God ſhould move the Hartes of ſome to enter in the Quarell, for Reuengyng of the ſame. And in the meane Time, a great Part of the Nobilitie, vpon iuſt Fear to be handled and demeaned in ſemblable Manner, as the Kyng had bene of before; perceiuyng alſo the Queene ſo *thrall, and ſo blindly affectionate to the priuate Appetite of that Tyranne, and that both he, and ſhe, had conſpired together ſuch horrible Crueltie*, being therwith all garniſhed with a Companie of vngodly and vitious Perſons, ready to accompliſh all their vnlawfull Commaundementes, of whom he had a ſufficient Nomber, continually awaytyng vpon him, for the ſame Effect, all noble and vertuous Men, abhorryng their Tyrannie, and Companie, but chiefly ſuſpecting, that they, who had ſo treaſonablie put downe and diſtroyed the Father, ſhould make the innocent Prince, his onely Sonne, and the principall and almoſt onely Comfort, ſent by God to this afflicted Nation, *to taſt of the ſame Cup* (as the many inuented Purpoſes to paſſe where he was, and alſo where the Noblemen were in) by their open Confeſſion gaue ſufficient Warnyng and Declaration, where through the ſayd Earles, Lordes, Barons, and others, faythful and true Subjectes, taking Armes, or otherwayes whatſoeuer ioynyng and aſſiſting in the ſayd Action, and in the ſayd Conuentions, diſplaying Baners, and commyng to the Fieldes, takyng and reteinyng of the Queenes Perſon, aſwell in Tymes by paſt, as hereafter, and all others that haue therafter, or ſhall in any Time comming adioyne to them, and all Thinges done by them, or any of them, touching that Cauſe, and all other Thinges depending thereon, or that any Wayes may appertaine therto, the Intromiſſion, or Diſponing upon her Propertie, or Caſualties, or whatſoeuer other Thinges perteyning, or any Wayes might apperteyne to her, was in Default of her ſelfe, and the ſayde *Iames*, ſometime Earle of *Bothwell*, and by the *horrible and cruel Murther of our ſayd Soueraigne Lordes late deareſt Father, conſpired, deuiſed, committed, counſeled, and coloured by them*, and not condignely puniſht according to the Lawes, *&c.*

This Act with the reſt is thus ſubſcribed in the *Scottiſhe* Booke. *Extractum de libro actorum Parlamenti per me Jacobum Makgill de Rankelour nether Clericum rotulorum Regiſtri ac conſilij* S. D. N. *Regis ſub meis ſigno et ſubſcriptione manualibus.* Jacobus Makhill. *And is imprinted at* Edinburgh, *by* Robert Lexpreuik, *Printer to the Kings Maieſtie the vi. Day of* Aprill, *in the Yeare of God* 1568.

A Declara

# A Declaration * of the fauourable Dealing of her Maiesties Commissioners, appointed for the Examination of certaine Traitours, and of Tortures vniustly reported to be done vpon them for Matters of Religion. 1583. In *black Letter*, *Quarto*, containing six Pages.

## To the READER.

*GOOD Reader, although her Maiesties most milde and gracious Gouernement bee sufficient to defende it selfe against those most slaunderous Reportes of Heathenish and vnnaturall Tyrannie, and cruell Tortures, pretended to haue bene executed vpon certaine Traitours, who lately suffred for their Treason, and others; aswell spread Abroad by Runnagate Iesuites and Seminary-men, in their seditious Bookes, Letters, and Libels, in forreine Countries and Princes Courtes, as also insinuated into the Hearts of some of our own Countrie Men and her Maiesties Subiectes; Yet, for thy better Satisfaction, I haue conferred with a very honest Gentleman, whom I knew to haue good and sufficient Meanes to deliuer the Trueth against such Forgers of Lyes and shameles Slaunders in that Behalfe, which he, and other, that do know, and haue affirmed the same, will at all Times iustifie: And, for thy further Assurance and Satisfaction herein, he hath set downe, to the Vewe of all Men, these Notes following.*

TOUCHING the Racke and Torments, vsed to such Traitours, as pretended them selues to bee Catholiques, vpon whom the same haue bene exercised, it is affirmed for Trueth, and is offered, vpon due Examination, so to be proued, to bee as followeth: *First*, That the Formes of Torture, in their Seueritie, or Rigour of Execution, haue not bene such, and in such Maner perfourmed, as the Sclaunderers and seditious Libellers haue sclaunderously and malitiously published; and that euen the principall Offender, *Campion* himselfe, who was sent and came from *Rome*, and continued here in sundrie Corners of the Realme, hauing secretly wandered in the greatest Part of the Shieres of *Englande* in a disguised Sort, to the Intent to make speciall Preparation of Treasons; and to that ende, and for the Furtherance of those [illegible], sent ouer for more Helpe and Assistance, and cunningly and traiterously at *Rome*, before he came from thence, procured Tolleration for such prepared Rebels to keepe them selues couert, vnder Pretence of temporarie and permissiue Obedience to her Maiestie, the State standing as it doth; but, so soone as there were sufficient Force, whereby the Bull of her Maiesties Depriuation might bee publikely executed, they shoulde then ioyne altogether with that Force, vpon Peine of Curse and Damnation: That very *Campion*, I say, before the Conference had with him by learned Men in the *Tower*, wherein he was charitably vsed, was neuer so racked, but that he was presently able to walke, and to write, and did presently write and subscribe all his Confessions, as by the Originals thereof may appeare. A horrible Matter is also made of the Staruing of one *Alexander Briant*; how he should eat Clay out of the Walles, gathered Water to drinke from the Droppings of

* See No. 44. in the Catalogue of the *Harleian* Pamphlets.

Houſes, with ſuch other falſe Oſtentations of Immanitie; where the Trueth is this: That, whatſoeuer *Briant* ſuffered, in Want of Foode, he ſuffered the ſame wilfully, and of extreme impudent Obſtinacie, againſt the Minde and Liking of thoſe that dealt with him. For, certaine traiterous Writings being founde about him, it was thought conuenient, by Conference of Hands, to vnderſtand whoſe Writing they were; and thereupon, he being, in her Maieſties Name, commaunded to write, which he coulde very well doe, and being permitted to him to write what he woulde him ſelfe, in theſe Termes: That, if he liked not to write one Thing, he might write an other, or what he lyſted (which to doe, being charged in her Maieſties Name, was his Duetie, and to refuſe was diſloyall and vndutifull) yet the Man woulde by no Meanes be induced to write any Thing at all. Then was it commaunded to his Keeper to giue vnto him ſuch Meate, Drinke, and other conuenient Neceſſaries, as he woulde write for; and to forbeare to giue him any Thing, for which he woulde not write. But *Briant*, being thereof aduertiſed, and oft moued to write, perſiſting ſo in his curſt Heart, by almoſt two Dayes and two Nightes, made Choiſe rather to lack Foode, then to write for the Suſtenance, which he might readely haue had for Writing, and which he had, indede, readely and plentifully, ſo ſoone as he wrote. And, as it is ſayde of theſe two, ſo is it to be truely ſayde of other, with this, That there was a perpetuall Care had, and the Queenes Seruantes the Wardens, whoſe Office and Act it is to handle the Racke, were euer, by thoſe that attended the Examinations, ſpecially charged to vſe it in as charitable Maner, as ſuch a Thing might be.

*Secondly*, it is ſayde, and likewiſe offered to be iuſtified*, That neuer any of theſe Seminaries, or ſuch other pretended Catholiques, which at any Time, in her Maieſties Raigne, haue bene put to the Racke, were, vpon the Racke, or in other Torture, demaunded any Queſtion of their ſuppoſed Conſcience; as, What they beleeued, in any Point of Doctrine, or Faith, as, the Maſſe, Tranſubſtantiation, or ſuch like; but onely, With what Perſons at Home, or Abroad, and touching what Plots, Practiſes, and Conferences they had dealt, about Attempts againſt her Maieſties Eſtate or Perſon? Or, to alter the Lawes of the Realme, for Matters of Religion, by Treaſon or by Force? And howe they were perſwaded them ſelues? and did perſwade other, touching the Popes Bul, and Pretenſe of Authoritie to depoſe Kings and Princes; and namely, for Depriuation of her Maieſtie, and to diſcharge Subiectes from their Allegeance? Expreſſing herein alway the Kingly Powers and Eſtates, and the Subiectes Allegeance Ciuily, without mentioning, or meaning therein any Right, that the Queene, as in Right of the Crowne, hath ouer Perſons Eccleſiaſticall, being her Subiectes. In all which Caſes, *Campion* and the reſt neuer anſwered plainely, but ſophiſtically, deceitfully, and traiterouſly; reſtraining their Confeſſion of Allegeance onely to the permiſſiue Forme of the Popes Tolleration: As, for Example, If they were aſked, Whether they did acknowledge them ſelues the Queenes Subiectes, and woulde obey her? They woulde ſay, Yea; for ſo they had Leaue for a Time to doe. But, adding more to the Queſtion, and they being aſked, If they woulde ſo acknowledge and obey her, any longer then the Pope woulde ſo permit them, or not withſtanding ſuch Commaundement, as the Pope woulde, or might giue to the Contrary? Then they eyther refuſed ſo to obey, or denyed to anſwere, or ſaid, That they coulde not anſwere to thoſe Queſtions without Daunger: Which very Anſwere, without more Saying, was a plaine Anſwere, to all reaſonable Vnderſtanding, That they woulde no longer be Subiectes, nor perſwade other to be Subiectes, then the Pope gaue Licence. And, at their very Arraignement, when they laboured to leaue in the Minds of the People, and Standers by, an Opinion that they were to dye, not for Treaſon, but for Matter of Faith and Conſcience in Doctrine, touching the Seruice of God, without any Attempt or Purpoſe againſt her Maieſtie, they cryed out, That they were true Subiectes, and did, and woulde obey and ſerue her Maieſtie. Immediately, to proue whether that hypocriticall and ſophiſtical Speach extended to a Perpetuitie of their Obedience, or to ſo long Time as the Pope ſo permitted, or no, they were openly, in Place of Iudgement, aſked by the Queenes learned Counſell, Whether they woulde ſo obey, and be true Subiectes, if the

* See *The Execution of Juſtice*, as publiſhed in this Collection.

Pope commaunded the Contrary? They plainely diſcloſed them ſelues in Anſwere, ſaying, by the Mouth of *Caſton*, This Place (*meaning the Court of her Maieſties* Bench) hath no Power to enquire, or iudge of the Holy Fathers Authoritie; and other Anſwere they woulde not make.

*Thirdly*, That none of them haue bene put to the Racke or Torture, no not for the Matters of Treaſon, or Partnerſhip of Treaſon, or ſuch like, but where it was firſt knowen, and euidently probable by former Detections, Confeſſions, and otherwiſe, that the Partie ſo racked, or tortured, was guylty, and did knowe, and coulde deliuer Trueth of the Thinges, wherewith he was charged; ſo as it was firſt aſſured, that no Innocent was at any Time tormented; and the Racke was neuer vſed to wring out Confeſſions at Aduenture vpon Vncertainties, in which Doing, it might bee poſſible, that an Innocent, in that Caſe, might haue bene racked.

*Fourthly*, That none of them hath bene racked, or tortured, vnleſſe he had firſt ſayde expreſſely, or amounting to aſmuch, That he wil not tell the Trueth, though the Queene commaund him. And, if any of them, being examined, did ſay, He could not tell, or did not remember, if he woulde ſo affirme, in ſuch Maner as Chriſtians among Chriſtians are beleeued, ſuch his Anſwere was accepted, if there were not apparant Euidence to proue that he wilfully ſayde vntruely. But, if he ſayde, That his Anſwere, in deliuering Trueth, ſhoulde hurt a Catholique, and ſo be an Offence againſt Charitie, which they ſayde to be Sinne, and that the Queene coulde not commaund them to ſinne, and therefore, howſoeuer the Queene commaunded, they woulde not tell the Trueth, which they were knowen to know, or to ſuch Effect, they were then put to the Torture, or els not.

*Fifthly*, That the Proceeding to Torture was alway ſo ſlowly, ſo vnwillingly, and with ſo many Preparations of Perſwaſions to ſpare them ſelues, and ſo many Meanes to let them know, that the Trueth was by them to be vttered, both in Duetie to her Maieſtie, and in Wiſedome for themſelues, as whoſoeuer was preſent at thoſe Actions muſt needes acknowledge, in her Maieſties Miniſters, a ful Purpoſe to follow the Example of her owne moſt gratious Diſpoſition: Whome God long preſerue.

Thus it appeareth, that, albeit, by the more generall Lawes of Nations, Torture hath bene, and is lawfully iudged to be vſed in leſſer Caſes, and in ſharper Maner, for Inquiſition of Trueth in Crimes not ſo neere extending to publike Danger, as theſe vngratious Perſons haue committed, whoſe Conſpiracies, and the Particularities thereof, it did ſo much import and behoue to haue diſcloſed; yet, euen in that neceſſarie Vſe of ſuch Proceeding, enforced by the Offenders notorious Obſtinacie, is neuertheleſſe to be acknowledged the ſweete Temperature of her Maieſties milde and gratious Clemencie; and their ſlaunderous Lewdenes to be the more condemned, that haue, in Fauour of haynous Malefactours, and ſtubborne Traytours, ſpred vntrue Rumors and Slaunders, to make her mercifull Gouernment diſliked, vnder falſe Pretenſe; and Rumors of Sharpeneſſe and Crueltie to thoſe, againſt whome nothing can be cruel, and yet vpon whome nothing hath bene done, but gentle and mercifull.

A Deſcription of the Sect called *the Family of Love*: With their common Place of Reſidence. Being diſcovered by one Mrs. *Suſanna Snow*, of *Pirford* near *Chertſey*, in the County of *Surrey*, who was vainly led away for a Time, through their baſe Allurements, and at length fell mad, till by a great Miracle ſhewn from God, ſhe was delivered.

*O* Iſrael, *truſt in the Lord, for in the Lord there is Mercy, and with him is plenteous Redemption.* Pſal. cxxx.

*London* printed, 1641. *Quarto*, containing ſix Pages.

IT was in the County of *Surrey*, at a Village called *Pirford*, three Miles from *Chertſey*, there dwelt a Gentleman by name *Snow*, who had to his Daughter a very beautiful and religious Gentlewoman, who was not only a Joy to the Father, but alſo an exceeding Joy to the Mother; ſhe had not long gladded the Hearts of her Parents, with a virtuous and dutiful Behaviour, when the Devil, arch Enemy to Mankind, ſought to ſubvert and eradicate this well planted Virtue, and thus it happened:

This Gentlewoman, Mrs. *Suſanna Snow*, for ſo was ſhe called, holding Prattle with one of her Father's Men, one Day began to queſtion with him about the new Sects of Religion which now were ſo much talked of, enquiring what News he heard of any of them.

He anſwered, that it was his Chance to be at a little Village called *Bagſhot*, not ſix Miles from thence, where he heard of a Company that got Reſidence there, and every Day had a Meeting in a private Place, which was miſtruſted to be about the Sign of the *Buck*, and they called themſelves, *The Family of Love*; and moſt have a great Suſpicion that they came from *London*, and their Number is about an Hundred; but he told her it was the Talk of the whole Country. This Mrs. *Suſanna* heard with Patience, and marked with Diligence every Particular; ſhe gave the Servant but little Anſwer, but ſhe vowed in her Heart to ſee the Faſhions of this Sect. Well, Night grew on, and to Bed they went; but ſhe prevented the early Sun in being up before her, ſo great a Deſire had this poor Gentlewoman to thruſt herſelf into Danger. After ſhe had broke her Faſt, and cauſed her Man to ſet a Side-ſaddle on a Gelding, alone ſhe took her Journey, vowing not to return, till ſhe had ſeen ſome of their Behaviours which were of the Family of Love.

Thus ſhe rode along undiſturbed by meeting any Paſſengers, till ſhe came within Half a Mile of the Village of *Bagſhot*; but then ſhe ſaw at the leaſt an hundred Perſons, Men and Women, croſſing over the Heath, bending their Courſe towards a Wood called *Birchwood*; to them-wards ſhe rides, and overtaking a Siſter which lagged behind the reſt, ſhe cried, Well overtaken, Siſter; the Siſter of the Family bid her Welcome. Siſter, quoth Mrs. *Suſanna*, is your Habitation here about *Bagſhot?* The Siſter anſwered, That ſhe ſojourned in *Bawwago*. Then quoth ſhe, ſure you can reſolve me one Queſtion, which is this, Do you know of any that came from *London* lately; there were about the Number of an Hundred, I was of the Company, but they came away unknown unto me; and I heard that they ſojourn here about this Coaſt. The ſilly Siſter was not aware of her Guile which ſhe ſpoke, but anſwered her, that this was the Company ſhe meant ſure. Mrs. *Suſanna* aſked again, Are

theſe of the Family? She anſwered, Yes. Then Mrs. *Suſanna* rode after and overtook them, where this Woman revealed the Conference ſhe had with Mrs. *Suſanna*, and how that ſhe thought her to be very zealouſly affected to the Family; on theſe Words, although ſhe were unknown, yet ſhe was entertained into their Society, and went along with them.

Now you muſt underſtand that they have certain Days, which are dedicated unto *Saints* as they call them, as to *Ovid*, who wrote the Art of Loving; to *Priapus*, the firſt bawdy Butcher that ever did ſtick Pricks in Fleſh, and make it ſwell; and to many others, which they uſed to ſpend in poetiſing in the Woods; thither they come, and after many Paſtimes there enacted, the Poet deſired them to ſit down on the Green, and then he began to ſpeak moſt ſtrong Language, as this or the like, Let not us perſuade ourſelves, although that many would have us to believe it, that our great God *Cupid* is obcecated, for he penetrateth the Intrails of the moſt Magnanimous; after theſe or the like Words, he recited Part of a Verſe from *Virgil*'s Epigrams:

——*Non ſtat bene mentula craſſa.*

Which to *Engliſh* I forbear, becauſe it is obſcene; on this he built his whole Diſcourſe, venting very ſtrange obſcene Paſſages; after this was done, they go to Dinner, where they had exceeding Delicates, and after this Repaſt they provided to return. Now here you muſt note, that the Poet, viewing this new Siſter of the Family, was ſo mightily inflamed with her, that either he muſt enjoy or periſh; when they were walking Home, therefore, he ſingled her out from the reſt of the Company, and ſpoke to her as follows:

'Fair Siſter, hard is that Taſk, where I 'muſt die in Silence, or elſe preſent unto you 'an unſeemly Suit; but ſo irkſome is Death, 'and ſo pleaſant the Enjoyment of my Wiſhes, 'that I rather deſire to be counted unmanner'nerly than not amorous to your beauteous ſelf.'

With theſe and ſuch like Words he courted her, till at length Time and Opportunity both favoured him ſo much, that ſhe plaid a Maids Part indeed; ſhe ſaid Nay, and yet took it. This Novice, having had his Deſire, conducted her to the Company, and there left her among the reſt of the Siſters, where ſhe ſtaid for the Space of a whole Week, viewing their Faſhions, as the Manner of their Prayers, of their Preaching, of their Chriſtening and Burying, with many more Things which will be too long for this little Pamphlet to bear.

Now when ſhe had ſeen as ſhe thought enough, ſhe ſtole away from them, not ceaſing to think of the Wrong ſhe had ſuſtained, by her Conſenting to the Luſt of the poetical Brother; well, diſcontented ſhe paſſed the Way till ſhe came in the Preſence of her Father; he aſked with very mild and loving Terms, where ſhe had been; ſhe anſwered him, at her Aunt's at *Oakingham*; with which Anſwer her Father was ſatisfied, but her Mother was not, becauſe ſhe had ſent thither before, to ſee if ſhe had been there; yet her Mother could get no other Anſwer from her, than that ſhe had been there; but ſeeing that ſhe was come Home again, they queſtioned the Matter no more where ſhe had been. But ſhe had not been at Home long, when ſhe began to delight to be by herſelf, and to make much of Melancholy, taking Delight in nothing, wherein ſhe did heretofore; this her loving Parents took Notice of, but would not ſpeak of it, and thus ſhe continued for the Space of ten or fourteen Days; at laſt, ſhe began to be very untowardly, and they could not rule her, for ſhe would break Glaſſes and earthen Ware, and throw any Thing at the Heads of the Servants, and incontinent ſhe fell ſtark mad. I cannot expreſs her Father's Grief, when he ſaw his only beloved Daughter in this Plight; but I will leave you to judge of it who have Children of your own, how it would grieve you to ſee your Children in ſuch a Plight. Her Father, although he were almoſt diſtracted with Grief to ſee his Child thus lie on the Wreck of Misfortune, ſummons up his Senſes together, and at length he thought upon one Mr. *Ybder*, a very honeſt Man, and a moſt reverend Divine, living in *Oxford*; to him he ſent, requeſting him of all Loves that he would come, and viſit him in this his great Diſtreſs; he preſently diſpatched Horſe and Man, for *Oxford* they were bound. The Man coming to Mr. *Ybder*'s Chamber, which is in *Magdalen Hall*, he found him within, to whom he delivered his Meſſage. Maſter *Ybder* came along with him; he was no ſooner arrived at Maſter *Snow*'s Houſe, but the poor Gentleman almoſt frantick for his Daughter's Diſtemperature, with Tears in his Eyes, began and related, what you have here before read,

read, to Maſter *Ybder*, who preſently deſired that he might but ſee her. This good old Man, with all Diligence, being ſtill in Hope of her Recovery, conducted him into the Chamber where his Daughter was; ſhe had no ſooner fixed her Eyes upon them entering, but ſhe ſhreeked out, and cried, The Devil, the Devil; I am damned, I am damned, I am damned, with many ſuch like horrid horrible Exclamations; then ſtepped forwards Mr. *Ybder*, and told her that ſhe was deceived, God ſurely would not leave her Soul ſo, if ſhe would but endeavour as ſhe had done heretofore, for ſaid he, *Chriſt came not into the World to call the Righteous, but Sinners to Repentance*; and again, *Seek and ye ſhall find, knock and it ſhall be opened unto thee*; *and although thou haſt played the Harlot with many Lovers, yet return again unto me, ſaith the Lord*, at the third Chapter of *Jeremy*, and the firſt Verſe.

She hearkened unto Maſter *Ybder* very patiently, for the Space of Half an Hour, but then ſhe began to be very troubleſome, and ſometimes outrageous; at laſt, ſhe called for ſome Wine, for ſhe was very thirſty, ſhe ſaid. Wine was brought unto her in a *Venice*-glaſs; her Father, good old Man, ſpoke to her to drink to Mr. *Ybder*, for he had taken great Pains with her; ſhe looked very wildly on him, and threw the Glaſs to the Ground, with theſe Words, 'That it was as impoſſible for her to 'be ſaved, as for that Glaſs to rebound into her 'Hand unbroken, which contrary to the Ex-'pectation of all, this Glaſs did;' Well, ſaid this Gentlewoman, I will yet truſt in the Lord my Redeemer, for he is merciful and long-ſuffering; with theſe Words ſhe praiſed God, and began, as from the Beginning, to relate the Caſe of her Diſtemperature, deſiring Mr. *Ybder*, that he would pray with her, and for her; and thus by the Mercy of God was this Gentlewoman delivered.

An

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*The End of the Third Volume.*

# A copious and exact CATALOGUE of PAMPHLETS in the *HARLEIAN LIBRARY*, &c.

Many judicious Gentlemen, who are *Subſcribers* to the *Harleian Miſcellany*, having adviſed the Proprietor thereof, to publiſh at the End of every *Weekly Number*, an ample and exact *Catalogue* of the moſt conſiderable *Pamphlets* in the *Harleian Library*; with ſome ſhort Account, as Occaſion ſhall offer, of their *Characters*, *Contents*, &c. the ſame is accordingly here attempted; as well to manifeſt the great Variety of Curioſities in that Treaſury of Literature, little known to many Readers; as becauſe ſuch a *Catalogue* was never before attempted; wherein the very *Titles* will be of uſeful Intelligence in many Reſpects; but principally to gratify our *Subſcribers* with an Opportunity of being their own Chuſers, and recommending any of *theſe Tracts* to Publication in *that Work*.

It has been further adviſed that every ſelect Parcel of the ſaid *Pamphlets*, amounting to the Quantity of one Sheet, ſhall be, in this *Catalogue*, *chronologically* digeſted; not only the better to diſplay the Picture and Poſture of the *Times in general*, as far as every Number will permit, in their moſt natural and regular Symmetry; but to ſhorten every curious Reader's Reſearches after any *particular Pamphlet*; who remembring only about what Time it was printed, is ſaved the Trouble of Hunting through every *Column*, by turning to that *One*, in which the Date ſhould appear; and if he finds it not in *one* Number, a little Patience may bring him to it in *another*.

THE Paſſage of our moſt dread Soveraigne Lady Queene *Elyzabeth*, through the Citie of *London*, to *Weſtminſter*, the Daye before her *Coronacion*. Imprinted, *&c.* by *Rich. Tottill*, the Thirteenth of *January*, *Cum Privilegio*. *Quarto*, 1558

It contains alſo an Account of all the Pageants erected to adorn the Proceſſion, with the Verſes and Orations, in *Latin* and *Engliſh*, wherewith her Majeſty was ſaluted in her Paſſage through the ſaid City; in five Sheets, *black Letter*.

2. A Brieſe Treatiſe concerning the Burnynge of *Bucer* and *Phagius*, at *Cambrydge*, in the Time of Quene *Mary*, with theyr Reſtitution in the Time of our moſt gracious Soverayne Lady that now is: Wherein is expreſſed the fantaſticall and tirannous Dealynges of the *Romiſhe* Church, together with the godly and modeſt Regiment of the true *Chriſtian* Church, moſt ſlaunderouſlye diffamed in thoſe Dayes of Hereſye. Tranſlated into *Englyſhe*, by *Arthur Goldyng*. Printed by *T. Marſhe*, *Octavo*, 1562

This is indeed an ample Narrative of the Diſputes occaſioned by Burning the dead Bodies of thoſe two learned Men, and contains many Hiſtorical Particulars of the principal Perſons in that *Univerſity* concerned therein. In eleven Sheets and an Half, *black Letter*.

3. The Ende and Confeſſion of *Thomas Norton* of *Yorkeſhire*, the *Popiſh* Rebell, and *Chriſtopher Norton*, his Nephew; whiche ſuffered at *Tiburn* for Treaſon, the 27th of *May*. Imprinted by *W. How*. *Octavo*, 1570

This Piece is written in Verſe; contains ſeven Leaves; is printed in the *black Letter*, and at the End, the Author's Name appears to be *Sampſon Davie*.

4. A Copie of a Letter lately ſent by a Gentleman, Student in the Lawes of the Realme, to a Frende of his, concernyng D. *Story*. *Octavo*, 1671

It treats of the Treaſons, Confeſſion, and Execution of the ſaid Dr. *John Story*, in eleven Leaves, *black Letter*.

5. A Commemoration of the moſt proſperous and peaceable Raigne of our gratious and deere Soveraigne Lady *Elizabeth*, &c. Now newly ſet foorth, this 17th Day of *November*, being the firſt Day of the Eighteenth Yeere of her

Maiesties sayd Raygne. By *Edward Hake*, Gent. Imprinted by *W. How. Octavo*, 1575

After the Epistle to the Author's Cousin, *Edw. Elliotte*, Esq; (Surveyor of the Queen's Lands, *&c.* in the County of *Essex*) subscribed from *Barnard's Inne*, follows the said *Commemoration* in Verse, and then a Poem to the Queen's Council, and concludes with a *Meditation* in Prose. About three Sheets and an Half, *black Letter*.

6. An Advertisement and Defence for Truth against her (Majesties) Backbiters, and specially against the whispering Favourers and Colourers of *Campion*'s and the rest of his Confederates Treasons. (One Sheet) *Quarto, black Letter* 1581

7. A particular Declaration, or Testimony of the undutifull and traiterous Affection, borne against her Maiestie by *Edmond Campion*, *Jesuite*, and other condemned Priestes, witnessed by their own Confessions; in Reproof of those slanderous Bookes and Libells delivered out to the Contrary, *&c.* Published by Authoritie. Imprinted by *Christopher Barker*, Printer to her Maiestie, (in fifteen Leaves, *black Letter*) *Quarto*, 1582

*Camden*, and other Writers on Queen *Elisabeth*'s Reign, have borrowed Light from this Pamphlet; and, if some Ecclesiastical Historians also of those Times had more copiously extracted it, they might have given more Satisfaction to their Readers.

8. A wonderfull and straunge Newes which happened in the Countyes of *Suffolke* and *Essex*, the First of *February*, being *Fryday*, where it rayned *Wheat*, the Space of vi or vii Miles Compass, *&c.* Written by *William Averell*, Student in Divinity. Imprinted at *London*, for *Edward White*, (in fourteen Leaves, *black Letter*) *Octavo*, 1583

The Author says not that he saw this wonderful Shower himself, but reports from many Witnesses (four of whose Names are subscribed at the End) that about *Ipswich*, *Storknayland*, and *Hadley*, in *Suffolk* especially, such Grain did fall, in a drizzling Snow, at the Time and to the Compass aforesaid; but that it was of a softer Substance, greener Colour without, whiter within, and of a mealier Taste than common Wheat.

9. A breefe Discourse, declaring and approving the necessarie and inviolable Maintenance of *The laudable Customs of* London. Namely of that one, whereby a reasonable Partition of the Goods of Husbands among their Wives and Children is provided; with an Answer to Objections, *&c.* Printed by *Henry Middleton*, &c. (in forty-eight Pages, *black Letter*) *Octavo* 1584

10. *Monardo: The Tritameron of Love*; where in certain pleasant Conceits, uttered by divers worthy Personages, are perfectly dyscoursed; and three doubtfull Questions of *Love* most pithely and pleasauntly discussed; shewing, to the *Wise*, how to use *Love*; and to the *Fond*, how to eschew *Lust*; and yielding to all both Pleasure and Profit. By *Robert Greene*, Master of Arts, in *Cambridge*. Printed by *J. Kingston*, &c. (In twenty-three Leaves, *bl. Lett.*) *Quar.* 1584

This Tract is dedicated to *Phillip*, Earl of *Arundell*. The Author was a noted Town-writer of his Time; and published many Pamphlets of Entertainment in Prose and Verse. He was reputed Master of a clear and elegant Style, and numbered among the Improvers of our Language in those Days. He could shew a Variety of Reading upon any Subject, by his *Allusions*, *Comparisons*, &c. which he had ready upon all Occasions; but at last fell into irregular Courses of Life, which brought him to Want, Misery, and Repentance. He died of a Surfeit upon pickled Herrings and *Rhenish* Wine, on the Third of *Septemb.* in the Year 1592. Many of his Pamphlets were reprinted after his Death, to the good Profit of their Publishers.

11. A Pack of *Spanish* Lyes sent abroad in the World; first printed in *Spain*, in the *Spanish* Tongue, and translated out of the Original; now ripped up, unfolded, and, by just Examination, *condemned*; as conteyning false, corrupt, and detestable Wares, worthy to be damned and burned. Imprinted at *London*, by the Deputies of *Chr. Barker*, Printer to the Queen's most excellent Majestie, (in thirteen Pages) *Quarto*, 1588

This Work is printed in two Columns—The *Pack of* Spanish *Lyes* in the old *English* Character (or *black Lette*[illegible] as it is commonly called) and the *Cond*[illegible]*on*, collaterally, [illegible] the *Roman* Character; [illegible] rectifies, in [illegible] Particular, the said *Sp*[illegible] Misrepresentation

of the renowned Defeat of their *Invincible Armado.*

12. A *Diſcovery* of *diſcontented Minds*; wherein their ſeveral Sortes and Purpoſes are deſcribed; eſpecially ſuch as *go beyond the Seas.* At *Oxford*, printed by *Joſeph Barnes*, Printer to the Univerſity, (in thirty-four Pages) *Quarto*, 1596

The Author, *James Perrott*, as he ſigns himſelf at the End of his Dedication to *Robert*, Earl of *Eſſex*, was the natural Son of Sir *John Perrot*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland.* He was afterwards knighted, and a frequent Member of Parliament. This was the Author's firſt Publication (unknown to *A. Wood.*) It is diſcreetly and learnedly handled, for a young Man of twenty-five Years of Age; and founded upon a ſolid and loyal View of reſtraining thoſe dangerous Malecontents, whether Scholars, or Soldiers, who did, many of them, in his Time, turn Fugitives, and Renegades; ſettling themſelves in Foreign Countries, eſpecially under the Umbrage of *Spain*, to negotiate Conſpiracies, Invaſions, *&c.* with their traiterous Correſpondents in *England.* The Author died in 1636, having printed ſome other Pieces; but his *Life of Sir Philip Sidney* (never publiſhed) is moſt deſireable; and would in all Probability ſet forth that gallant and accompliſhed Gentleman's Virtues and Actions, in a more conſpicuous Light than does appear in the faint and inexpreſſive Draught that has been left us by his great Friend, Sir *Fulk Grevill.*

13. *Saint GEORGE for ENGLAND*, allegorically deſcribed. By *Gerard de Malynes*, Merchant. *Veritas Temporis Filia.* Imprinted at *London*, by *Richard Field*, (in eighty Pages) *Octavo*, 1601

This Author dedicates his Work to the Lord Keeper *Egerton*; "from an affectionate Deſire to his Honour's Service; where-"unto, before all Men, he acknowledges himſelf, bounden." And, in his ſaid Epiſtle to him, has alſo theſe Words: "Whereas un-"der the Perſon of the noble Champion, St. "*George*, our Saviour *Chriſt* was prefigured, "delivering the *Virgin* (which did ſignify "the ſinfull *Souls* of *Chriſtians*) from the "*Dragon* or *Divels* Power; ſo her moſt "excellent *Majeſty*, by advancing the pure "Doctrine of *Chriſt Jeſus* in all Truth and "Sincerity, hath beeen uſed to perform th "Part of a valiant Champion, delivering an "infinite Number out of the Devil's Power, "wherunto they were tied by the forcible "Chains of Darkneſs." In which Senſe, re-"taining St. *George* for *England*, not only as "the Patron for the noble *Order* of the *Gar-"ter*, but as the Head and Patron of our "eternal Glory, both thoſe that be *Knights* "of that noble *Order*, and all other, of what "Degree or Calling ſoever, have juſt Cauſe "to rejoyce, *&c.*" See more of St. *George*, under this Conſideration, in Sir *T. Brown's Vulgar Errors.* As for the Author *Malynes*, he was a Commiſſioner of Trade, fourteen Years before his Publiſhing of this Tract, and was alive twenty-two Years after it; as may be ſeen, with a farther Account of him, and more of his Publications, in the *Britiſh Librarian*, p. 96.

14. *Epicedium:* A Funeral *Oration* upon the Death of the late deceaſed Princeſſe of famous Memorye, *Elizabeth*, by the Grace of God, Queen of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland.* Writen by *Infelice Academico Ignoto:* Whereunto is added the *True Order* of her Highneſs Imperial *Funeral.* (In eleuen Leaves) *Quarto*, 1603

After the Oration, in three Leaves, follows a Poem, entituled *A Subjects Sorrow*, &c. In both which there are ſome elegant Thoughts and Expreſſions. And then comes the Time, Order, and formal Proceeding at the Funeral, from *Whitehall* to *Weſtminſter*, the Twenty-eighth Day of *April*, 1603; introduced and interſperſed with ſome Verſes.

15. *England's* Mourning Garment, worne here by plain Shepheardes, in Memorie of their ſacred Miſtreſs *Elizabeth*, Queen of *Vertue*, while ſhe lived, and Theame of *Sorrow*, being dead. To which is added, The true Manner of her Emperiall Funerall. With the Shepheard's Spring-Song, for Entertainment of King *James*, &c. (In twenty-five Leaves) *Quarto*, *no Date.*

This Piece is a Kind of Paſtoral Dialogue, between ſome Shepherds, in Verſe and Proſe, containing a Character of that renowned Queen, which has ſeveral Particulars in it, worthy of being preſerved; and, about the Middle, two Pages and an half of Poetry, in Reprehenſion of thoſe able Poets, who did, or could praiſe her, when alive, for being

ſilent at her Death; among whom, though none are named, a Reader, well verſed in their Works, may diſcern, he points at *Daniel*, *Warner*, *Chapman*, *Marſton*, *Shakeſpeare*, *Drayton*, and three or four more. As to the *Order of the Funeral*, there are in this ſome Variations from that in the former Pamphlet; and ſome curious Herald may, perhaps, one Time or other, take the Pains to rectify that which is erroneous. At the End of this Part is an Advertiſement, ſigned *Hen. Chetle*, who appears to have been the Author of the Whole.

16. An *Oration* Congratulatory to the high and mighty *James* of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, King, &c. on the 12th Day of *Febr.* laſt preſented; when his Majeſty entered the *Tower* of *London*, to perform the Reſidue of the Solemnities of his *Coronation*, through the Citie of *London*, deferred by reaſon of the *Plague*; and publiſhed by his Highneſſe ſpeciall Allowance: Wherein, both the *Deſcription* of the *Tower* of *London*, and the *Union* of the Kingdoms, are compendiouſly touched. By *William Hubbocke*. At *Oxford*: Printed by *Joſeph Barnes*, &c. (in two Sheets) *Quarto*, 1604

This Oration is here printed both in *Latin* and *Engliſh*.

17. A *Relation* of ſuch Things as were obſerved to happen in the *Journey* of the Right Honourable *Charles*, Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord High Admiral of *England*, his Highneſſe Ambaſſador to the King of *Spain*. Being ſent thither, to take the Oath of the ſaid King, for the Maintenance of *Peace*, betweene the two famous Kings of *Great-Britain* and *Spain*; according to the ſeveral Articles formerly concluded on by the Conſtable of *Caſtilla* in *England*, in the Month of *Auguſt*, 1604, ſet forth by Authoritie. Printed by *Melchiſedeck Bradwood*, &c. (in forty-two Pages) *Quarto*, 1605

It appears in the *Preface*, that the Author's Motives for publiſhing this *Relation* were, *Firſt*, The Knowledge his Friends had of his being ſpecially appointed an Attendant upon his Lordſhip in this Expedition; and his having made ſome Obſervation of the Particulars in the ſame. *Secondly*, Becauſe ſome falſe Reports had been made of their Entertainment in *Spain*, and of their Proceedings there. But, *Laſtly*, and more eſpecially, becauſe, ſince their Return, a Pamphlet had been publiſhed, with many erroneous Obſervations thereon. And, at the End of the Preface, the Author appears to be *Robert Treſwell*, alias *Somerſet* Herald. It is a ſcarce Piece, and has not, perhaps, been ſufficiently made Uſe of, to ſet forth the Hiſtory of this Part of King *James* his Reign, in its due Colours. That Lord Admiral *Howard* had certainly, under his late glorious Queen, beaten the *Spaniards* notably in *War*; but whether *They* were not victorious over *Him*, at leaſt over his *Country*, in the Concluſion of this *Peace*, the Regiſters of following Times will declare.

18. Trayterous *Percye*'s and *Cateſbye*'s *Proſopopeia*. Written by *Edward Hawes*, Scholler at *Weſtminſter*, a Youth of ſixteen Years old, (in twelve Leaves) *Quarto*, 1606

This is a Poem in Stanza's of ſix Lines; addreſſed to *Toby Matthews*, Biſhop of *Durham*, in a *Latin* Dedication; and has a wooden Print in the Frontiſpiece, of one of thoſe Malefactors lying on a Hurdle, and the Executioner ſtanding by him.

19. God's Warning to his People of *England*: By the great *Overflowing* of the *Waters*, or *Floudes*, lately hapned in *South Wales*, and many other Places. Wherein is deſcribed the great Loſſes and wonderfull Damages that happened thereby: By the Drowning of many Towns and Villages, to the utter Undoing of many Thouſands of People. (In eight Leaves, *black Letter*) *Quarto*, 1607

This was a moſt extraordinary, extenſive, and deſtructive Deluge or Inundation of the Sea, as well in *Glouceſterſhire* and *Somerſetſhire*, as ſundry Parts of *South Wales*; which began on the Twentieth of *January* before. It is deſcribed in a very lively and affecting Manner, in many of the diſaſtrous Particulars. Dr. *Fuller*, in his *Worthies of* England, at the End of his Account of *Somerſetſhire*, has made Uſe of one Circumſtance, ſhewing how Fear will baniſh Fierceneſs, in the Example of the *wild* Animals, which were now driven together with the *tame* Ones; and, though Enemies by Nature, never offered to ſatisfy Nature upon them; ſo much greater Regard they had to avoid the preſent Danger, and ſeek for Self-preſervation.

20. A

20. A lamentable Diſcourſe upon the Parricide and bloody Aſſaſſination, committed on the Perſon of *Henry the Fourth* (of famous Memorie) King of *France* and *Navarre*. Tranſlated out of the *French* Copy, printed at *Rouen*, by *Peter Courant*; and the Copy of *Paris*, printed by *Francis Huby*; with Permiſſion. (In ſeven Leaves) *Quarto*, 1610

It is ſubſcribed at the End, *Pelletier*. This horrid Story is too well known to need any Remarks here; beſides there were other Pamphlets then publiſhed upon the ſame Subject, which may ſtand more in Need of them.

21. The *Lieutenant* of the *Tower* his *Speech* and Repentance at the Time of his Death; who was executed upon *Tower-hill*, on the Twentieth Day of *November*, 1615. Printed by *G. Eld.* (In four Sheets and an Half) *Quarto*, *No Date*.

From the Time above-mentioned, when this *Lieutenant* of the *Tower*, Sir *Gervis Ellwes*, ſuffered, for knowing, conſenting to, and concealing the Poyſoning of Sir *Thomas Overbury*, in the *Tower* (which, if he had revealed, would have ſaved many Lives) it may be concluded, the ſaid Speech was publiſhed ſoon after, and in the ſame Year.

22. Eſſayes of certaine *Paradoxes*: At *London*, printed for *Th. Thorp*. (In twenty-eight Leaves) *Quarto*, 1616

Theſe *Paradoxes* are written upon The *Prayſe* of King *Richard the Third*; which takes up about half the Tract. The *Prayſe of the* French *Pockes*. The *Praiſe of Nothing*; in Verſe; from *Johannes Paſſeratius*, in *Theodore Beza*'s Epigrams; and, Laſtly, *That it is good to be in Debt*. I think it is ſomewhere ſaid that theſe *Paradoxes* were written by Sir *C. Cornwaleys*.

23. The Strangling, and Death of the *Great Turk* and his two Sonnes: With the ſtrange Preſervation and Deliverance of his Uncle *Muſtapha* from periſhing in Priſon, with Hunger and Thirſt; the young Emperour not three Days before having ſo commanded. A wonderful Story, and the like never heard of in our Modern Times; and yet all to manifeſt the Glory and Providence of God in the Preſervation of *Chriſtendome*, in theſe troubleſome Times. Printed this Fifteenth of *July*, by *J. D.* &c. (In eleven Leaves) *Quarto*, 1622

This is the famous Story of the young Emperor *Oſmin*, clearly and compendiouſly related; which has furniſhed ſuch Matter for Tragic Writers, *&c.* This Account has, on the Back of the Title-page, a Quotation of eight Verſes, out of *Boetius* Sir *Thomas Roe*, then Ambaſſador in *Turky*, wrote a Narrative upon the ſame Subject, but it was printed with a different Title; as, when it comes to Hand, will appear in ſome ſucceeding Number.

24. Honor's true Arbor: Or, The Princely Nobilitie of the *Howards*; wherein the true Source and Original of their mighty Name, with all their ſeveral Alliances with the high and potent Families of divers Countries, ſince the firſt Man that was known in *England* by the Name of *Howard*, is deſcribed, *&c. &c.* By *Abraham De Ville Adrecie*, alias *Darcie*. (In fourteen Leaves) *Folio*, 1625

This forward Adventurer upon the Characters and Writings of our noble and learned Men, *Abraham Darcie*, was a *Frenchman*; and has moſt glaringly bedecked this Work with Dedications, and Marginal Notes, and Poetry, and Proſe, and *French*, and *Engliſh*, &c. He not long before publiſhed two *Elegies* upon the Death of *Lodowick*, Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox*, of five-thouſand Verſes, in *French* and *Engliſh*; beſides a Funeral *Conſolation* to the Ducheſs Dowager, of ſeven-hundred Verſes more. Dr. *Fuller*, in his *Church-Hiſtory*, informs us, how he was impriſoned for fathering upon *Iſaac Caſaubon* a Book he tranſlated from the *French*, intitled the *Original of Idolatry*, printed, 4*to*, 1624. And the Character of his Tranſlation of the firſt Part of *Camden*'s Annals of Queen *Eliſabeth*, from a *French* Tranſlation, to the End of the Year 1588, printed 4*to*, 1625 (which has a Frontiſpiece beſpangled with the Arms of our Nobility, and the Margins of his Dedications alſo ſtudded with their Names, *&c.*) may be ſeen in the ſaid Author's *Worthies of* England, p. 94; and in *Deg. Wheare's Method of reading Hiſtories*, 8*vo*, 1710, p. 161.

25. A

25. A continued *Journall* of all the Proceedings of the Duke of *Buckingham* his Grace, in the Iſle of *Ree*, a Part of *France*; from the Beginning, untill this Seventeenth of *Auguſt*, &c. Publiſhed by Authority. Printed for *T. Walkley*, &c. (In eleven Leaves) *Quarto*, 1627

This Journal begins at the Twenty-fourth of *June*, in the Year aforeſaid, when the Duke ſet out to his Fleet; and three Days after weighed Anchor, with an hundred Sail. Herein Mention is made of the *Jeſuited* Meſſenger, ſent by the Governor of St. *Martin*'s, to aſſaſſinate the Duke; and that a poyſoned Knife was found in the Sleeve of his Doublet for that Purpoſe.

26. A continued *Journal* of all the Proceedings of the Duke of *Buckingham* his Grace, in the Iſle of *Ree*, ſince the Laſt of *July*. With the Names of thoſe Noblemen as were drowned and taken in going to releeve the Fleet. As alſo the Portraiture of the Knife, with which his Excellence ſhould have beene murdered: Which very Knife was brought over by Captain *Buckeſtone*, and delivered unto the Dutcheſs of *Buckingham* her Grace, one *Monday* Night laſt. Publiſhed by Authority. Printed for *T. Walkley*. (In five Leaves, beſides the Portraiture aforeſaid, on a half Sheet) *Quar.* 1627

This Journal was received, the Twenty-ſeventh of *Auguſt*; though it is dated the Thirtieth on the Top of the Title-page, which might be the Day it was printed. In that Portraiture, cut in Wood, the poyſoned Knife or Ponyard is repreſented, in its exact Length and Breadth, the Whole not longer than one's Hand; and the Blade, about an Inch broad towards the Haft; but what appears ſingular in it, is, that it is formed with four Edges, as if intended only for the Purpoſe Monſieur *De Thorax*, the Governor aforeſaid, is here reported to have deſigned it, in the Hand of that Meſſenger.

27. A continued *Journal* of all the Proceedings of the Duke of *Buckingham* his Grace, in the Iſle of *Ree*, ſince the Laſt of *Auguſt*. Printed by *A. M.* for *T. Walkley*. (In ſix Leaves) *Quarto*, 1627

This Journal was received the Eighteenth of *September*. If any further Continuation of it was printed, and is preſerved among the vaſt Treaſure of ſuch Curioſities in this Library, we ſhall give Intelligence thereof, when it comes to Hand; as what may moderate the Triumphs which our *French* Enemies have made, upon our ill Succeſs, under that Duke, in this Expedition.

28. *Cygnea Cantio*: Or, Learned *Deciſions*, and moſt prudent and pious *Directions*, for *Students* in *Divinity*; delivered by our late Soveraign of happy Memory, King *James*, at *Whitehall*, a few Weeks before his Death. (In forty-one Pages, beſides the Dedication to King *Charles*) *Quarto*, 1629

This Pamphlet is written by the learned and ingenious Dr. *Dan. Featly*, upon Occaſion of the Objections made to him by K. *James*, for licenſing Mr. *Elton*'s Expoſition upon the Commandments, entitled *God's holy Mind* (above eight-hundred Copies whereof were burnt at *Paul*'s Croſs, 13 *Febr.* 1624) and Mr. *Crompton*'s Anſwer to Mr. *Brearly*, intitled, *St.* Auguſtine's *Summes*. There was an emblematical *Sculpture* publiſhed, on the Burning of Mr. *Elton*'s Book, with ſome Motto's wittily applied, out of *Ovid*; as this: The Author, caſting his Books into the Flame, and crying:

*Sancte, nec invideo, ſine me Liber ibis in* Ignem:

And a *Popiſh* Prieſt anſwering, in the next Verſe:

*Hei mihi quod Domino non licet ire tuo.*

29. A true and certaine Relation of a ſtrange *Birth*, which was borne at *Stonehouſe*, in the Pariſh of *Plimouth*, the 20th of *Oct.* 1635, together with the Notes of a Sermon preached, *Oct.* 23d, in the Church of *Plimouth*, at the intering of the ſaid Birth. By *Th.* B. B. D. *Pr. Pl.* (In twenty-two Pages) *Quarto*, 1635

On the Back of the Title-page is a wooden Print of two Boys, after ſome Sort in one; being two compleat Bodies, but concorporate, and united together, from the Breaſt to the Belly. They were ſtill born; and the Iſſue of the Wife of *John Perſons*, a Fiſherman in the Village aforeſaid. This Pamphlet might ſerve to illuſtrate any Diſcourſe upon extraordinary *Births* in general, or the Natural Hiſtory of *Devonſhire* in particular.

30. A true Relation of thoſe ſad and lamentable Accidents, which happened in and about

about the Pariſh Church of *Withycombe*, in the *Dartmoores*, in *Devonſhire*, on *Sunday* the Twenty-firſt of *October* laſt, 1638. (In fifteen Pages) *Quarto*, 1638

This was occaſioned by a moſt dreadful Tempeſt of Thunder and Lightning, which tore thorow and demoliſhed great Part of the Church; blaſted, burnt, and bruiſed to Death many of the Congregation. There was, ſoon after, publiſhed a further Account, including the Subſtance of this, as will be obſerved in another Number.

31. A Deſcription of the Sect called, The *Familie of Love*, with their common Place of Reſidence. Being diſcovered by one Mrs. *Suſanna Snow* of *Pirford*, near *Cherſey*, in the County of *Surrey*; who was vainly led away for a Time, through their baſe Allurements, and at length fell mad; till by a great Miracle, ſhewn from God, ſhe was delivered. (In a Sheet) *Quarto*, 1641

There was then about an Hundred of that Sect, which gathered from *London*, &c. about *Bagſhot* and in *Birch Wood*, near that Village, where they dedicated certain Days to their Saints, *Ovid*, *Cupid*, *Priapus*, &c. and here they poetiſed, in theſe Woods, and performed their Ceremonies, both Spiritual and Carnal; and one of their Poets thus dubbed pious Mrs. *Snow*, a Siſter of their holy Order; till after a Week ſhe returned Home and run mad: But was reſtored by ſuch a Miracle as *Fox* relates of Mrs. *Honywood*.

32. The Friers laſt Farewell: Or, Saint *Francis* muſt pack for *France*: Shewing how the Maſs-monging Fathers were, by Order of Parliament, brought from *Somerſet-houſe* in the *Strand*, by many Officers, Watchmen, and others; and by them put into ſafe Cuſtody, till the next fair Wind ſhall blow for *Paris*, on *Saturday* the Twenty-ſixth of *February*, *A. D.* 1642. Being a dolefull Dialogue between *Pere Robert* and *Pere Cyprian*, two lamenting Fathers. *God ſend them good Shipping*. (In one Sheet) *Quarto*, 1642

33. A Purge for *Pluralities*: Shewing the Unlawfullneſs of Men to have two *Livings*; or, The Downfall of double Benefices. Being in the Clymactericall and fatall Year of the proud Prelates; but the Year of Jubilee to all poor hunger-pinched Scholars. (In one Sheet) *Quarto*, 1642

This is a Dialogue between Dr. *Lazy* and Dr. *Simony*. It has a wooden Print of a *Pluraliſt* in the Front, holding one Church in his Hand, and two upon his Shoulders.

34. The Pope's Brief: Or, *Rome*'s Inquiry after the Death of their *Catholicks* here in *England*, during theſe Times of Warre; diſcovered by two Commiſſions: The one ſent from the Pope that now is, the other from the Biſhop and Duke of *Cambray*, to ſeveral Commiſſioners in *England*; whereby the Death of ſuch Catholicks may be returned to the See of *Rome*, to be determined of (as may be fit for the Glory of God) together with a *Catalogue* of the *Vicars-General*, and *Archdeacons*, under the Biſhop of *Calcedon*, (*Ric. Smith*) for the Setling of the *Popiſh* Hierarchy in *England*, &c. alſo ſeveral Letters and Papers of the Lord *Inchiquines*, in *Ireland*, intercepted by the Earl of *Warwick*, &c. (In thirty-ſeven Pages) *Quarto*, 1643.

35. The Arraignment and Acquittal of Sir *Edward Moſely*, Baronet, indited at the *King's-Bench* Bar for a Rape, upon the Body of Mrs. *Anne Swinnerton*. Taken by a Reporter there preſent, who heard all the Circumſtances thereof; whereof this is a true Copy. (In twelve Pages) *Quarto*, 1647

It ſeems Sir *Edward* having a good Eſtate, Three-thouſand Pounds a Year, ſhe and her Huſband expected a Compoſition of Two-thouſand Pounds; and it was atteſted, ſhe alſo confeſſed, ſhe had received Three-hundred Pounds before, of a Rev. Divine, Dr. *Belcanquell*, ſome Years deceaſed, for the like Compoſition. She ſeems to have been very learned in the Doctrine of Rapes: For *James Winſtanly* depoſed, that, wondering how Sir *Edward*, ſo little a Man, ſhould raviſh ſo luſty a Woman, ſhe ſhewed him, ſaying, "Now, in this Poſture, as you ſee me, *I myſelf could raviſh any Woman whatſoever*." Sir *Edward* had Chambers near *Swinnerton*'s, and the Scene of this Action ſeems to have been in *Gray's-Inn*; but after the Jury had pronounced, *Not Guilty*, the Court very gravely adviſed him, to take Heed what Company he kept hereafter, ſeeing the Danger of keeping ill Company.

36. The

36. The manifold Practiſes and Attempts of the *Hamiltons*; and particularly of the preſent Duke of *Hamilton*, now General of the *Scottiſh* Army; to get the Crown of *Scotland:* Diſcovered in an intercepted Letter, written from a *Malignant* here in *London*, to to his Friend in *Scotland*. (In twenty-three Pages) *Quarto*, 1648

37. The Declaration of the moſt Chriſtian King of *France* and *Navarre*, againſt the moſt horrid Proceedings of a rebellious Party of Parliament Men and Soldiers in *England*, againſt their King and Country. Tranſlated out of *French*, by *P. B.* publiſhed at *Paris*, the ſecond Day of *January*, *ſtylo novo*. (In one Sheet, broad Side) 1649

38. The Proceſs and Pleadings in the Court of *Spain*, upon the Death of *Anthonie Aſcham*, Reſident for the Parliament of *England*, and of *John Baptiſta Riva*, his Interpreter; who were killed by *John Guillim*, *W. Spark*, *Val. Progers*, *Jo. Halſal*, *W. Arnet*, and *H. Progers*: Who are all in cloſe Priſon in *Madrid*, for the ſaid Fact, except *H. Progers*, who fled to the *Venetian* Ambaſſador's Houſe, and ſo eſcaped. Sent from *Madrid*, from a Perſon of Quality, and made *Engliſh*. Printed by *W. Du-gard*, Printer to the Council of State. (In ten Leaves) *Quarto*, 1651

This Accuſation or Charge againſt the Murderers of Mr. *Aſham*, and the Indemnity pleaded by the Eccleſiaſtical Power, was drawn up by Dr. *Don Auguſtin de Hierro*, Knight of the Order of *Calatrava*, and *Fiſcal* (or Attorney General) of the Council Royal; and it was ſent from *Madrid*, by *R. W.* to Sir *W. Butler*, to whom he dedicates it.

39. News from *France:* Or, A Deſcription of the *Library* of Cardinall *Mazarini*, before it was utterly ruined. Sent in a Letter from Monſieur *G. Naudæus*, Keeper of the Publick Library. (In one Sheet) *Quarto*, 1652

This Letter is addreſſed to the Parliament of *Paris*; intreating, in a pathetic Manner, that they would preſerve that famous Library intire, and not ſuffer it to be diſperſed, having been gathered with ſo much Induſtry and Expence, beſides the Bounty of ſo many Princely Benefactors, and the conſiderable Additions made to it, for ten Years together, by the learned Author himſelf, of the ſaid Letter. And yet all to no Effect; as appears in the Title of it. It was compoſed, it ſeems, of more than *Forty-thouſand Volumes*, the *Manuſcripts* included; and contained in *ſeven Chambers*, whereof one was a *Gallery*, twelve Fathom high. And yet ſeems *that Library* not to have been more extraordinary for Number, Variety, Scarcity, Magnificence, and Expence, than *this Library*, a Part whereof we are here now deſcribing. It is well known to have filled *thirteen* handſome *Chambers*, beſides two *large Galleries*, both long and high; and had ſo many *printed Books* alone in it (the *Manuſcripts* excluded, which would fill ſuch another Gallery) that even ſetting Forty-thouſand aſide, the Remainder alone would make a Library ſufficient for any *Cardinal* in *Europe*. Not to mention the infinite Number of *Prints*, and even *Pamphlets*, which have been computed at little leſs than *Four hundred thouſand*. Had the *Parliament* of *England* been addreſſed to preſerve the *Harleian* Library, What Emulation would This have ſhewn? What Advantage would This have taken over That of *Paris*, in exemplifying to Poſterity their ſuperior Love and Liberality to this wealthy Treaſury of the Muſes, theſe venerable Monuments of Knowledge and Inſtruction!

40. A Rod for the *Lawyers*; who are hereby declared to be the grand Robbers, and Deceivers of the Nation; greedily devouring, Yearly, many *Millions* of the Peoples Money. To which is added, A Word to the *Parliament*; and a Word to the *Army*. By *Will. Cole*, a Lover of his Country. (In twenty Pages) *4to*, 1659

This Author, who ſeems to have been a different Perſon from *W. Coles*, the Herbaliſt, his Cotemporary, computes, from the neareſt Inquiry he could make, that there were then above *Thirty-thouſand* Lawyers of all Kinds and Degrees in *England* and *Wales*; and that they got *ſeven Millions* and an *Half* of Money Yearly out of the People; and offers ſome Propoſals for a ſurer, ſpeedier, leſs expenſive, and leſs grievous Determination of Right and Property.

41. A Brief Declaration of the notable *Victory* given of God to oure Soveraygne Lady, Quene *Marye*; made in the Church of *Luton*, by *Iohn Gwinneth*, Vicar there; the 22d Day of *Iulye*, in the fyrſte Yeare of her gratious Reygne. Imprynted at *London*, in *Powles* Church Yarde, at the Sygne of the *Holye Goſte*, by *Iohn Cawoode*, Prynter to the Quene's Hyghnes. (In thirty-two Leaves, *black Letter*) *Octavo, no Date.*

This Diſcourſe was ſpoken three Days after Q. *Mary* was proclaimed, in 1553, and printed the ſame Year. The Author, who might be a *Welſh* Man born, appears to have been a Man of excellent natural Parts, as *A. Wood* juſtly obſerves, and Maſter of a good clear Style, for its Antiquity. He ſeems to have been deprived of that Vicaridge (in *Bedfordſhire*) in the preceding Reign; and was now returned to his Church, upon the Return of *Popery*. But he appears not to have been a Doctor at this Time, much leſs of Muſick; as that Author would incline us to believe, by ſurmiſing him to be the ſame Perſon with another of his Name.

42. The Copie of a *Letter* written by one in *London*, to his Frend; concernyng the Credit of the late-publiſhed *Detection* of the Doyinges of the Ladie *Marie* of *Scotland*. (In 8 Leaves) *Octavo, no Date.*

At the End of this *Letter*, is publiſhed the *Scottiſh* Act of Parliament, for the Reſtraint of the Queen of *Scots*, while ſhe was in *Scotland*; from the Copy of that Act, printed at *Edinburgh* by *R. Lekpreuik*, Printer there to the young King *James*, *Anno* 1568. Soon after which, either upon the firſt Impriſonment of the Duke of *Norfolk* in 1569, or upon his laſt in 1571, and before he was beheaded in *June* next Year, this Tract was printed at *London*. In that foremoſt Year beforementioned, *George Buchanan* came over with, or, as one of the Commiſſioners deputed by the King's Council in *Scotland*, to juſtify the Excluſion of the *Scots* Queen, now in *England*, from her Crown. And *Buchanan*'s *Detection* of her Intrigues with *Bothwell*, &c. which ended in the Murder of her Huſband, and her Mariage with his ſaid Murderer, was produced by Earl *Murray*, &c. and inſiſted on, as Matter of Fact againſt the ſaid Queen, before the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners appointed on her Part. If *Camden*'s Annals of Queen *Elizabeth*, which were not publiſhed till after King *James* came to the Throne of *England*, nor before they were inſpected, and altered according to his Pleaſure, are to be credited, in this Part which concerns his Mother, the ſaid *Detection* found ſmall Credit with the greateſt Part of the Commiſſioners. But in this *Letter* we are informed, that there were "Subſcriptions, and Aſ-" ſents made, to confirm the Book, and " the Matters in it. That the Author was " privie to the Proceedyngs of the Lordes " of the Kynges ſecret Counſell there; " well able to underſtand and diſcloſe the " Truth; havyng eaſie Acceſſe alſo to all " the Recordes of that Countrey that might " help hym. That it was written not as " of hymſelf, nor in hys own Name, but " according to the Inſtructions to hym ge-" ven by common Conference of the " Lordes of the Privie Counſell of *Scotland*; " by him onely for his Learnyng penned, " but by them the Matter miniſtered; the " Book overſeen, allowed, and exhibited " by them, as Matter that they have off-" red, and do continue in offeryng to ſtand " to, and juſtifie, before our Soveraigne " Ladie, or her Highneſſes Commiſſioners " in that Behalf appointed. And what " Profe they have made of it already, when " they were here for that Purpoſe, and the " ſaid Author of the ſaid Book, one among " them, *&c.* all good Subjects may eaſily " gather by our ſayd Soveraigne Ladyes " Proceding ſins the ſaid Hearing of the " Cauſe." *&c.* 'Tis alſo aſſerted, that the *Sonnets*, *Letters*, &c. publiſhed in the ſaid *Detection*, as what paſſed between Queen *Mary*, Earl *Bothwell*, &c. were produced here, in their Originals, and proved to be ſuch.

43. Ane Admonition direct to the *trew Lordis* Mantenaris of the *Kingis* Grace's Authoritie. *M. G. B.* Imprentit at *Striviling*, be *Robert Lekpreuik*. (In 16 Leaves) *Octavo*, 1571.

This is a very zealous Exhortation to the Council of the young King *James*; that they would ſupport his Government (now his Mother, the Queen of *Scots*, was fled to *England*)

*England)* alſo that they would eſtabliſh the Reformed Religion; puniſh the Murderers of the late King, and of the Regent *Murray*, and ſuppreſs the Faction of the *Hamiltons*; whoſe Conſpiracies, for 50 Years paſt, to uſurp the Crown, are here diſplayed; as are alſo thoſe of the Duke of *Norfolk*, &c. This ſcarce and curious Tract was written by the famous *George Buchanan*, and is printed in his own *Scottiſh* Dialect. It was never heard of by Monſieur *Bayle*, nor many other Pieces he ſhould have uſed, in his Article of this Author, inſtead of ſo many Falſities, which he only quotes, for the Parade of confuting them; and other Particulars, from Authors as unhappily overſwayed, by Fear, or Intereſt, to pervert the Truth.

44. A Declaration of the favourable Dealing of her Majeſties Commiſſioners appointed for the Examination of certain *Traitours*; and of *Tortures* unjuſtly reported to be done upon them for Matters of Religion. (In one Sheet, *black Letter*) *Quarto*, 1583.

This is an authentick Piece, gravely and diſcreetly written, probably by one of the Miniſters of State; declaring, againſt ſome late Libellers, how mildly the *Rack* was uſed upon *Campion*; and how falſely it was pretended, that *Alexander Briant* was compelled to eat Clay out of the Walls, and drink the Droppings of Water from the Houſes; when the great Hardſhip was, that, being required only to give a Specimen of his *Writing*, upon what Subject he would, (to compare his Hand) he diſloyally refuſed it; and rather choſe wilfully to *faſt*, than *aſk*, by *Pen* and *Ink*, as he was thereupon conditioned to do, for any *Meat* and *Drink* he might have had: But, not ſtomaching his own Obſtinacy two Days, he was plentifully ſupplied with all Neceſſaries, as ſoon as he could prevail upon himſelf to *write* for them. It is here further atteſted, the *Rack* was never uſed, in this Reign, to extort Anſwers relating to the Doctrine or Faith of ſuppoſed Catholicks; but only for their Attempts on her Majeſty's Perſon, or State; by Treaſon or Force. Nor yet were they put to the Rack even for Treaſon, but where it was known the Parties were guilty: Nor, but where they ſaid directly, or indirectly, that they would not tell the Truth: Nor otherwiſe, than ſo ſlowly, unwillingly, and humanely, as gave the *Malefactors* ſufficient Opportunity to ſpare themſelves, and her Majeſty's *Miniſtry* the Character of imitating her own gracious Diſpoſition.

45. A true and plaine Declaration of the horrid *Treaſons* practiſed by *William Parry* the Traitor, againſt the *Queene's* Majeſtie: The Manner of his *Arraignment*, *Conviction* and *Execution*; together with the Copies of ſundry *Letters* of his, and others; tending to divers Purpoſes for the Prooſes of his Treaſons. Alſo an *Addition*, not impertinent thereunto conteyning a ſhort *Collection* of his *Birth*, *Education* and Courſe of *Life*: Moreover a few Obſervations gathered of his own *Words* and *Writings*, &c. At *London*, by *C. B.* (that is, printed there, by *Chriſt. Barker*) with ſome Prayers at the End, by *Jo. Th.* &c. (In 32 Leaves) *Quarto*, *no Date*.

But apparently was printed in the Year 1584. It was publiſhed by Authority; and is the original Source, from whence the beſt Accounts of that Traitor, and his Treaſons, have been extracted into the Hiſtories of that Time. There is, beſides, a pretty Poem, of *Parry's Life* and *Death*, preſerved in *Hollingſhed*, founded partly upon the *Collection* thereof abovementioned.

46. A Report of the Truth of the *Fight* about the Iſles of *Açores*, this laſt Sommer; betwixt the *Revenge*, one of her Majeſtie's Shippes, and an *Armada* of the King of *Spaine*. Printed for *W. Ponſonbie*. (In 14 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1591.

This is the moſt perfect Account that has been given of that deſperate Engagement, which is ſo famous in Foreign, as well as Domeſtick *Hiſtory*; and, it may be ſaid, in *Poetry* too; *Gervais Markham* having publiſhed an elaborate Poem thereon, of near 90 Pages in *Octavo*, about four Years after the Time it happened. The Commander of that Ship was the gallant Sir *Richard Grinvile*; a Man of a moſt invincible Soul, to the laſt Gaſp; and whoſe Body, to the Admiration of his Enemies, ſubmitted not to Death, after many Wounds, till he had endured, for fifteen Hours together,

gether, the Vollies, Boardings, Entries, of fifteen ſeveral Ships of War, and repulſed them all: Nor till he had ſunk three of them, and deſtroyed near a thouſand *Spaniards* (the Storm deſtroying many Thouſands more) nor till he had ſeen, of his own, not above one Hundred effective Men, all, either dead, or wounded; and his Ship, by above Eight-hundred great Shot, razed in a Manner to the Surface of the Sea, and incapable of all Management or Motion, but what the Billows gave her. Yet made ſhe her triumphant Deſcent to the Bottom with Two hundred *Spaniards* in her Bowels: So verified her *Name* upon them to the very laſt. This Tract was reprinted by Mr. *Hackluyt* in the Second Volume of his *Voyages*, *Fol.* 1599, *p.* 169. Where it is ſaid to be *penned by the Honourable Sir Walter Ralegh.*

47. The Repentance of *Robert Greene*, Maſter of Artes: Wherein, by Himſelf is laid open his looſe *Life*; with the Manner of his *Death*. Printed for *Cuthert Burbie* (In fifteen Leaves, *black Letter*) *Quarto*, 1592

Had *Winſtanley*, *Langbaine*, or *A. Wood*, ever ſeen this Pamphlet, they might have given a better Account, than they have, of its Author. Many other Tracts of thoſe Times, beſides ſome of his own, would alſo much contribute to his Perſonal Hiſtory; ſome written againſt him, by Dr. *Gabriel Harvey*, *&c.* others for him, by *Tho. Naſh*, *&c.* In one of whoſe Pieces, there is this comical Menace of that Doctor, for the Inhumanity of diſturbing *Greene's* Aſhes in the Grave.—'*Had he lived Gabriel*, and thou ſhouldſt 'ſo unartificially, and odiouſly libelled againſt 'him, as thou haſt done, he would have 'made thee an Example of Ignomy to all 'Ages that are to come; and driven thee to '*eat thy own Book buttered*; as I ſaw him, 'make an *Apparator*, once in a Tavern, *eat* 'his *Citation*, *Wax*, and all, very handſomely ſerved up betwixt two Diſhes.' Something has been ſaid of this Author *Greene*, in the tenth Pamphlet of this Catalogue, and more will be ſaid, in ſome enſuing Numbers.

48. A Letter written out of *England* to an *Engliſh* Gentleman remaining at *Padua*; containing a true Report of a ſtrange Conſpiracie, contrived between *Edward Squire*, lately executed for the ſame Treaſon as Actor, and *Richard Wallpoole* a *Jeſuite*, as Deviſer and Suborner againſt the Perſon of the Queene's Majeſtie. Imprinted by the Deputies of *C. Barker* (In eight Leaves) *Quarto*, 1599

The Treaſon of this *Squire*, in poyſoning the Pummel of the Queen's Saddle, and the Arms of the Earl of *Eſſex's* Chair, with Intention to kill them, is to be found in *Camden* and other Hiſtorians of that Reign, chiefly extracted from this Pamphlet.

49. The late Commotion of certain *Papiſts*, in *Herefordſhire*; occaſioned by the Death of one *Alice Wellington*, a Recuſant, who was buried after the *Popiſh* Maner in the Town of *Allens-Moore* near *Hereford*, upon *Tueſday* in *Whitſun* Week laſt paſt. 1605, &c. (In twenty-three Leaves, *black Letter*) *Quarto*, 1605

This Narrative is ſet forth in ſome *Letters* between *Thomas Hamond*, the Editor, and Mr. *E. R.* in *Hereford.*

50. The *Counteſs* of *Lincolne's* Nurſerie. At *Oxford*, printed by *John Lichfield* and *James Short*, Printers to the famous Univerſities (In fifteen Leaves) *Quarto*, 1622

The Dedication of this Pamphlet to *Briget*, Counteſs of *Lincolne*, is ſubſcribed *Elizabeth Lincoln.* Then follows an Epiſtle to the Reader, with ſix Verſes at the End written by Dr. *Thomas Lodge*; who ſays of this Pamphlet, 'The *Pay*, aſſure thyſelf, will 'be larger than the *Promiſe.*' The Purport of it is, to exhort all *Mothers*, eſpecially thoſe of Quality, enabled with a good Conſtitution of Body, and Temper of Mind, to that affectionate and moſt natural *Duty* of *Nurſing* and *Suckling* their own *Children.* Her Ladyſhip's Motives for publiſhing this Tract were, partly, to atone for her own Neglect of this Motherly Office, ſhe recommends to others; not that ſhe wanted Will, but was over-ruled by another's Authority, and deceived by ill Counſel; and partly, to ſhew double Love to her own Children, as well as her Endeavour to prevent in many Chriſtian Mothers the like Neglect: And

more eſpecially the grievous Experience ſhe had of other Nurſes; to whoſe Defaults ſhe attributes the Death of one or two of her Children; and ſays, that, of all thoſe Nurſes ſhe had for eighteen Children, ſhe had but two which were thoroughly willing and careful.

51. The Great *Plantagenet:* Or a continued Succeſſion of that Royal Name, from *Henry the Second*, to our ſacred Soveraigne King *Charles*. By *Geo. Buck*, Gent. (In twenty ty-ſix Leaves) *Quarto*, 1635

This Work is dedicated by the Author to the Lord Chief Juſtice *Finch*, and has ſome Verſes printed before it, by *O. Rourke*, *Rob. Codrington*, and *Geo. Bradley*. The Preface contains the Derivation of the Genealogy, and ſome Characters of that King *Henry*, from ſeveral ancient Hiſtorians. With the Reaſons why he was ſirnamed *Plantagenet*, from *Planta-Geniſta*, the *Broom-Plant*; for wearing a Stalk thereof in his Hat or Cap; or going to the Holy Sepulchre in the humble and deſpiſed Habit of a Broom-man; or from his ſcourging himſelf with Rods thereof, which grew near the Holy City. After this Preface, follows an Eclogue in Verſes of eight Stanzas, which begins with a copious Deſcription of all Kinds of *Garlands*; ending with that gentle and pliant Plant aforeſaid; ſo traces down the Succeſſion of *Worthies* who did, or were intitled to wear it.

52. A brief Relation of certain ſpeciall and moſt materiall *Paſſages* and *Speeches* in the *Starre-Chamber*; occaſioned and delivered *June* 14, 1637, at the *Cenſure* of thoſe three worthy Gentlemen, Dr. *Baſtwick*, Mr. *Burton*, and Mr. *Prynne*; as it hath been truely and faithfully gathered from their own Mouths, by one preſent at the *Cenſure*. (In ſixteen Leaves) *Quarto*, 1638

This is a more particular Account of their heavy Treatment, for their Exclamations againſt the Prelates Uſurpation of Authority, than is to be met with in moſt of the general Hiſtories of theſe Times. Their Cenſure, pronounced by the Lord *Cottington*, was, *to loſe their Ears*; *be fined five-thouſand Pounds each*; *ſuffer perpetual Impriſonment*; and Mr. *Prynne* beſides was ſentenced by the Lord *Finch* to be *burnt on the Cheeks* with S. L. for a ſeditious Libeller And they all ſuffered with invincible and aſtoniſhing Reſolution. See *Clarendon*, *Whitlock*, *Ruſhworth*, *Nalſon*, *Sanderſon*, *Heath*, &c.

53. *Articles* of *Impeachment* of the Commons aſſembled in Parliament, *&c.* againſt *Matthew Wren*, D. D. late Biſhop of *Norwich*, and now Biſhop of *Ely*, for ſeveral Crimes and Miſdemeanors committed by him when he was Biſhop of *Norwich*. (In two Sheets) *Quarto*, 1641

54. *Wren*'s Anatomy: Diſcovering his notorious Pranks and ſhamefull Wickedneſs; with ſome of his moſt lewd Facts and infamous Deeds; both in his Government of *Peterhouſe* Colledge, and Domineering in three Biſhopricks, to his perpetuall Shame and Infamy. Printed in the Year, that *Wren* ceaſed to domineer. (In two Sheets) *Quarto*, 1641

This is a *Narrative* of his *Life*; divided into Chapters: Among which, ſome are, concerning his bringing the *Latin Service* into Colledge; alſo *Altars*, and *bowing* to them. *Wren's Articles*. His *harrowing* the Dioceſſe of *Hereford*; *ſilencing* and *depriving* fifty or ſixty *Miniſters*; and ſubſtituting *Arminian* Miniſters, *&c.*

55. A *Narrative* of the *Diſeaſe* and *Death* of that noble Gentleman *John Pym*, Eſq; late a Member of the Honourable Houſe of Commons. Atteſted under the Hands of his Phyſicians, Chyrurgions, and Apothecary. (In one Sheet) *Quarto*, 1643

It ſeems this famous Member, Mr. *Pym*, had been reported to be poyſoned, by ſome; and by others, to have died of the *Phthiriaſis*, or *Lowſy Diſeaſe*: But *Stephen Marſhall*, who preached his *Funeral Sermon*, affirms he did not die *Lowſy*. And this authentic *Narrative* ſhews it was an *Abceſſe* or *Impoſthume* in the *Meſentry*, which, upon Breaking, occaſioned his Death. It is atteſted

atteſted by ſeven Phyſicians, *&c.* among whom the formoſt was Sir *Theodore Mayern.*

56. A *Declaration* of the Right Honourable *James*, Marqueſſe and Earl of *Montroſſe*, Lord *Greem*, and *Mugdock*; *Captain General* of all his *Majeſtie's* Forces raiſed and to be raiſed for his Service in his Kingdomes of *Great-Britain*: Concerning his Excellencies Reſolution to ſettle his *Majeſtie*, *Charles the Second*, in all his Dominions, *&c.* (In one Sheet) *Quarto*, 1649

This is a ſtrong and vehement Declaration; proteſting his Lordſhip's Reſolution, if poſſible, to treat all the late King's *Enemies*, as Vagabonds, Rogues, and Regicides; and to extirpate their Wives, Children, and Families; and invites all his Majeſty's *Friends* to meet him at *Enderneſs* in *Scotland*, for that Purpoſe. Mark here, that the *Villain*, *who was permitted to Spit in the late* King's *Face*, is named *Unjeckt*; and that it is affirmed, *his Royal Head was chopt off by the* Hands of the *common Hangman.* Which might end ſome Diſputes which have been made upon the Queſtion, *Who did that bloody Deed?* But that, as we remember, beſides the different Accounts in Print, there are ſome Writings by the then Earl of *Leiceſter*, not yet publiſhed, in which it is ſaid, the common Hangman was not the King's Executioner. This Declaration is dated from *Haffnia* in *Denmark. July* 9, 1649.

57. *The unhappy Markſman:* Or, a perfect and impartial *Diſcovery* of that late barbarous and unparalleled *Murther* committed by Mr. *George Strangwayes*, formerly a *Major* in the King's Army, on his Brother-in-Law, Mr. *John Fuſſel*, an Attorney, on *Friday* the Eleventh of *February* (1658.) Together with a full Diſcovery of the fatal Cauſe of thoſe unhappy Differences which firſt occaſioned the *Suits* of *Law* between them. Alſo the Behaviour of Mr. *Strangwayes* at his Tryal: The dreadfull Sentence pronounced againſt him. His Letter to his Brother-in-Law, a Member of Parliament: The Words delivered by him at his Death; and his ſtout, but Chriſtian-like Manner of dying. (In ſixteen Leaves) *Quarto*, 1659

It ſeems, *Fuſſel* was a litigious Man; and the *Major* a ſubtile, high-ſpirited, revengeful, and covetous Man. After they had had Diſputes enough to provoke *him*; he borrowed a Gun, and ſhot his Brother, as he ſat writing one Night, at his Chamber-Window, in his Lodgings near *Temple-Bar.* It is wonderful to conſider, how, by the very Simplicity of Man, God brought the Diſcovery about. The *Major*, though he had *ſpun* out the former Part of his Life without *twiſting* in the *Band* of Matrimony, and had no Relations who craved a Subſiſtance from what he left behind; yet, with a moſt compoſed Obſtinacy, refuſed to *Plead*; ſo was *preſſed to Death:* The *Sentence* of which, and the *Execution*, are very affectingly ſet forth, and the whole Narrative, though immethodically diſplayed, and with too much Profuſion of Words, is yet written with Labour, by a Man of Senſe and Learning, and is well worthy, for the Illuſtration of God's Wiſdom, and the Prevention of Man's Wickedneſs, to be tranſmitted to future Ages.

58. *Offices* and *Places* of Truſt not to be *bought* or *ſold*; or *given* to *inſufficient Perſons*: Diſcovered in a ſober and peaceable *Letter.* (In eight Leaves) *Quarto*, 1660

This is a learned *Diſcourſe*, upon an important *Topic*; ſupported, all along, by the Authority of *Law*, *Hiſtory*, &c. The latter Part is a Reſolution of the Queſtion, *In whoſe Diſpoſal the Clerkſhip of the Peace in every County is?*

59. A Diſcourſe upon Prodigious *Abſtinence*; occaſioned by the twelve Moneths *Faſting* of *Martha Taylor*, the famed *Darbyſhire* Damoſell. Proving that, without any Miracle, the Texture of Human Bodies may be ſo altered, that Life may be long continued without the Supplies of Meat and Drink. With an Account of the *Heart*, and how far it is intereſſed in the Buſineſs of Fermentation. By *John Reynolds*; humbly offered to the *Royal Society.* (In thirty-ſeven Pages, beſides the Dedication to Dr. *Walter Needham*) *Quarto*, 1669

60. News from the Channel: Or the *Diſcovery* and perfect *Deſcription* of the *Iſle* of *Serke*; appertaining

appertaining to the *Engliſh* Crown; and *never before* publickly *diſcourſed of*. Truly ſetting forth the notable *Stratagem* whereby it was firſt taken: The Nature of the Place and People: Their Government, Cuſtoms, and Manufactures: And other Particulars no leſs neceſſary than pleaſant to be known. In a Letter from a Gentleman, now inhabiting there, to his Friend and Kinſman now in *London*. (In one Sheet) *Quarto*, 1673

This *Iſland*, lying about four Leagues to the South-Weſt of *Guernſey*, has been ſo little diſcourſed of, as this Author obſerves, who ſigns himſelf *F. W.* that ſcarce one *Engliſhman* of a Thouſand hath heard, or can give any good Account of it. This ſhort Account might contribute to one more copious. As for that *Stratagem*, of gaining the Iſland from the *French*, by the Tragi-Comedy of a *Funeral*, in which the Coffin was filled with *Arms*, inſtead of a *Corps*; whereby the *Mourners* became *Conquerors*; our Author, taking it from Tradition, differs, in Time, and ſome Circumſtances, from more ancient, and ſeemingly authentic Narrations. See Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s *Hiſtory of the World*, and Mr. *Fall*'s Account of the *Iſle of Jerſey*.

61. A true and perfect Account of the Examination, Confeſſion, Tryal, Condemnation, and Execution of *Joan Perry*, and her two Sons, *John* and *Richard Perry*, for the ſuppoſed Murder of *William Harriſon*, Gent. *Being one of the moſt remarkable Occurrences which hath happened in the Memory of Man.* Sent in a *Letter*, by Sir *T. O. (Overbury)* of *Burton* in the County of *Glouceſter* Knight, and one of his Majeſties Juſtices of the Peace, to *T. S.* Dr. of Phyſick in *London*. Likewiſe Mr. *Harriſon*'s own Account, *How he was conveyed into Turkey, and there made a Slave for above two Years*; and then his Maſter, which bought him there, dying, *How he made his Eſcape, and what Hardſhips he endured*; *who at laſt*, through the Providence of God, *returned into England, while he was ſuppoſed to be murdered*; here having been his Man-Servant arraigned, who falſely impeaching his own Mother and Brother as guilty of the Murder of his Maſter, they were all three arraigned, convicted, and executed on *Broadway* Hills in *Glouceſterſhire*. (In fourteen Leaves) *Quarto*, 1676.

This almoſt incredible Story may be a *Warning-Piece* to *Judges* and *Juries* in Caſes of Life and Death. That Man-ſervant, *John*, ſeems to have been crazed; ſo hung himſelf, with his Mother and Brother; who both denied the Murder to the laſt. And the Tranſportation of old Mr. *Harriſon* to *Turkey*, by the Ruffians, ſeems to have been effected by the Procurement of his eldeſt Son; who might expect they had left him dead; as by their barbarous Treatment they very nearly had; ſo might perſecute the Innocent to Death, to prevent Diſcovery of the Guilty. And this may rather be thought the Caſe, in that, beſides what Effects his Father left behind, he obtained his Stewardſhip under the Lady *Campden*, and was the more ſuſpected for his Miſbehaviour in it.

62. The *Trial* of the Lord *Audley* Earl of *Caſtle-haven*, for inhumanely cauſing his *own Wife* to be *Raviſhed*; and for *Buggery*. (In four Sheets) *Folio*, 1679

The ſaid *Melvin Touchett* Lord *Audley*, &c. ſuffered Death for thoſe odious and unnatural Crimes in *May* 1631. This Account has been reprinted (beſides in leſſer Forms) in the late *Collection* of *State Tryals* in *Folio*.

63. A *Letter* to a Perſon of Honour concerning the *King*'s Diſavowing the having been *married* to the D. of *M*'s Mother. (In twelve Leaves) *Quarto*.

There is a Date to this *Letter*, at the End, but a very erroneous one, 1610; for it may be gathered, from the Argument itſelf, that it ſhould be 1681. The Drift of it is, to prove that King *Charles* was married to Mrs. *Walters*, the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Mother; and that, conſequently, *he* was his *Majeſty*'s legitimate Son and Heir. It is written againſt the *King*'s late *Declaration*, publiſhed at the Importunity of his Brother, the Duke of *York*; whereby his Majeſty *renounces* her as his *Wife*. When it is here aſſerted, that Mrs. *Walters*, on her Dying-bed, affirmed her Marriage with the

the King to her laſt; that Dr. *Fuller*, late Biſhop of *Lincoln*, declared *he married them*; that the Inn-keeper at *Liege* uſed to aſſure his Gueſts, that the *Marriage* was *celebrated* and *conſummated* in *his Houſe*: And that even the Lord Chancellor *Hyde*, who married his Daughter to the Duke of *York*, when in Danger of an Impeachment, for adviſing the *King*'s Marriage with Queen *Katharine*, excuſed himſelf from all ſiniſtrous Ends therein, by affirming, that *his Majeſty had a lawful Son* already, by a *former Marriage*, to *ſucceed* to the *Crown*; naming the Duke of *Monmouth*. The Sum of the Whole is, to deſire a fair Hearing: Whether the Duke of *York* on that Account, ſhould not ſubmit to an Excluſion, and *Monmouth* had not the true Right of *Succeſſion?* And that the Duke of *York*, ſhould be brought to a legal *Tryal*, for his manifold *Treaſons* and *Conſpiracies* (here enumerated) againſt the *King* and *Kingdom*.

64. *The Horſe-manſhip of England*; moſt particularly relating to the *Breeding* and *Training* of the *Running-Horſe*; a *Poem*. Dedicated to his Grace the Duke of *Monmouth*. (In ten Leaves) *Quarto*, 1682

This Subject, of the *Running* and the *Menaged Horſe*, has been ſo little touched upon, by thoſe who have been trained to the *Menage* of *Pegaſus*, that this *Poem* is the firſt of this Nature, our Author knows of, in any Language. He alſo ſays, No Nation has produced ſo many eminent Perſons knowing in the Art of Horſemanſhip, as ours: And of theſe, "Your Grace (adds he) may deſervedly claim the moſt ſuperlative Renown; "ſince what others can pretend to, either "by Way of *Theory* or *Practice*, is not a "little exceeded by your Perfection in *both*."

65. The *Grand Baſtard*, Protector of the *Little One*. Done out of *French*. (In fifteen Leaves) Printed at *Cologne* (as pretended) *Quarto*, 1689

It is alſo added, in the Title-page of this Pamphlet—For which, a *Proclamation*, with a Reward of 5000 *Lewedores*, to diſcover the *Author*, was publiſhed.

66. A true *Relation* of the Manner of *depoſing* of King *Edward the Second*. Together with the *Articles* which were exhibited againſt him in *Parliament*. As alſo an exact Account of the *Proceedings* and *Articles* againſt King *Richard the Second*, and the Manner of his *Depoſition* and *Reſignation*, according to the Parliament Roll itſelf; where they are recorded at large. (In eighteen Leaves) *Quarto*, 1689

The Reader eaſily perceives this ancient Piece of Hiſtory was at this Time revived, to ſhew that *Revolutions* were not unprecedented among us.

67. A Propoſal for an Equal *Land-Tax*; humbly ſubmitted to Conſideration. (In eight Leaves) *Quarto*, 1691

It appears in this Pamphlet, that the Land-Tax, in *thoſe Times*, amounted to about *Seventeen-hundred-thouſand Pounds*: And there are ſome *Conſiderations* offered in it, which might perhaps conduce to render the ſaid *Tax* more equal and proportionable in *theſe Times*.

68. The Pretences of the *French Invaſion* examined; for the Information of the People of *England*. (In ten Leaves) *Quarto*, 1692

The *Imprimatur* is in theſe Words; 'Let 'this be printed; *Nottingham*.' One of the *French* Pretences for the Reſtauration of K. *James* by Arms, is, *The Decay of our Trade*, ſince his Departure; which is thus anſwered 'As for Trade, the Decay of it began in 'the *late* King's Time; and it is the War, 'which *He* and *France* have engaged us in, 'that ſtill keeps it at a low Ebb; ſo that for 'the late King's Friends to expoſe the preſent Government, for this, is like a Conjuror's complaining of the Storm he raiſes. 'That ingenious Hiſtory of Biſhop *King*'s, 'of *The State of the Proteſtants in* Ireland, 'under *King* James, makes it out, That the 'late King feared and hated the Increaſe of 'Trade, which made him uſe all Means to 'hinder it; and all the World ſees that *no* 'abſolute *Monarch* (as he affects to be) *likes* 'that his Subjects ſhould grow rich by Trade: 'But our preſent King, ſo ſoon as he can 'have Peace, will make it his firſt Care to 'promote Trade *here*, as he did in the *Country* he came from.' *Page* 7, 8.

69. A Diſcourſe of *Sea-Ports*; principally of the Port and Haven of *Dover*: Written by Sir

Sir *Walter Ralegh*, and addreſſed to Queen *Elizabeth*. With uſeful Remarks, &c. on that Subject; by the Command of his late Majeſty, King *Charles the Second*. Never before made publick (In ten Leaves) *Quarto*, 1700

The Editor dedicates this *Memorial* to the Earl of *Romney*, Lord *Warden* of the *Cinque Ports*; and tells him that, 'by this needful 'and magnificent Work (of reſtoring the 'decayed Harbour of *Dover*) &c. you may 'conſign your Name to Poſterity by a Mo-'nument more durable, and of greater Dig-'nity, than the Records and Patents of your 'Anceſtors, or the Statues of Antiquity.' It is the ſame Pamphlet, with that publiſhed the Year following under this Title:—An *Eſſay on Ways and Means to maintain the Honour and Safety of* England, *&c.* And there, the Editor's Name is publiſhed, Sir *Henry Shears*. He informs us, Page 9, for the Part aſcribed to Sir *Walter Ralegh* goes no further, that he found this Memorial drawn up by Sir *Walter Ralegh*, or Sir *Dudley Digges*, among the Rubbiſh of old Papers, while he ſerved in the *Office* of *Ordnance*. But it has been thought that it could not be writ by Sir *Dudley Digges*; becauſe the Author, directing himſelf to Queen *Elizabeth*, ſpeaks familiarly of Things he had ſeen (relating to theſe Naval Accommodations) in the *Low Countries*, in her Time; when Sir *Dudley Digges* had not left the Univerſity. See the *Life of Sir Walter Ralegh*, before the laſt Edition of his *Hiſt. of the World*; *Fol.* 143, and 176.

70. A Step to *Oxford*: Or a *mad Eſſay* on the Reverend Mr. *Thomas Creech*'s Hanging himſelf, as it is ſaid, for *Love*: With the Character of his Miſtreſs. In a *Letter* to a Perſon of Quality. (In twelve Leaves) *Quarto*, 1700

Had this *Pamphlet* been ſeen by ſome of the Writers on the *Lives* and *Works* of our *Poets*, it might have prevented ſeveral Miſtakes. Some have inſinuated as if, "Mr. "*Dryden*, envying ſo growing a Rival in "Poetry, put Mr. *Creech* upon tranſlating "*Horace*, to leſſen him by ſo impracticable "an Attempt." See Dr. *Coward*'s *Licentia Poetica*, &c. 8*vo.* 1708. *p.* 16: Which appears to be an unjuſt Suggeſtion; from the good Underſtanding there always was between them; the amicable *Dedication* Mr. *Creech* himſelf made of that very *Tranſlation* to Mr. *Dryden*; and the laudable Characters Mr. *Dryden* himſelf has publiſhed of him; teſtifying how *learned* and *judicious* a Man he thought him to be. Yet others have carried that Notion ſo far, as to intimate, that innocent *Horace* [illegible], was guilty of Mr. *Creech*'s Death. For, loſing that Reputation, by tranſlating *him*, which he had gained, by his Tranſlation of *Lucretius*, he hanged himſelf: Whereas there was ſixteen Years between his Tranſlation of *Horace*, and his *Death*; in which Interval, he ſufficiently retrieved his Reputation, by many other learned and well-received Publications. Mr. *Giles Jacob* has offered another erroneous *Cauſe* of his Death; as if, his *Heats* and *Diſputes proved in the End fatal to him*: Yet adds, the *Cauſe* of his Death was *unknown*. He alſo is miſtaken in the *Time*; and ſets it down, a Year later than it was. Monſieur *Bernard*, a Foreigner, who knew more of the Matter, in his *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, for *Sept.* 1701. ſays, Mr. *Creech* brought himſelf to this unfortunate Period, about the End of *June*, 1700. But it appears in the *Poſt-Boy* for *June* the 18th of this Year, that it muſt have been in the Middle of this Month at lateſt, that Mr. *Creech* committed that raſh and preſumptuous Violence upon himſelf: And in this Pamphlet, as well as in the *Paſtoral*, publiſhed upon the ſame Occaſion, it does appear that, being of an *amorous Conſtitution*, he fell in Love with a beautiful but diſdainful *Coquet*; which drove him into a Kind of *amorous Frenzy*, and *Fury* at laſt, to pay her this undeſerved Compliment. For he was obſerved to be *melancholy* ſome Days before he did it: Accordingly the *Jury* brought him in, *Diſtracted*. He was found hanging at a Beam, in a Garret of the *Apothecary*'s Houſe where he lodged at *Oxford*, by the *Servant-Maid*; after he had been five Days miſſing: And, as it has been further affirmed, with a Bible, or other pious Book, before him; alſo, his Hands fixed in a praying Poſture: And he was then, as near as may be computed, in the forty-firſt Year of his Age.

71.

Continued. NUMBER III.

71. A lamentable and piteous *Treatiſe*, verye neceſſarye for everie *Chriſten* Manne to reade: Wherein is contayned, not onely the High Enterpriſe and Valeauntneſs of Th'emperour *Charles* the V. and his *Army*, in his Voyage, made to the Towne of *Argier* in *Affrique*, agaynſt the *Turkes*, the Enemyes of the *Chriſten* Fayth, th'inhabitours of the ſame; but alſo the myſerable Chaunces of *Wynde* and *Wether*: With dyverſe other *Adverſites*, liable to move even a ſtonye Hearte to bewayle the ſame; and to praye to God for his Ayde and Succoure. Which was written and ſent unto the Lorde of *Langeſt*. Truly and dylygently tranſlated out of *Latyn* into *Frenche*, and out of *Frenche* into *Engliſhe* (In fourteen Leaves, *black Letter*) *Ricardus Grafton excudebat.* *Octavo*, 1542

On the Back of this *Title-page*, is a wooden Print, repreſenting the ſaid Emperour, *Charles*, at the Head of his Army, with one Hand reſting on a *Hammer*; as if he had *mauld* off his Enemies: Alſo a Repreſentation of ſome Ships at Bottom, ſailing to *Algier*, &c. But, according to this Account, it was a lamentable Expedition indeed. By Sea, the *Storms* drowned *thirty* of their *Ships*, with much of their *Victuals*, *Ammunition*, *Clothes*, &c. By Land, *Famine* and the *Enemy* ſeem to have deſtroyed a great Part of *Thirty-ſix Thouſand Spaniards*, *Italians*, *Germans*, &c. Our Author could not go to inform himſelf of the exact Numbers, he was ſo ſorely wounded in this Invaſion. He is here, in his *Epiſtle* to Syr *Wyllyam* of *Bellay*, Vyceroy of *Pyment*, named Syr *Nycholas Vyllagon*.

72. A *Meſſage* ſent by the *Kynges Majeſtie*, to certain of his People aſſembled in *Devonſhire* (In ſixteen Leaves) Imprinted by *Richard Grafton*, Printer to the Kynges Majeſtie. *Cum Privilegio ad imprimendum ſolum* (*Black Letter*) *Twelves*, 1549

This is a mild Expoſtulation, thus publiſhed, and directed, by King *Edward*'s Authority, to his ſaid ſeditious Subjects, in the *Weſt*; and ſhews what Diſcretion there was in the Council about him: It is a rational Exhortation of them, to conſider thoſe Points in the Reformed Syſtem, whereat they had been ſeduced to murmur, by *Popiſh* Malecontents; and to return to their Obedience. To which End, his Majeſty deſcends to ſend them *Inſtruction*, as to *Subjects*; rather than *Diſtruction* as to *Rebells*. But if they delay to comply with this favourable Admonition; Then, as the Concluſion is, 'Where ye 'ſhall *now* heare of *Mercie*, *Mercie* and *Life*, 'ye ſhall *then* heare of *Juſtice*, *Juſtice* and '*Death*.' The Conſequence is to be found in the Hiſtorians of his Reign, *Holinſhed*, *Stowe*, *Speed*, *Godwin*'s Annals, Sir *John Hayward*, in his Life &c. of King *Edward* VI.

73. The *Appellation* of *John Knoxe* from the cruell and moſt unjuſt *Sentence* pronounced againſt him, by the falſe *Biſhops* of *Scotland*: With his Supplication and Exhortation to the *Nobilitie*, *Eſtates* and *Communaltie* of the ſame Realme. Printed at *Geneva* (In fifty-nine Leaves) *Twelves*, 1558

This Champion of the *Scotch* Reformation, having charged the *Popiſh* Biſhops with Superſtition and Idolatry, was driven by their Perſecutions into Exile. Yet did they ſummon him to appear before them; and upon his Delay, through Ignorance thereof, they damned *him*, and his *Doctrines*, as Heretical and pronounced *Sentence* of *Death* againſt him, in Juſtification whereof they burnt his Picture, or Effigies. Whereupon he *appeals*, in this Tract, to a lawfull and Generall *Councill*, and, till his Caſe ſhall be equitably decided, intreats that the States of *Scotland* would receive him into their Protection. But the next Year, upon the Acceſſion of Queen *Elizabeth* to the Throne, he was called Home, and made Preacher of *Edenburgh*. From the Number of Leaves before-mentioned to N°. 77, there is joined another Treatiſe, entitled, *An Admonition to England and Scotland, to call them to Repentance*: Written by *Antoni Gilby*, then alſo in Exile, with *Knox*. Therein, he does, in a moſt lively and ſharp Manner, ſet forth the iniquitous *Motives* to the *Reformation* in King *Henry* VIII. (that monſtrous Boar, as he calls him, in this Vineyard. The imperfect *State* of it under King *Edward* VI. and its *Sufferings* under Queen *Mary*. This Piece is followed by *Knox*'s *Poſtcript* to the *Reader*; and

concludes with the 94 Pſalme of *David*, turned into Metre, by *W. Kethe*; the Whole ending at *Fol.* 80.

74. The *Benefit* of the auncient *Bathes* at *Buckſtones*, which cureth moſt greevous *Sickneſſes*: Never before publiſhed. Compiled by *John Jones* Phiſition. At the *Kings-Mede*, nigh *Darby*. *Seene and alowed, acording to the Order appointed.* Imprinted at *London*, by *T. Eaſt* and *H. Myddleton*, &c. (In thirty-two Leaves, *black Letter*) *Quarto*, 1572

There are Verſes before this Tract to the Reader, by *Chriſtopher Carlile*, in *Latin*; and *Tho. Lupton* in *Engliſh*: And the Author dedicates it to *George*, Earl of *Shrewſbury*; whoſe goodly Houſe and Building, upon this *Bathes* Side, he communicated for the Entertainment of the better Sort; and was deſigning other Lodgings and Conveniencies for all other Degrees, even the pooreſt, who ſhould repair thither for Relief of their Health. And for the Maintenance of thoſe *Poor*, as alſo of an able *Phyſician*, there was a *Regiſter* intended now to be opened, to note the Day of every Perſon's Coming and Departure; their Infirmities, or Cauſe of Coming; and the Succeſs; every Entry whereof was to be four Pence; and a Contribution beſides, to be divided between the ſaid Poor and Phyſician, according to every Perſon's Rank; a Yeoman, one Shilling. A Gentleman, 3. Eſq; 3 *s.* 4 Pence. Knight, 6 *s.* 8 Pence. Lord, 10 *s.* *&c.* Duke, 3 *l.* 10 Shillings, *&c.* and ſo of the Women, in Proportion. The Author treats of the Antiquity of theſe Waters; their Virtues; and in what Diſeaſes to be uſed; with the Diet, Exerciſes, and Medicines proper: As he had before diſcourſed upon, *The Bathes of Bath.* But mentions not the Repair of *Mary* Queen of *Scots* to, or Aboad at *Buckſtone*; and the *Latin* Verſes ſhe wrote in a Window there; preſerved in *Camden*'s *Britannia*, and *Fuller*'s Church Hiſtory; becauſe, probably, ſuch her Reſort was after the Publication of this Tract. *A. Wood* might have hence added one more Treatiſe of this Author's Writing, to the Liſt of his Works; entitled, *The Diall of Agues*, mentioned *Fol.* 8.

75. A View of certain wonderful Effects, of late Dayes *come to paſſe*; and now newly conferred with the *Prefignification*, of the *Comete*, or *Blaſing-Starre*, which appeared in the *Southweſt*, upon the 10 Day of *November*, the Yere laſt paſt, 1577. Written by *T.* This 28 of *Novembr.* 1578. Printed by *Thones*, &c. (In twelve Leaves, *black* *Quarto*, 1578

There is a wooden Print, of a *Comet* at the Bottom of the Title-Page; and the Tract is dedicated to the worſhipful Maſter *Giles Lambert*. This *Comet* diſappeared about the End of *January* following. The Author mentions about nine Treatiſes in ſeveral Languages which had been written of it, and he drew the Subſtance of this, from one in *Engliſh*, entitled, *The Blazoning of a Comet*, &c. To which he adds the Conſequences, which he thinks have been thereby foreſhown. There were indeed above twice as many more Authors who alſo wrote of this Comet; and it is beſides mentioned in moſt of the Hiſtories of theſe Times. But ſurely 'tis amuſing to conſider, how fond Men are of *Predictions* and *Prefignifications*; and that ſo many Authors ſhould follow one another in monopoliſing of Cauſes, or aſcribing the ordinary and particular *Events*, which happened in their own narrow *Spots of Earth*, to ſuch diſtant, natural, general, and wide-compaſſing *Appearances* in the *Heavens*.

76. A true Diſcourſe of the *Aſſault* committed upon the Perſon of the moſt noble Prince, *William Prince of Orange*, Countie of *Naſſau*, Marqueſs *de la Vere*, &c. by *John Jauregui, Spaniard*. With the true Copies of the Writings, Examinations, Depoſitions, and Letters of ſundrie Offenders in that vile and diveliſh *Attempte*. Faithfullye tranſlated out of the *Frenche* Copie, printed at *Antwerp* by *Chriſtopher Plantin*. Imprinted at *London*, for *T. Charde* and *W. Broome*. (In forty-ſeven Leaves, *black Letter*) *Twelves*, 1582

In this *Diſcourſe*, *Examination*, &c. it appears, that the K. of *Spain* and his *Council* had dealt with *Gaſper de Annaſtro*, a *Spaniſh* Merchant at *Antwerp*, to procure the

the Death of this *Prince* of *Orange*, who had ſhaken off the *Spaniſh* Yoke of Tyranny, and was the firſt Founder of the *Republick* of *Holland*: For which wicked Work *Annaſtro* was to have 80000 *Ducats* in Silver. This Merchant, and the Prieſts he employed, deluded that raw young Fellow *Saurezui*, a Copying-Clerk in his Compting House, to undertake the Deed; and they perſuaded him into an Enthuſiaſtical Believe, that he might effect the ſame, in the Face of Day, unmoleſtedly. He was ſo ignorant, that he knew not how to diſcharge a Piſtol; but, having learnt the Art, he went into the *Prince*'s Drawing Room, in the *Caſtle* at *Antwerp*; and, as with ſome Noblemen, *&c.* the Prince was looking on a Piece of Tapeſtry, he ſhot his Highneſs under the right Ear, through the left Cheek, on *Sunday* the 18th of *March* 1582. The Prince's Company and his Guards, ſtab'd, and hack'd to Death the Aſſaſſin on the Spot: And, by the Papers found in his Pocket, others were ſeiz'd, and executed; but *Annaſtro* made his Eſcape. The Prince was ſtun'd, but fell not at the Blow; wrote Letters, *&c.* after it; and was in a fair Way of Recovery, about a Fortnight after, when this Diſcourſe was written. They were more ſucceſsful two Years after, by a *French* Hand, as may in Time appear.

77. A true Diſcourſe of the *Armie* which the King of *Spaine* cauſed to be aſſembled in the Haven of *Liſbon*, in the Kingdom of *Portugall*, in the Year 1588, againſt *England*. The which began to go out of the ſaid Haven on the 29th and 30th of *May*. Tranſlated out of *French* into *Engliſh*, by *Daniel Archdeacon*. Whereunto is added, the *Verſes* that were printed in the firſt Page of the *Dutch* Copy, printed at *Colen*; with Anſweres to them, and to Don *Bernardin de Mendozza*. Imprinted by *John Wolfe* (In ſeventy Pages, *black Letter*, beſides one Leaf of the *Verſes* aforeſaid, in *Latine*) *Octavo*, 1588

This is the oſtentatious *Detail* of the *Invincible Armada!* ſet forth by the *Spaniards* themſelves; as the *Trumpet* of *Terror*, and *Harbinger* of *Diſtruction* to the *Engliſh* Nation. This *Catalogue* of their *Galions*, *Ships*, *Pinnaces*, *Pataches*, *Zabres*, *Gallies*, *Galeaces*, and other Veſſels; under the Command of their chief Generall the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*: With the *Burden* of them, Names of *Commanders*; *Soldiers*, Number of *Mariners*, Quantity of *Munition*, *Weapons*, *Artillery*, *Powder*, and other formidable Furniture of War, was publiſhed in ſeveral *Languages*; but the *Succeſs* of their *Invaſion* therewith, is alſo fixed in ſeveral *Hiſtories*. *Page* 35. it appears, the ſaid Fleet conſiſted of 130 Ships, of 57868 Tuns; 19295 Soldiers; 8450 Mariners; 2088 Slaves; and 2630 great Pieces of Braſs Cannon of all Sorts: Beſides 20 *Caravals*, and 10 *Salves*; as in *Page* 36: And 80 Sail of Ships more, which ſet out afterwards in *June*, with a further *Supply* of an Army, to join the ſaid Fleet; as appears in the laſt *Page*.

78. A true Report of ſundry horrible *Conſpiracies*, of late Time *detected*, to have, by barbarous *Murders*, taken away the Life of the *Queen's moſt excellent Majeſtie*; whom Almighty God hath miraculouſly conſerved, againſt the *Treacheries* of her *Rebelles*, and the *Violences* of her moſt puiſſant *Enemies*. *November*: At *London*; Printed by *Charles Yetſweirt*, Eſq; (In thirty-one Pages) *Quarto*, 1594

Here it may be ſeen, after the King of *Spain*'s *Invincible Armada* had failed of dethroning the *Queen* of *England*, and conquering her *Realm* by *Force*, that he attempted, in a moſt unprincely Manner, to deſtroy her *Perſon* by *Treachery*, more baſe and cowardly, than Thieves and Ruffians would, who hazard their own Lives: For he did it by offering (thro' his Tools, or Agents) Dr. *Roderic Lopez*, her Majeſty's Phyſician, 50000 Crowns to Poyſon her; but the Money being delayed, and the Matter detected, by one of her Privy Councellors; Dr. *Lopez*, and his Accomplices, *Stephano Ferrara*, and *Manuel Lewis*, were, after due Trial and Conviction, executed; about the Month of *June* that Year. *Camden* ſays, that *Lopez*, at *Tyburn*, declared, *he loved the Queen, as well as he did Jeſus Chriſt*: But, the Doctor being a *Portugueſe Jew*, the very Credibility of his Aſſertion, moved Deriſion. The *Spaniard*, thus failing of Succeſs by theſe Creatures, tried how he

could ſucceed by *Engliſhmen*, and engaged *Edm. York*, *Ric. Williams* and *Young* to murder her Majeſty, and ſome of her Council; who, with their Accomplices, and others engaged in the like Attempts, by Cardinal *Allen* and *W. Stanley*, being alſo detected, were ſome now in Priſon, ſome hanged, *&c.* as the *Annals* and *Chronicles* alſo relate. The Concluſion of this Pamphlet contains the Confeſſions, and Letters of two of the abovenamed *Portugueſes*.

79. The true *Hiſtorie* of the late and *lamentable Adventures* of *Don Sebaſtian King of Portugall*, after his Impriſonment in *Naples*, untill this preſent Day, being now in *Spain*, at *Saint Lucar de Barrameda* (In fourteen Leaves) *Quarto*, 1602

80. A *Continuation* of the *lamentable* and *admirable Adventures* of *Don Sebaſtian* King of *Portugal*: With a Declaration of all his Time employed ſince the *Battle* in *Affricke* againſt the *Infidels* untill this preſent Year 1603. (In thirty-four Leaves) *Quarto*, 1603

This ſtrange Story of that *King*'s Wandering up and down the World in ſo many *Climates*, *Shapes* or *Diſguiſes*, and *Conditions* of Life; ſometimes a *General*, ſometimes a *Hermit*, ſometimes a *Priſoner*, &c. for above twenty Years together after he had been ſo currently aſſerted in the Hiſtories of all Nations to have been ſlain at the famous but fatal Battle of *Alcazer*; whence it was never effectually believed that he was *Don Sebaſtian*; but that this King was perſonated by a *Calabrian Prerender*, is chiefly written by Fr. *Joſeph Texere*, a *Portugueze* Councellor and Almoner to the King. He ſeriouſly labours to prove him the *real Perſon*; not only from bearing all the Wounds the King had, and having his right Arm and Leg in all their Proportions bigger than the Left, but many other Circumſtances leaſt ſubject to Counterfeit. However ſparing Hiſtorians may be in their Credit of theſe *Adventures*, they have made Work enough for *Novels* and *Romances*, *Poems* and *Plays*.

81. *Aphoriſmes*: Or certain ſelected Points of the *Doctrine of the Jeſuites*: With a *Treatiſe* concerning their ſecret Practiſes and cloſe Studies: All taken out of the *Writings*, *Sayings*, and publick Acts of the *Jeſuites*, and other Popiſh Doctors. *London*, printed *by Permiſſion of the Superiors*. (In twenty-eight Leaves) *Quarto*, 1609

The Author was not only well read in the *Works* of theſe Doctors as appears in the firſt Part, but well acquainted with the Courſes of their *Lives*, as he ſhews in the laſt. In the firſt Part, he gives us ſixteen *Aphoriſmes*; and proves them all out of their own Books. The *Engliſhmen* quoted to maintain the ſaid Doctrines are, Cardinal *Pole*, *Stapleton*, *Creſwell*, *Campian*, and *Garnet*. The laſt Part is ſaid to be written by a Friend and dated from *Ausbourgh*. The Whole concludes with a Chapter of *Hiſtorical Examples* of ſeveral Kings and Princes who have been ſtabbed, poyſoned, and dethroned, by the Jeſuites, and their Doctrines.

82. An *Extract* out of the *Hiſtorie* of the laſt *French* King, *Henry* IV. of famous Memorie; according to the *Autentique* Copie written in his Life Time. To which is added, his being *murdered* with a Knife in his Coach in *Paris*, the 14 of *May* laſt 1610. *Styl. Rom.* With an *Apprecation* for the Safeguard and Happineſs of our moſt gracious Sovereign *James* I. *&c.* Imprinted by *Ro. Barker*. (In fifteen Leaves) *Quarto*, 1610

This Tract is dedicated to *William* Viſcount *Cranborne*, (Son and Heir of the Earl of *Salisbury*) who was then in *France*, and ſent the firſt Account of the ſaid Murder to *England*. The Author ſubſcribes himſelf *Edmond Skory*; who was then, or rather afterwards, I think, a Knight. He ſpeaks nothing of the Cauſes of this Aſſaſſination, nor of the Conſequences, ſufficiently, in Relation to the Aſſaſſin; whom he names *Francis Rouilliart*; which, if right, may correct the Spelling of his Name in all our Hiſtories. *See* No. 20. of this *Catalogue*.

83. A true *Relation* of a moſt deſperate *Murder*, committed upon the Body of Sir *John Tindall* Knight; one of the *Maſters* of the *Chancery*: Who, with a Piſtoll, charged with three Bullets, was ſlaine, going into his Chamber within *Lincolne*'s-Inne, the 12 Day of

of *November*, by one *John Barterham* Gent. Which *Barterham* afterwards hanged himſelfe in the *Kinges-Bench* in *Southwarke*, on *Sunday*, being the 17 Day following 1616. (In eleven Leaves) *Quarto*, 1617

By the *Method*, *Style*, and *Reflexions* in this *Relation*, it ſhould ſeem to be written by no common Hand. There is a wooden Print in the Front &c. of Sir *John* opening his Chamber Door, and old *Barterham* ſhooting him. He was a headſtrong litigious Man, and had Suits in *Chancery*, depending thirty or forty Years; which had waſted his Eſtate: And now having a Sum of Money awarded him, far ſhort of his Expectation, he was reſolved, and did give the *Maſter*, according to the Manner above related, *one Report for another*; and then, *hung himſelf, to avoid a Hanging.*

84. A *Relation* ſent from *Rome*, of the Proceſſe, Sentence, and Execution, done upon the Body, Picture, and Bookes of *Marcus Antonius de Dominis*, Archbiſhop of *Spalato*, after his Death. Publiſhed by Command. Printed by *John Bill*, Printer to the King. (In eight Leaves; on the firſt whereof, is the Print of a *Skeleton*) *Quarto*, 1624

This Archbiſhop having obtained a Pardon of the *Pope*, for his Offences againſt *Holy Church*; left *England*, went to *Rome* and alſo pretended to return to the *Romiſh* Religion: But at length, his *Converſion* appearing inſincere, he was put into the *Inquiſition*, and charged, in a *Proceſs*, with many *Heretical* Tenets; which ended in a *Sentence*, depriving him of Honour, Dignity, and Goods; and giving him up to the *Secular* Powers; by whom, after his Death, his *Corps*, *Picture*, and the *Books* he had printed, were burnt in *Campo di Fiori*. Moſt of our *Hiſtorians* in the Reign of King *James* I. General and Particular, Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, have ſpoken of him. See Sir *Richard Baker*.

85. A briefe Deſcription of the notorious *Life* of *John Lambe* otherwiſe called Dr. *Lambe*: Together with his Ignominious *Death*. Printed in *Amſterdam*. (On twelve Leaves) *Quarto*, 1628

This Man paſſed for a mighty *Conjurer* or *Magician* in theſe Days, with the Populace; but with Men of Underſtanding, for an ignorant and impudent *Impoſtor*. He practiſed *Jugling*, *Fortune-telling*, *Recovering loſt Goods*, and ſhewing young People and ſome of Quality the *Faces* of thoſe who were to be their *Husbands* and *Wives* in his *Chriſtal-Glaſs*. But as for his Indictment at *Worceſter*, 5. *Jac.* 1. for his Diabolical *Witchcrafts*, *Enchantments* upon *Th.* Lord *W.* (q. *Windſor.*) And that other, at the Aſſizes in the ſame County, next Year, for his Invocation and Entertainment of *Evil Spirits*; it appears very proper, that *Judgment* was ſuſpended. For the Rape he was convicted of the 21 of *Jac.* upon the Body of *Joan Seager*, in *Southwark*, a Girl of 11 Years old, he had Intereſt to get the King's Pardon. But as for the inhuman Pelting and Beating of him to Death, with Stones and Staves, by the licentious Mob, all the Way from the *Fortune Play Houſe* to the *Old Jury*, on the 13 of *June* 1628; whereby one of his Eyes was beaten out, and his Skull ſo fractured, that he died in the *Poultry-Compter* next Morning; there was no Law for That; and yet there was Nobody puniſhed for it. It ſeems the Rabble were poſſeſſed that the Doctor dealt with the Devil, and that he employed his Skill to ſerve the dark Deeds of the Duke of *Buckingham* and his Mother; againſt which Duke for his Miſleading the King, and other Miſmanagement of Affairs, the *Parliament* were at that Inſtant making *Remonſtrance*. See *Ruſhworth*.

86. The *Anſwer* of *John Baſtwick*, Dr. of Phiſick, to the *Information* of Sir *John Baneks* Knight, *Atturney Univerſall*. In which there is a ſufficient Demonſtration, that the *Prelates* are *Invaders* of the *Kings Prerogative Royal*; *Contemners* and *Diſpiſers* of *Holy Scripture*; *Advancers* of *Poperie*, *Superſtition*, *Idolatry*, and *Prophaneſs*: Alſo that they abuſe the *Kings Authoritie*, to the Oppreſſion of the loyalleſt Subjects; and therein exerciſe great Crueltie, Tyrannie, and Injuſtice; and in the Execution of theſe impious Performances they ſhew neither Wit, Honeſty, nor Temperance; Nor that they are either Servants of *God* or of the *King* (as they are not indeed) but of the *Devil*; being *Enemies* of *God* and the *King*, and of every living Thing that is Good. All which the ſaid Dr. *Baſtwick* is ready to maintain

tain before *King* and *Counſell*, againſt them all; with the Hazard of otherwiſe being expoſed to the extreameſt Miſerie. (In fifteen Leaves) *Quarto*, 1637

The Author dedicates this Tract to the *King*. It is printed in double Columns; and it is rare to ſee one printed, intirely, upon ſo ſmall a Letter. It appears *Page* 10. that in pleading his Cauſe, as he was approaching more cloſely to the Biſhops, they commanded him to Silence, as a Rayler; which produced his *Apologeticus ad Præſules Anglicanos* (which was publiſhed in 8*vo.* the Year before) wherein he *Wrote* That to the View of the World, which he would have then *Spoke*. Hereupon they now cenſured him *only* for his ſaid Book; and unanimouſly agreed, *That the Defendant ſhould pay the Coſts of the Suite; a Thouſand Pounds to the King for a Fine; be debarred of his Practiſe*; that his *Book ſhould be burnt*; and that the *Defendant ſhould lye in Priſon till Recantation; and in the mean Time be delivered unto Satan.* See more of him in *Article* 52 of this *Catalogue*.

87. The *Arminian Nunnery*: Or a briefe Deſcription and Relation of the late erected *Monaſtical* Place, called the *Arminian Nunnery* at Little *Gedding* in *Huntingtonſhire*: Humbly recommended to the wiſe Conſideration of this preſent *Parliament*. The Foundation is by a Company of *Farrars* at *Gedding*. (In ſix Leaves) *Quarto*, 1641

This religious Family of the *Farrars* conſiſted of an old Matron; two Sons, one whereof had been at *Rome*; a Daughter, and her Huſband; with about fifteen of their Children; and three or four Servants. They had a fair Houſe and Chapell; fine Garden and Walks; and an Eſtate of about 500 Pounds *per Annum*. Thus declining any *Calling* or *Employment*, that might render them ſerviceable in *Active* Life to their Fellow Creatures; they confined themſelves to *Faſting*, and *Watching*, and *Praying*; accounting theſe *verbal* Exhalations, or Lip-labour Devotion, with ſome outward Ceremonies, in lighting of Tapers, bowing and kneeling at their Altar, *&c.* the moſt perfect and acceptable *Service of God*. Mr. *Hearne* in one of his Volumes has reprinted this Tract, but, how exactly he has followed his Copy, has not been obſerved.

88. The *Advice* of the worthy Commander Sir *Edward Harwood*, Colonell: Written by King *Charles* his Command upon Occaſion of the *French* King's *Preparation*; and preſented in his Life Time by his own Hand to his Majeſtie: Hitherto being in private *Manuſcript*. Alſo a *Relation* of his *Life* and *Death*. Whereunto is alſo annexed divers remarkable *Inſtructions*; written by the late and ever-famous *Earl of Eſſex*. All tending to the ſecuring and fortifying this Kingdome both by Sea and Land; and now ſeaſonably publiſhed for the Benefit of theſe Times. (In twenty Leaves) *Quarto*, 1642

There are Verſes in *Latin* and *Engliſh* before this Tract in Memory of the Deceaſed (who was killed at *Maſtricht*) by his Nephew *M. Draper*. And it is dedicated to the *Lords* and *Commons*, by the *Colonell's* Brother *George Harwood*. The ſhort Recital of his *Life* at the Beginning, not 7 Pages, ending with ſix Verſes, was written by *Hugh Peeters*. Then follow the *Colonell's Advice*, and the *Earl's Inſtructions*, beforementioned.

89. *Alter Britanniæ Heros:* Or, the *Life* of the moſt honourable Knight, Sir *Henry Gage*, late *Governour* of *Oxford*, Epitomiz'd. *Oxford*, Printed by *Leonard Litchfield*, Printer to the *Univerſity*. (In ſixteen Leaves) *Quarto*, 1645

It appears in the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Pages of this Pamphlet, that it was writ by *Edward Walſingham*; who was a *Roman Catholic*, and Under-Secretary to *George* Lord *Digby*, Secretary of State to King *Charles* I. That *Latin* Title implies another Work he had written of the like Nature; which was the *Life of Major General Smith*, publiſhed by him the Year before; as in ſome other *Number* may be more particularly repreſented.

90. The Life of Sir *Thomas Bodley*; the honourable *Founder* of the *Publique Library* in the *Univerſity* of *Oxford*. Written by *Himſelf*. *Oxford*, Printed by *Henry Hall*, Printer to the *Univerſitie*. (In ſixteen Pages) *Quarto*, 1647

There are, beſides, a *Preface* of one Leaf; and a *Poſtſcript*, by the Editor; which have not

not be reprinted with the *Life*, either by *David Loyd* in his *State-Worthies*, or Mr. *T. Hearne* in Sir *T. Bodley's Remains*. In Sir *Ralph Winwood's Memorials*, *Tom.* 3. fol. 422, there is one [illegible] *John Chamberlain*, who writes to Sir *Ralph*, very diſparagingly of Sir *Thomas Bodley*; takes Notice of his Sickneſs, and Infirmities of aged and dying Men, which would appear very uncharitable, if he ſeems not to have expected his Letters would have been made publick. In Page 429, he ſays, That Sir *Thomas* was ſo carried away with the Vanity and Vainglory of his *Library*, that he forgot all other Reſpects and Duties, almoſt of Conſcience, Friendſhip, or Good-nature. But, a little lower, plainly ſhews all this Indignation to proceed from being diſappointed, an old Acquaintance as he was, of having any Thing left him by Sir *Thomas* in his *Will*. Hence may we account for the hard *Character* he gives, in the next Leaf, of *this Life*; where he ſays, 'One Argument of his Vanity I 'will venture to communicate to you, tho' 'it were in a Manner committed to me, '*ſub ſigillo Confeſſionis*; and ſo pray let it 'remain, till you hear more. He hath '*written* his *own Life* in *ſeven Sheets* of *Pa*'*per*; not leaving out the leaſt *Minutezze*, 'nor omitting any Thing that may tend to 'his own Glory or Commendation. He 'hath not ſo much as made Mention of his 'Wife, or that he was married; whereby 'you may ſee what a Mind he carried, and 'what Account he made of his beſt Bene'factors. This *Treatiſe* is commended to 'the Hands of the *Prime Prelate*, who I 'fear will ſuppreſs it; for he hath too 'much Judgment to let it be publiſhed.' Hence we may ſee, though it has been publiſhed, how much it has been curtailed, as for *Seven Sheets* to be reduced to *Two*.

91. The *Woodſtock* Scuffle: Or, moſt dreadfull *Aparitions*, that were lately ſeen in the *Mannor-Houſe* of *Woodſtock* near *Oxford*, to the great Terror and wonderfull Amazement of all there that did behold them. (In one Sheet) *Quarto*, 1649.

This is a Poem; written in Ridicule of the *Contractors* or Parliament *Commiſſioners*, who went to ſell the late King's Lands, &c. at *Woodſtock*, and might be frightened into the woeful Pickle here deſcribed, by the Notion of an Apparition, which is ſaid to heave up their Beds, fly about the Room, break the Windows, &c. Till in ſhort, having by ſome Accident burnt their *Rent-Roll*, they were unable to make any Diſpoſal of the Lands; ſo departed, as rich as they came.

92. A Diſcoverie for *Diviſion*, or *Setting out* of *Land*, as to the beſt Form. Publiſhed by *Samuel Hartlib* Eſquire, for Direction, and more Advantage and Profit of the Adventurers and Planters in the *Fens*, and other waſte and undiſpoſed Places in *England* and *Ireland*: Alſo other choice Secrets, or Experiments in *Husbandry*. With a Philoſophical *Quere* concerning the Cauſe of *Fruitfulneſs*. And an *Eſſay*, to ſhew how all *Lands* may be improved in a *new Way*, to become the Ground of the Increaſe of *Trading*, and *Revenue* to this Common-wealth (In twenty Leaves) *Quarto*, 1653

The firſt Part, or *Letter*, in this Work, to Mr. *Hartlib*, is written by *Creſſey Dymock*, a knowing Correſpondent of his; as may appear alſo in his *Legacy of Husbandry*. And here are two *Charts* or *Plans*, ſetting forth ſuch improved *Diviſion* of *Lands*, into *Farms*, *Lordſhips*, &c. The latter Part, or *Eſſay*, on a new *Medium* of Commerce, by raiſing of a *Bank-Credit*, only by, or upon *Lands*, with the Advantages thereof, is an Illuſtration upon Mr. *Potter's* Deſign, concerning a *Bank* of *Lands* to be erected throughout the Commonwealth.

93. A Mirror of Mercy and Judgment: Or an exact true Narrative of the *Life* and *Death* of *Freeman Souds*, Eſq; Son of Sir *George Souds* of *Lees Court*, in *Shelwich*, in *Kent*. Who, being about the Age of Nineteen, for Murthering his elder Brother, on *Tueſday* the 7th of *Auguſt*, was arraigned and condemned at *Maidſtone*, executed there on *Tueſday* the 21ſt of the ſaid Month, 1655. (In twenty Leaves) *Quarto*, 1655

This is publiſhed by *R. Bowman*, B. D. and Fellow of *Trin. Col. Cambridge*, who dedicated it to Sir *George Souds*. There is joined, at *p.* 19, a *Miſcellany* of divers remarkable *Paſſages* and *Practiſes* of Maſter *Freeman*

*Freeman Souds*, &c. written by Mr. *Theoph. Higgons* Rector of *Hunton* near *Maidſtone*.

94. A Model for the *Education* of *Students* of choice *Abilities* at the *Univerſity*; and principally in order to the *Miniſtry* (In one Sheet) *Quarto*, 1658

95. An Account of the *laſt Hours* of the late renowned *Oliver* Lord *Protector*: Wherein you have *his Frame of Spirit*, expreſſed in his *dying Words*, upon his *Death-bed*. Who died at *Weſtminſter*, the Third of *September* 1658. Drawn up, and publiſhed, by one who was an Eye and Ear-witneſs of the moſt Part of it (In twelve Leaves) *Quarto*, 1659

96. *England*'s Joy: Or a Relation of the moſt remarkable Paſſages, from his *Majeſty*'s Arrival at *Dover*, to his Entrance at *Whitehall* (In one Sheet) *Quarto*, 1660

97. *Iter Carolinum*: Being a ſuccinct *Relation* of the neceſſitated *Marches*, *Retreats*, and *Sufferings* of his Majeſty *Charles* I. from *January* 10, 1641, till the Time of his *Death*, 1648. Collected by a *daily Attendant* upon his Sacred Majeſty during all the ſaid Time (In 18 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1660

It is compoſed in the Manner of a ſhort *Diary*; pointing out his Majeſty's *Travels* from *Place* to *Place*, with their Diſtances from each other; his Abode therein, and Entertainment; ſuccinctly withall, yet myſtically relating the moſt remarkable *Paſſages* and *Battles* occuring in that Time; as the Editor *Tho. Manley* informs us in his Epiſtle to the Reader; who adds, "I "know the *Author*, my *Father*, and *Self*, "were *Teſtes Oculati*; ſpeaking only what "we have ſorrowfully *Seen* and *Known*". This Tract would be a great Help to the Readers of the Lord *Clarendon*'s *Hiſtory*, and ſuch other Hiſtories of this Reign, whoſe Authors had not the Opportunity to be exact in the *Chronological* Parts of it.

98. A perfect *Catalogue* of all the *Knights* of the *moſt noble Order of the Garter*: From the firſt Inſtitution of it until this preſent *April* 1661. Whereunto is prefixed a ſhort Diſcourſe touching the *Inſtitution* of the *Order*, the *Patron Habit*, and *Solemnities* of it; with many other Particulars which concern the ſame. Collected and continued by *J. N.* (In twenty Leaves) *Quarto*, 1661

99. A *Dialogue* between the two Grooms in *Guildhall*, *Colebrond* and *Brandam*[illegible] concerning the late *Election* of Citizens to ſerve in *Parliament* for the *City* of *L*[illegible] (In eight Leaves) *Quarto*, 1661

100. A brief Relation of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s Troubles: With the Taking away of the Lands and Caſtle of *Sherborn* in *Dorſet* from Him and his Heirs, being his indubible Inheritance (In ſix Leaves) *Quarto*, 1669.

This is a very ſcarce Pamphlet, has a great deal of Sir *Walter*'s private Hiſtory in it, no where elſe to be met with, and may ſerve to rectify ſeveral erroneous Accounts of him in our common and general Writers concerning him. It was written by his Son *Carew Ralegh* Eſq; late Governour of *Jerſey*, and *Member* of *Parliament*. There is prefixed, a *Petition* of the ſaid *Carew Ralegh*'s to the *Houſe* of *Commons*, craving Satisfaction for the ſaid wrongful Loſſes and Oppreſſions. This Petition was preferred, about the Time that the Earl of *Briſtol*, who had Sir *Walter*'s ſaid Eſtate given him by King *James*, fled to or died in *France*: And *Carew* had ſome Satisfaction made him of about Six-thouſand Pounds; ſo remained eaſy. But this Tract ſeems not to have been publiſhed till three Years after his Death.

101. *Propoſals* moderately offered for the full *Peopling* and *Inhabiting* the *City of London*; and to reſtore the ſame to her ancient flouriſhing *Trade*; which will ſuit with her ſplendid *Structure*. (In four Leaves) *Quarto*, 1672

102. A Letter to the Reverend Dr. *White Kennet*, D. D. in Defence of the *Engliſh Hiſtorical Library*: Againſt the unmannerly and ſlanderous Objections of Mr. *Francis Atterbury*, Preacher at the *Rolls*, in his new *Theory* of the *Rights*, *Powers*, and *Priviledges* of an *Engliſh Convocation*. By *William Nicholſon* Archdeacon of *Carlile*. (In thirty-four Pages) *Quarto*, 1702

103.

*Continued.* NUMBER IV.

103. The *Praier* and *Complaynte* of the *Plowemanne* unto *Chriſte:* Written not long after the Yere of our Lord, a *Thouſande* and *Three-hundred.* (In forty-eight Leaves, *black Letter*) *Octavo, no Date.*

This Tract muſt not be confounded with the *Viſion of Piers Plowman*; for that is in *Verſe*; this, in *Proſe*; though both are Satires upon the Corruptions of the *Romiſh* Church. It is a ſcarce and curious Piece. The *Editor*, as appears in his *Preface*, thus ſet forth this Author on the laſt Day of *February*, 1531. *In his awne old Engliſh*; changing neither Language nor Orthography: And has added a *Table* of ſuch Words as were then antiquated. The Author was a *Reformer* before *Wyclife*, if his Work be ſo ancient as is expreſſed in the Title; and it may be of Uſe, not only to Eccleſiaſtical *Readers*, and *Antiquaries* in our *Reformation*, but in the *Engliſh Tongue*; to explain ſeveral obſolete Phraſes in Contemporary *Writers*.

104. The *Valuacion* of *Golde* and *Silver*: Made in the famous Cite of *Andwarpe*; and newely Tranſlated into *Engliſhe*, by me *Laurens Andrewe*, to the Eaſe and Profite of all *Engliſhe Marchauntes* occupyenge out of *Englande* the Parties of beyond the See; and to their better Underſtandynge; as hereafter followeth, by Godes Ordenaunce. Emprentyd in the famous Cite of *Andwarpe*. (In nineteen Leaves, *black Letter*) *Octavo, without Date.*

As that *L. Andrewe* was a Printer, it was probably alſo printed by him. Here is not only expreſſed the *Worth* of the then Current *Gold* and *Silver* Coins, but the *Stamps* of them in Wooden *Cuts*; in the Legends whereof, the lateſt Date, which appears, is 1537. Not long after which, this *Tranſlation* ſeems to have been publiſhed.

105. The *Copie* of a *Letter* ſent to the Ladye *Mary* Dowagire, Regent of *Scotland*, by *John Knox*, in the Yeare 1556. Here is alſo a notable *Sermon*, made by the ſayde *John Knox*; wherein is evydentlye proved that the *Maſſe* is, and always hath ben abhominable before God, and Idolatrye. *Scrutamini Scripturas.* (In ſixty-four Leaves, *black Letter*) *Twelves.*

After that *Letter* to Queen *Mary*, exhorting her to *reform* her *Church* and *Prelates*, follows the ſaid *Sermon*, or *Confeſſion*, which *Knox*, on the 4 of *April* 1550, made before the Council, *&c*, among whom was preſent the Biſhop of *Durham*, and his Doctors; wherein our ſaid Author maintained the *Maſs* to be *Idolatry*. And the Whole concludes with his *Declaration* of the *Opinion* we *Chriſtians* have of the *Lord's Supper*.

106. The Lawes and Statutes of *Geneva*, as well concerning *Eccleſiaſtical* Diſcipline as *Civil* Regiment; with certain *Proclamations* duly executed; whereby God's *Religion* is moſt purelie mainteined, and their *Commonwealth* quietli governed. Tranſlated out of *Frenche* into *Engliſhe* by *Robert Fills*. Printed at *London*, by *Rouland Hall*, &c. (In ninety-five Leaves, *black Letter*) *Octavo*, 1562

It is dedicated by the Tranſlator to *Robert Duddeley* Maſter of the Queenes Majeſties Horſe, and Knight of the Noble Order of the Garter, as a worthy Patron of good and godly Meanings. Further ſhewing, how that Place by theſe Laws (a Copy of which he obtained out of the Regiſter Book of that City, when he was lately an Exile there) may be a Lantern to many others.

107. *Surveyinge*. (In ſixty-ſeven Leaves, beſides the Table, *black Letter*) *Octavo, Anno Domini*, 1567

There was a famous Lawyer, named Sir *Anthony Fitzherbert*, who was made King's Serjeant, in 1517, and a Juſtice of the *Common Pleas*, in 1523, according to *Dugdale*; and was the Author of ſeveral *Law Books*, in great Requeſt among the Profeſſion. To this Perſon, who died in 1538, does *Ant. Wood*, aſcribe this little Tract of *Surveying*; as alſo another, of *Husbandry*; though he mentions the Author of it to have been a *Practitioner* in Huſbandry *forty Years*; an Employment ſurely ſomewhat incoherent with that of a Judge: Beſides the ſame Man could never be a Knight in the former Part

of King *Harry the Eighth*'s Reign, and ſtiled plainly Maſter *Fitzherbard*, in the latter Part, and now again in Queen *Elizabeth*'s. There is a Date of 1534, upon the Wooden printed Border of this Edition, which might be the Year in which it was firſt printed. And the Preface by *T. B.* ſeems to be the Printer, *Tho. Berthelet*; whoſe Words are, "When I had printed "the Booke 'longyng to *a Juſtice of the* "*Peace*, together with other ſmall Bookes "very neceſſarie, I bethought me uppon "this Booke of *Surveyenge*, compiled ſome "Time by Maſter *Fitzherberde*, how good "and how profitable it is for all States, "that be *Lordes* and *Poſſeſſioners* of Landes, "and for the *Holders* and *Tenauntes* of the "ſame Landes, to have dayly in Hande, "to knowe, and beare away the Contentes "of the ſame Booke; and alſo how well "it agreeth with the Argument of the "other ſmall Bookes, as *Court Baron*, "*Court Hundred*, and *Chartuary*; I went "in Hande and printed it, in the ſame Vo-"lume that the other be; to bind them all "together: And have amended it in many "Places." Some have thought the Book of *Husbandry* was written by *John Fitzherbert* Brother to the *Judge*.

108. To the Queene's Majeſties poor deceived *Subjectes* of the *North-Countrey*, drawen into *Rebellion* by the Earles of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmerland*. Written by *Thomas Norton*. Seen and allowed according to the Quenes Injunctions. Imprinted by *Hen. Bynneman*. (In twenty-eight Leaves, *black Letter*) *Octavo*, 1569

This is a loyal Exhortation of thoſe *Rebells*, to return to their Duty and Allegeance. The Author was a Lawyer of the *Temple*; and famous for his Poetical, as well as his Political Publications. He joyned with *T. Sackville*, afterwards Earl of *Dorſet*, in Writing the Tragedy of *Ferrex* and *Porrex*; in the laſt Editions called, the *Tragedy of Gorboduc*; and wrote the greateſt Part of it. He alſo tranſlated ſeveral of *Davids* Pſalms, *&c.*

109. *Middleborow*: A brief Reherſall of the Accord and Agreement that the Captaines, Burgiſes, and Armie of *Middleborow* and *Armew* have made, in yielding themſelves to the Right High and Excellent Prince, the Lord *William Prince* of *Orrange*, Countie of *Naſſau*, &c. With a lamentable *Diſcourſe* of the *Calamities*, great *Hunger* and extreame *Miſeries* that they ſuſtayned before they yelded up the ſaid Townes. Tranſlated out of the *Dutche* Coppy, printed at *Dordrecht*. Imprinted at *London* by *Richard Ihones*. (In eight Leaves, *black Letter*) *Octavo*, 1574

110. A true and ſummarie *Report* of the *Declaration* of ſome Part of the Earl of *Northumberland's Treaſons*, delivered Publiquelie, in the Court at the *Starchamber*, by the Lord *Chancellour*, and others of her Majeſties moſt honourable Privy Counſell, and Counſell learned; by her *Majeſties* ſpecial Commandment. Together with the *Examination* and *Depoſitions* of ſundrie Perſons, touching the Maner of his moſt wicked and violent Murder, committed upon Himſelf, with his own Hand, in the *Tower* of *London*, the 20 Day of *June*, 1585. Printed, *In ædibus C. Barker*. (In fourteen Leaves) *Quarto*,——

This was *Henry Percy*, Earl of *Northumberland* (Brother to *Thomas*, who was beheaded at *York*.) The ſaid *Report* is very accurately drawn up; and has been followed by the principal Hiſtorians of that Time, as the moſt authentic Account of this Earl's Treaſons, and, upon the Diſcovery of them, his deſperate Murder of himſelf, with a Piſtol, in his Bed; three Balls wherewith it had been charged being taken out of his Body, and found to have broken three of his Ribs, and torn his Heart in Pieces: Whereof, after two long, and moſt grievous Groans, he expired.

111. The whole true *Diſcourſe* of the *Enterpriſes* and ſecrete *Conſpiracies* that have bene made againſt the Perſon of *Henry de Valois*, moſt Chriſtian King of *France* and *Poland*. Whereupon followed his *Death*, by the Hand of a young *Jacobin* Frier, the firſt Day of *Auguſt*, 1589. Whereby the Enemies of the Crown thought to have reduced and brought all *France* to their Will and Devotion. Together with the *Aſſembly* that the King, before his Death, made of the *Princes* of the *Blood*, *Lords* and *Gentlemen* that were in the Armie; with the *Heads* of the *Strangers* to whom he de-

declared his *laſt Will. Engliſhed* out of the *French* Copie, printed at *Caan* in *Normandie.* Imprinted by *Tho. Purfoote.* (In eight Leaves, *black Letter*) *Octavo*, 1589

The Name of this *Jacobin* Frier was *James Clement.* See *Nic. De Montand, De Serres, Thuanus, Davilla*, &c.

112. A briefe *Diſcovery* of the *Damages* that happen to this *Realme* by diſordered and unlawfull *Diet*: The Benefites and Commodities that otherwiſe might enſue. With a Perſwaſion of the People, for a better *Maintenance* to the *Navie.* Briefly Compiled by *Edward Jeninges.* (In thirty Pages, *black Letter*) Printed by *Roger Warde*, *Quarto*, 1593

It is dedicated by the Author to *Charles Howard* Lord High *Admiral* of *England*, &c. His Drift is to ſhew, that by our expenſive *Diet* on *Fleſh Meats*, we abate the *Navy* in Proportion from *five* Ships to *two.* That the *Fiſhery* is our great Nurſery for Mariners. What *Fleſh* may be ſpared in a *Yeare* by *one Days* Abſtinence in a *Week*: And why certain Days ſhould be appointed for Conſumption of *Fiſh.* Here he computes, there were then threeſcore *Butchers*, Freemen of *London*: That *Foreigners*, and *Country Market-People*, who ſerved the ſaid City, uttered there four Times as much as the *Freemen*: And that the *Beeves*, or *Oxen*, killed and vended in *London* by them, all, might amount in one Year to 67500, excluding the two cuſtomary *Faſt-days*: And that if one other *Fiſh-day* were allowed, there might be 13500 *Oxen* ſaved in a Year, and 135000 *Sheep*; beſides *Calves*, *Hogs*, *Lambs*, &c. So concludes with anſwering the Inconveniences that might be objected to attend ſuch a Regulation.

113. *Royall Exchange*: To ſuch worſhipfull *Citezins*, *Marchants*, *Gentlemen*, and other Occupiers of the *Contrey*, as reſorte thereunto. *Try to retaine, or ſend back again.* The *Contents* ys after the *Preface.* Sene and allowed here. At *Harlem*: Printed with *Gylis Romaen.* (In forty-eight Pages, *black Letter*) *Quarto*, 1597

This is a Collection of *Chriſtian Admonitions*, addreſſed to the ſeveral *Degrees* of Perſons who frequented the *Royal Exchange*: And it is dedicated to that worſhipfull and grave Citizen of *London*, Mr. *A. T.* from *Harlem*, by the Author, *John Payne.*

114. The *Life* and *Death* of *Thomas Wolſey*, Cardinal, divided into three Parts: His *Aſpiring*, *Triumph* and *Death.* By *Thomas Storer*, Student of *Chriſt Church*, in *Oxford.* At *London*: Printed by *Tho. Dawſon.* (In thirty-nine Leaves) *Quarto*, 1599

This *Life* is a *Poem*, written in *Stanzas* of ſeven Verſes; much after the Manner of thoſe good old *Hiſtorical Legends* in the *Mirror* for *Magiſtrates.* *Ant. Wood* informs us, the Author, at this Time, was had in great Renown for his moſt excellent Vein in Poeſy; quotes Dr. *Alberic Gentilis* in his Praiſe; and adds, that he obtained, from the then *Academians*, great Credit for this Work; as well as for his *Paſtoral Airs*, and *Madrigals*, afterwards remitted into *England's Helicon.* There are nine Pages of Verſes before this Life in Commendation thereof, and its Author. By *Edw. Michelborne*; *Charles Fitzgeofry*, of *Broadgates Hall*; *Thomas Michelborne*, *John Sprint*, &c. And he dedicates it to the worſhipfull M. *John Howſon*, Chaplain to her Majeſty. It is grown very ſcarce; and it is much, that it has never been reprinted; or, at leaſt in ſome Parts extracted, to embelliſh ſuch Proſe Accounts of this Magnificencent Prelate, as have been ſet forth in our Time. The Author has been beholden to *Cavendiſhe's* Account of Cardinal *Wolſey*; and Biſhop *Corbet*, in his famous Poem called *Iter Boreale*, has made free with theſe two Lines of his:

*Good Prieſt, whoſe Son ſoe'er thou art by Kind,*
Wolſey *of* Ipſwich *neer begat thy Mind.*

115. *Honor's* Fame in *Triumph* riding: Or the *Life* and *Death* of the late Honorable *Earle* of *Eſſex.* (In ſeventeen Leaves) *Octavo*, 1604.

This is a *Poem*, in *Stanzas* of eight Lines. It is dedicated to the Earls of *Southampton* and *Devonſhire*; and the Lord *Knowles*, Baron of *Grayes*; by *R. P.* who calls himſelf a *Soldier*, and had been an Officer under him. There are alſo Verſes at the End, upon the *Author* and his Subject, written by *Ch. Beſt*, *Armiger.*

116. A *Diſcourſe* of the ſeveral *Kinds* and *Cauſes* of *Lightnings:* Written by Occaſion of a fearfull *Lightning* which, on the 17 Day of this Inſtant *November*, *Anno Dom.* 1606, did, in a very ſhort Time, burne up the *Spire-Steeple* of *Blechingley* in *Surrey*; and in the ſame, melt into infinite Fragments, a goodly *Ring of Bells*. By *Simon Harward*. *Lond.* Printed by *John Windet*. (In twelve Leaves) *Quarto*, 1607

117. *England*'s Way to win *Wealth*, and to employ *Ships* and *Mariners:* Or a plain *Deſcription*, what great *Profite* it will bring unto the *Commonwealth* of *England*, by the *Erecting*, *Building*, and *Adventuring* of *Buſſes* to *Sea*, a fiſhing. With a true *Relation* of the ineſtimable *Wealth*, that is yearely taken out of his Majeſties *Seas*, by the *Hollanders*, by their great Numbers of *Buſſes*, *Pinkes*, and *Line-Boates*. And alſo, a Diſcourſe of the *Sea-Coaſt* Towns of *England* and the moſt fit and commodious *Places* and *Harbours* that we have for *Buſſes*, and of the ſmall *Number* of our *Fiſhermen*; and alſo the true Valuation and whole Charge of *Building* and *Furniſhing* to Sea, *Buſſes* and *Pinks*, after the *Holland*-Manner. By *Tobias Gentleman*, Fiſherman, and Mariner. (In twenty-eight Leaves) *Quarto*, 1614

*Roger Coke*, in his *Detection of the Court and State of England, during the four laſt Reigns. 8vo. 3d Edit.* 1697, ſpeaking of this Author and his Work, ſais, Pag. 83. that he dedicated it to King *James*; but here, in the Pamphlet itſelf, the Dedication appears to be made to *Henry Howard* Earl of *Northampton*; who might prefer it to the View of the ſaid King, as the Author therein beſeeches him. This Diſcourſe, being written by a Man of Knowledge and great Experience in the Subject, is much to be preferred before many others of finer Language and Learning: For as he ſais, he was more ſkilfull in Nets, Lines, and Hooks; than in Rethorick, Logick, or learned Books. The Occaſion of his Writing this Treatiſe, aroſe from ſome Converſation he had with Maiſter *John Keymar*, a Man very well deſerving of his Country; who ſhewed him ſome Notes he had gathered upon this Topic, from ſome other Fiſhermen, being himſelf unexperienced therein, and received others from our Author, which he ſo eſteemed, that he propoſed to ſhew them to the Privy Council; which put him upon Writing this Relation of his own Experience.

118. The juſt *Downefall* of *Ambition*, *Adultery*, *Murder:* At the End of which are added *Weſton*'s and Mrs. *Turner*'s laſt Teares, ſhed for the *Murder* of Sir *Thomas Overbury*, *poyſoned in the Tower*; who, for the Fact, ſuffered deſerved *Execution* at *Tiburne*, the 14 of *November* laſt 1615. (In fifteen Leaves) *Quarto.*——

This is a Kind of Oration againſt thoſe three Vices, with an Eye to *Carr* Earl of *Somerſet*, whoſe unlawfull Intrigues with *Frances* Counteſs of *Eſſex* were the Occaſion of that wicked Murder. There is a wooden Print at the Bottom of the Title-Page, repreſenting Mrs. *Turner* and *Weſton* kneeling and praying, with theſe Words over their Head. *Mercy ſweet Jeſus. Mrs. Turner's Tears*, in this Tract, are expreſſed in thirty-four Stanzas of Verſes; which are followed with a *Prayer*, ſhe uſed before her Suffring. And the whole concludes with *Maſter Weſton's Tears*, in Proſe. Mrs. *Turner* was a Phyſician's Widow and Sir *Arthur Mainwaring*'s Miſtreſs. The Lord Chief Juſtice *Coke*, in his Charge to the Jury, called her a *Whore*, *Baud*, *Sorcereſs*, *Papiſt*, *Felon* and *Murderer*. But ſhe moved Compaſſion in her laſt *Speech:* Deſiring them not to Triumph in her Fall, but to make her Example of Uſe; and lamented the *Extremity* which her *Subſerviency* brought her under, in that fatal Buſineſs; as knowing that the Revealing of it threatned a more certain, tho' leſs ſhamefull Overthrow. It is ſaid ſhe was hanged in a yellow ſtarched Ruff; which aboliſhed that diſagreeable Faſhion, which ſhe had brought into Uſe. See the Lord *Bacons* Speeches. Sir *Fulk Grevil's* five Years of King *James*, 4*to.* 1643. *Truth brought to Light*, &c. 4*to.* 1651. The *Relation* of the *Poyſoning* of Sir *T. Overbury*, 12*mo.* 1651. *Wilſon*'s Hiſtory of *Great-Britain*. *Osborne's* Memorials. Sir *H. Wilden's Court* and *Character* of King *James*. *Sanderſon*'s Hiſtory of King *James*, and his *Aulicus Coquinariæ*. *Frankland's* Annals, &c. &c.

119.

*Continued.* NUMBER V.

119. Strange and wonderfull *Witchcrafts:* Diſcovering the damnable Practiſes of ſeven Witches againſt the Lives of certain noble Perſonages, and others of this Kingdom; as ſhall appear in this lamentable Hiſtory. With an *approved Triall*, how to find out either *Witch*, or any *Apprentiſe* to *Witchcraft*. Imprinted by *G. Eld* (In 12 Leaves, *black Letter*) *Quarto*, 1621

There is a wooden Print, at the Bottom of this Title, of an *old Woman*, and her *Cat* behind her. This was looked upon as one of the moſt conſiderable *Examples* of *Witchcraft* in thoſe Days; and the Author has, from it, with a great Deal of Gravity, endeavoured to eſtabliſh the groſs Abſurdities of that pernicious Opinion. In his Comprehenſion of many other Profeſſions under this of *Witchcraft*, he is very ridiculous; nor is he leſs ſo, in the *Authorities* he has choſen to confirm us therein; the chief whereof is King *James's Dæmonologie!* the *Weakneſs* of whoſe *Arguments*, in which Pamphlet, ſurpaſſes that in this, or any of the others; but the *Wickedneſs* of the *Doctrine*, in having been inſtrumental to the *Murder* of ſo many *poor*, *ignorant*, *old Women*, is not to be ſufficiently conceived, or condemned. Here, we have the Story of an old Chear-Woman, named *Joan Flower*, in the Family of the Earl of *Rutland*, at *Belvoir* Caſtle; and her Daughters *Phillip* and *Margaret*; which latter being turned out of Service, the old Woman got the Glove of *Hen.* Lord *Roſſe*, the Earl's eldeſt Son; rubb'd it on the Back of her Cat, or Spirit, *Rutterkin*; dipp'd it in boiling Water; pricked it, and buried it; and wiſhed, "That Lord might never thrive." He ſome Time after died; and his Brother *Francis* fell ſick, and his Siſter *Katherine* had Fits. Hereupon they were tried, convicted of Murder, and condemned, by Sir *Hen. Hobart* and Sir *Edward Bromley*: The Old Woman died, as ſhe was carried to *Lincoln* Jayl; and the Daughters were hanged about the 11 of *March*, 1618. Some of the *Confeſſions*, and eſpecially our Author's *Triall of a Witch*, are too ſilly to mention. *Dugdale* inſinuates, as if the Earl's *two* Sons died by this Means; and *James Howel* is alſo as credulous upon the Subject, as moſt Writers; but would never have ſaid, "King *James* was "loth to believe there were Witches, till this "Example convinced him," if he had read his Tract aforeſaid, written againſt *Wierus*, and *Reginald Scot*; whoſe elaborate Book, againſt the *ſupernatural* Power of *Witches*, may deſerve to be often *reprinted*, and diſperſed in the moſt *publick* Manner; for the Benefit, not only of all ſuch *Malignants*, but the unequal *Puniſhers* of them, with *Death*, &c. more eſpecially ſuch *Juſtices* of *Aſſize*, as are before-mentioned.

120. *Articles* of *Agreement* made betweene the *French King*, and thoſe of *Rochell*, upon the Rendition of the Town, the thirtieth of *October* laſt, 1628. According to the *French* Coppies, printed at *Rochell* and *Roan*. Alſo a *Relation* of a brave and reſolute *Sea Fight*, made by Sir *Kenelm Digby*, on the *Bay* of *Scandarone* the 16 of *June* laſt paſt, with certain *Galegaſſes* and *Galeaſſes*, belonging to the *States* of *Venice*; to his great Commendation, and to the Honour of our *Engliſh* Nation (In 2 Sheets) *Quarto*, 1628

Thoſe *Articles* are here printed both in *French* and in *Engliſh*. And as for the *Letter* at the End, conſiſting of four Pages, written from Aboard the Admirall of Sir *K. Digbie*, relating his ſucceſsfull Engagement of the *Venetian* Fleet at *Scanderoon*; tho' it ſeems to have been ſeen, in this Pamphlet, by *A. Wood*; yet he ſeems to have read no more than the *Date*; whereby, endeavouring to accuſe *Ben Jonſon* of a Miſtake, he has committed one himſelf. For herein it plainly appears, That Action was *performed*, on the *Eleventh* of *June*, not the *Sixteenth*; which is the Day, on which this *Account* of it was *written*. Then whether the 11 of *June* was alſo Sir *Kenelm*'s Birth-day, as the ſaid *Poet* averrs, or the 11 of *July*, according to Dr. *Napier*, and *John Gadbury*; we leave thoſe, whom it may concern, to decide That. Thus much further may be added, that the ingenious Mr. *R. Ferrar*, in his *Epitaph*, on Sir *K. Digby*, makes the 11 of *June* memorable in his Story, not only for being his *Birthday*, and *Day* of *Victory*, but alſo the *Day* of his *Death*: In which laſt Particular *A. Wood* agrees.

121. The Beautie of the remarkable *Year of Grace* 1638: The Year of the Great *Covenant of Scotland*, By *T. H.* Printed at *Edinburgh*, by *George Anderſon* (a *Poem.* In 8 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1638

122. A Copy of a *Letter* found in the Privy-Lodgings at *Whitehall* (In 7 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1641

This loyal and ingenious Letter was compoſed by Sir *John Suckling*; and there is a Note written in the Title-page of this Copy, atteſting it to have been alſo printed the Year before. It has ſeveral Times been printed ſince, with his other *Epiſtolary* Writings among his *Poems* and *Plays.*

123. *Newes from Powles:* Or the new *Reformation* of the *Army:* With a true Relation of a *Coult* that was *foaled* in the *Cathedrall Church* of St. *Paul* in *London*; and how it was publiquely *baptized* by *Paul Hobſon*'s Soldiers; one of them piſſing in his Helmet, and ſprinkling it, in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt: And the *Name* (becauſe a *bald Colt*) was called *Baal-Rex.* With a Catalogue of the Blaſphemies, Murders, Cheats, Lies, and Juglings of ſome of the *Independant* Party (In one Sheet) *Quarto*, 1649

In this ſtrange Narrative, *Hugh Peters* is ſharply laſh'd off; and here is a Jirk alſo at the *Queen* and *Harry Jermyn.* But the Impudence of the *Baptiſmal Ceremony* is very particularly related. This ſhameful Prank, in thoſe licentious Times, was no Novelty; for we may read in *Edwards*'s *Gangræna*, the Third *Part*, Page 18, that Captain *Beaumont*, and his Soldiers, chriſtned his Horſe at the Font of *Yakeſley Church* in *Huntingdonſhire*, in *June* 1644, juſt after the ſame Manner; one acting the Miniſter, others the Godfathers, another the Godmother; and ſprinkling him, &c. with the ſame Kind of Water, named him (becauſe he was hairy) *Ball Eſau.* All which is atteſted by a Certificate, in the Author aforeſaid.

124. The *Trial* of a *Black-Pudding:* Or, the Unlawfulneſs of Eating *Blood* proved by *Scriptures*; *before* the Law, *under* the Law, and *after* the Law. By a Well-wiſher to *ancient Truth.* (In twelve Leaves) *Quarto*, 1652.

Though this may ſeem a *ludicrous* Piece, by *Part* of the *Title*; it is indeed ſeriouſly handled, diſtinctly argued, and all Objections regularly anſwered, throughout. It appears, by the Introduction of the Editor, to be an *Extract*, or *Summary*, drawn by him out of a larger Work in *MS.* And ſeems to be a Performance above the Abilities of the ordinary *Thraskites*, and other *Judaical* Sectaries of thoſe Times. See Sir *Thomas Brown*, in his *Vulgar Errors*, upon this *Subject.*

125. The *Engliſh Hermite:* Or *Wonder* of this *Age.* Being a *Relation* of the *Life* of *Roger Crab*, living near *Uxbridge*, taken from his own Mouth; ſhewing his ſtrange, reſerved, and unparallel'd Kind of Life; who counteth it a *Sin* againſt his *Body* and *Soule*, to *eate* any Sort of *Fleſh*, *Fiſh*, or *living Creature*; or to *drink* any *Wine*, *Ale*, or *Beere.* He can *live with Three Farthings a Week.* His conſtant *Food* is *Roots* and *Hearbs*; as Cabbage, Turneps, Carrots, Dock-leaves, and Graſs; alſo Bread and Bran, without Butter or Cheeſe: His *Cloathing* is *Sack-cloath.* He left the Army, and kept a Shop at *Cheſham*; and hath now left off that, and ſold a conſiderable Eſtate, to give to the Poor; ſhewing his *Reaſon* from the Scripture. *Mark* x. 21. *Jer.* xxxv. (In eleven Leaves) *Quarto*, 1655

126. A true *Narrative* and *Relation* of his moſt ſacred *Majeſties* miraculous *Eſcape* from *Worceſter* on the Third of *September* 1651. Till his Arrival at *Paris* (In one Sheet) *Quarto*, 1660.

This is a curious and particular Hiſtory of the King's ſecret Progreſs and hazardous Adventures, during the whole Month, that he was making his Way to *France*, after that fatal Overthrow at *Worceſter.* The Account here given of the *Royal Oak* near *Boſcobell*, and his Concealment in it with Colonel *Careleſſe*, might rectify theirs, who repreſented it ſo *hollow* a *Tree*, that he hid himſelf from his Enemies in the Cavity of its Trunk; and theirs, who deſcribe it ſo overgrown with *Ivy*, as to have canopied, or curtained him from their Sight: When all that concealed him was, its thick, well-ſpread Branches,

Branches, and the close Shade of their numerous Leaves.

127. To the Right Honourable *Edward*, Earl of *Clarendon*, Lord *High Chancellor* of *England*: The humble *Apology* of *Roger L'Eſtrange* (In one Sheet) *Quarto*, 1661

This Piece contains much of Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange*'s Perſonal Hiſtory; which might be aſſiſtant to a better *Account* of his *Life*, than has been given. It points out his Services and Sufferings for the *Royal Cauſe*, from the Beginning of the late *Civil Wars*; but was principally written, to diſculpate himſelf from the Aſperſion of Captain *James Whitlock*; who had given out, That "*Le-*"*ſtrange* was a Traytor; and, to his Know-"ledge, had received 600 Pounds in Gold "from *Cromwell*."

128. *The Way to be rich:* According to the *Practice* of the Great *Audley*; who begun with *Two-hundred* Pounds, in the Year 1605; and dyed worth *Four-hundred Thouſand Pounds*, this Inſtant *November*, 1662. (In thirty-eight Pages) *Quarto*, 1662

This Tract might be called the *Miſers Magazine*; it is ſo full of Precepts and Precedents in the great *Art* and *Myſtery* of *Thriving*. Though it cannot be denied but the Author has ſometimes pillaged other *Birds* to dreſs out his *Crow*. The whole Account of him is compriſed in eleven *Sections*; ending with ſome *Verſes* of Mr. *George Herbert*; and ſome *Quotations* from Bp. *Saunderſon*, upon *Uſury*; from Mr. *G. Sandys*, of rich *Antonio*; from *Cromerus*, of a rich *Polonian*; from *Archbiſhop Spotswood*, of the rich Biſhop of *Glaſcow*; from *Strada*, of the rich Cardinal *Glanvell*; and from Mr. *Latimer*, and others, of other *rich Men*; concluding with the *Legend* of *Evagrius* the Philoſopher's *giving* 300 Pounds to the *Poor*, and convincing Bp. *Syneſius*, by a *Certificate* found in one of the Hands of his *Corps*, after his Death, that he had *received* it again of the *Lord*.

129. *Wonders no Miracles:* Or Mr. *Valentine Greatrake*'s *Gift* of *Healing* examined: Upon Occaſion of a ſad Effect of his *Stroaking: March* the 7th, 1665; at one Mr. *Creſſet*'s Houſe in *Charter-Houſe-Yard*. In a Letter to a Reverend Divine, living near that Place. (In 46 Pages) *Quarto*, 1666

The *Healing-Hand* of this famous *Stroaker* had been mightily cried up at this Time; inſomuch that *Henry Stubbes*, a Phyſician of *Warwickſhire*, had now newly publiſhed his *Miraculous Conformiſt*, or Account of Mr. *Greatreake*'s *marvellous Cures*, &c. Which produced this *Pamphlet*, to bridle that Credulity in *Prodigies*, as well as *Propheſies*, to which this Nation is, even to a Proverb, ſo much addicted. Though the Author's Name is not publiſhed before the ſaid Tract, it appears elſewhere, to have been written by *David Lloyd*, of the *Charterhouſe*. The *Stroaker* himſelf replied upon him, in his *Brief Account* of his *ſtrange Cures*, &c. Addreſſed to Mr. *Boyle*; as may more particularly, in ſome future *Number*, appear.

130. The *Royal Fiſhery* Revived. Wherein is demonſtrated, from what Cauſes the *Dutch* have upon the Matter *engroſſed* the *Fiſhing-Trade* in his *Majeſties Seas*, wherein the Principles of *all the Trades they drive* in the World are chiefly founded: As alſo from what Cauſes the *Engliſh* have *loſt* the *Fiſhing-Trade*; to the endangering the *ſmall Remainder of the Trades* they yet enjoy. Together with *Expedients* by which the *Fiſhing Trade* may be *Redeemed* by the *Engliſh*; and *Propoſals* for carrying on ſo great a Work. Humbly offered to the Conſideration of the King and Parliament (In ſix Leaves) *Quarto*, 1670

131. A *Treatiſe* of Taxes and *Contributions*: Shewing the Nature and Meaſures of *Crown-Lands*; *Aſſeſments*; *Cuſtoms*; *Poll-Moneys*; *Lotteries*; *Benevolence*; *Penalties*; *Monopolies*; *Offices*; *Tythes*; *Raiſing* of *Coins*; *Harth-Money*; *Exciſe*, &c. With ſeveral interſperſed *Diſcourſes* and *Digreſſions* concerning *Wars*; the *Church*; *Univerſities*; *Rents* and *Purchaſes*; *Uſury* and *Exchange*; *Banks* and *Lombards*; *Regiſters* for *Conveyances*; *Beggars*; *Enſurances*; *Exportation* of *Money* and *Wool*; *Free-Ports*; *Coins*, *Houſing*; *Liberty* of *Conſcience*, &c. The ſame being frequently applied to the State and Affairs of *Ireland*; and is,

is now thought ſeaſonable for the preſent Affairs of *England*. (In forty-four Leaves) *Quarto*, 1679

132. A *Philoſophical Account* of this *hard Froſt*. From whence is rationally concluded, what *Effects* it may probably have upon *human Bodies*, as to Health and Sickneſs. Both in Relation to the Time of the *Froſt*'s Continuance, and to the Time of *Thaw* that ſhall ſucceed. With Cautionary *Directions* for the Prevention of ſuch *Diſtempers* as are likely to be the natural *Conſequence* of both thoſe *Seaſons*; which Directions are not only *calculated* for this preſent *Seaſon*, but are *deſignedly adapted* to ſerve, upon the like Occaſion, *for Time to come*, &c. By *John Peter*, Phyſician. (In ſix Leaves) *Quarto*, 1684

133. The *Indictment* and *Arraignment* of *John Price*, Eſq; late *Receiver General* in *Ireland*; with an *Hundred* and *One* other *Proteſtants*, at *Wicklow*; before *John Keating*, Eſq; *Chief Juſtice* of the *Common Pleas*, a Proteſtant; and *Henry Lynch*, Knt. *Baron* of the *Exchequer*, a Papiſt: With Variety of Arguments between the Judges and Council; and the Lord *Chief Juſtice Keating*'s Charge to the Jury. With a Letter ſent to the Judges (by the Lord Deputy, *Tyrconnel*) for a *Loan*, for the *Popiſh* Armies Subſiſtance. With an Account of the Seizing and Condemnation of Sir *Tho. Southwell*, and Two-hundred Proteſtant Gentlemen at *Gallaway*; Sir *Laurence Parſons*, and ſeveral others, at *Birr* and *Maryborough* in the *King* and *Queen*'s *Country* in *Ireland*; and the barbarous Execution of ſome of them. Collected by a Perſon that was preſent, and took the ſame in Writing. (In eighteen Leaves) *Quarto*, 1689

134. A ſhort *Memorial* to the *Nobility* and *Gentry* of *England*: Demonſtrating by undeniable Arguments and clear Proofs, that it has been the Cuſtom for the *Engliſh Nobility* and *Gentry* to *attend* their *Kings* in their *Wars Abroad*. (In ſix Leaves) *Quarto*, 1693

135. A *Letter* out of *Suffolk* to a Friend in *London*, giving ſome Account of the laſt *Sickneſs* and *Death* of Dr. *William Sancroft* late Lord *Archbiſhop* of *Canterbury*. (In thirty-nine Pages) *Quarto*, 1694

It is to be found in a Note written upon another Copy of this Letter in this Library, that it was written by the Archbiſhop's Secretary.

136. *Reaſons* humbly offered for a *Law* to enact the *Caſtration* of *Popiſh Eccleſiaſtics*; as the beſt Way to prevent the Growth of *Popery* in *England*. (In twenty-ſix Pages) *Quar.* 1700

137. A *Letter* from a Clergy-man in the *Country*, to a dignified Clergyman in *London*; vindicating the *Bill* brought in the laſt Seſſions of *Parliament*, for preventing the *Tranſlation* of *Biſhops*. (In twenty-four Pages) *Quarto*, 1702

There is, in this Pamphlet, much ſpoken to the Praiſe of Sir *J. P. (Packington)* who brought that *Bill* into the *Houſe of Commons*; and particularly it is ſaid, alſo of his Grandmother, 'That ſhe held uninterrupted Correſpondence with Dr. *Morley* Biſhop of *Winton*, and Dr. *Hammond*; ſupporting the latter when deprived; and who is, by ſeveral *eminent Men*, allowed to be the Author of the beſt and moſt maſculine Religious Book extant in the *Engliſh* Tongue (the Bible excepted) called, *The Whole Duty of Man*.' And, as Vouchers of this Book being written by that Lady, it is ſaid in the Margent, 'Archbiſhop *Dolben*, Biſhop *Fell*, and Dr. *Alleſtry*, declared this of their own Knowledge, after her Death; which ſhe obliged them to keep private during her Life.' *Vide* p. 4.

138. A *Propoſal* for putting a ſpeedy *End* to the *War*; by ruining the *Commerce* of the *French* and *Spaniards*, and ſecuring our *own*, without any additional Expence to the Nation. (In ſixteen Leaves) *Quarto*, 1703

This Pamphlet is dedicated to the *Prince* (of *Denmark*) Lord High Admiral. And the Author's Plan for compaſſing this Deſign is, *Firſt*, What Number, Size, and Strength, the *Fleet* is to be of, that is propoſed for this Purpoſe. *Secondly*, Of the *Expence*. *Thirdly*, Of *Defraying* that Expence, without Taxes. *Fourthly*, Of *uſing* and *diſpoſing* this Fleet. *Fifthly*, The *Advantages* to be reaped therefrom. *Sixthly*, An *Anſwer* to ſome *Objections*.

139.

*Continued.* NUMBER V.

139. The *Chirche* of the *Evyll Men* and *Women*, whereof *Lucyfer* is the *Heed*; and the *Members* is all the *Players* dyſſolute, and *Synners* reproved. (In thirty-eight Leaves, *black Letter*) *Quarto*, 1511

In the Preface of this ſcarce Pamphlet, it appears to be extracted from St. *Bernardyn*'s *Boke, entytuled, The Cryſten Relygyon*; which had been tranſlated out of *Latin*, into *French*; reviſed by ſome Doctors at *Paris*; and now tranſlated into *Engliſh*, by *Henry Watſon*. At the End, it is ſaid, That it was cauſed to be printed by two Doctors of Divinity at *Paris*, named *Tho. Varnet*, Curate of St. *Nicholas* of the *Fields*, and *Nowell Beda*, Principal of the right-ruled College of *Mountagu*, in the Year aforeſaid. The *Printer*'s Name is not mentioned, but it looks like *Pynſon*'s Type. It is a ſevere *Invective* againſt all Kinds of *Gameſters*; eſpecially *Players* at *Cards and Dice*. The Author, after he has, with great Particularity, conſtituted the *Devil*'s Church, with all its *Members, Utenſils*, &c. in Oppoſition to that of its *Adverſary*; brings a Charge of *fifteen Vices* upon all *Profeſſors* of *Gaming*. Then he brings in *Ten* or a *Dozen* Sets of People, as the *Gameſters* Acceſſaries; either concerned, or ſharing in his pernicious Practice, or who will be Partakers of his Puniſhment; among whom the very *Spectators* are not exempted: And ſhews how, even the *Makers* of *Cards* and *Dice*, are more deſtructive in a Commonwealth, than *Harlots*. But the moſt unpardonable, yet the moſt fooliſhly-acquired *Damnation* of all others, is here intimated to be merited, by *ſuch* as ſhall be *damned* for the *Sins* of *others*; by making themſelves guilty of thoſe which they have it in their Power to prevent: Thoſe Perſons who have *Authority* in *Church* and *State*, in *City* and *Country*, to ſuppreſs this *capital Vice*, and all its *Train* of Evils. So concludes, *firſt*, with an *Extract*, out of the *Conſtitutions* of St. *Lewis* the King, made at *Paris*, in 1254, againſt all *Gaming* with *Cards* and *Dice*, or making any *Inſtruments* for that Purpoſe: And *laſtly*, with the Judgment and Opinions of ſeveral learned and venerable Men, upon this Topic; as alſo with a *Viſion* of St. *Cyril*'s, concerning the poſthumous State of his *Nephew*, who had been a *Gameſter*.

140. The *Lamentacion* of a *Synner:* Made by the moſte vertuous Lady, Quene *Caterine*; bewailynge the Ignoraunce of her blind Life: Set foorth, and put in Print, at the inſtant Deſire of the right gracious Lady, *Caterine*, Ducheſſe of *Suffolke*, and the erneſt Requeſt of the Right Honourable Lord *William Parre*, Marqueſſe of *Northampton*. Imprinted at *London*, by *Edw. Whitechurche. Cum Privilegio ad imprimendum ſolum. Octavo, March* 28. 1548

This little Treatiſe was publiſhed by Sir *W. Cecill*, afterwards Lord Treaſurer of *England*; who has prefixed thereto a very Godlie, Learned, and Eloquent *Epiſtle*; as *Tho. Bentley* of *Graies-Inn*, Student, calls it, in his *Monument for Matrones*; *Quarto*, 1582. Wherein this, with ſome other rare and ancient religious Pieces, written alſo by Women of high Rank, and Diſtinction among us, is reprinted. The ſaid *Royal Compiler* of this *Work*, having acknowledged, how ſhe had been miſled, by the blind Guide of Ignorance and Superſtition; and, in her Progreſs, had regarded more the Number of the *Company*, than the Directneſs of the *Way*; forſaking the true *God* for the Worſhip of viſible *Idols*; and even making an *Idol of herſelf*; and how little able ſhe had been, without his Aſſiſtance, to wind herſelf out of this *Maze of Iniquity*, wherein ſhe had been wandering, and intangled ſo long: Alſo acknowledges, That when 'the People 'were nigh famiſhed, and hungred for 'Lack of ſpiritual *Food*; ſuch the Charity 'of the ſpiritual *Shepheards!* our *Moſes*, and 'moſt Godlie, Wiſe Governour and King, 'hath delivered us out of the Captivitie and 'Bondage of *Pharao*. I meane by this *Moſes*, King *Henrie* the VIII. *my moſt ſovereigne favourable Lord, and Husband*. One, 'if *Moſes* had figured anie mo than *Chriſt*, 'through the excellent Grace of God, 'meete to be another expreſſed Veritie of '*Moſes* Conqueſt over *Pharao:* And I meane 'by this *Pharao*, the Biſhop of *Rome*; who 'hath beene, and is a greater Perſecutor of 'all true *Chriſtians*, than ever was *Pharao* 'of the Children of *Iſrael*.'

141. A Godly *Medytacyon* of the *Chriſten Sawle*, concerninge a *Love* towardes *God* and his *Chryſte: Compyled* in *Frenche*, by Lady *Margarete Quene* of *Naverre*, and aptlye *tranſlated* into *Englyſh*, by the ryght vertuouſe Lady *Elizabeth*, Daughter to our late Soverayne Kynge *Henry* the VIII. Imprented, *&c.* in *April. Octavo*, 1548

This little Treatiſe, ſo dignified, by the Hands of two ſuch renowned Princeſſes, many not frequently meet its Parallel. It was committed to, and publiſhed by *John Bale*, with an *Epiſtle Dedycatory* to the ſaid Lady *Elizabeth* (afterwards Queen of *England*) and a *Concluſion*; wherein it is ſaid, 'I thynke ſhe was not full oute 14 Yeares 'of Age, at the Fynyſhynge therof'. There are added, *Four Clauſes, wrote with her own Hand*, in *four noble Languages*; *Latyne, Greke, Frenche, and Italyane*; *more fynely, than I coulde, with any Prentynge Letter, ſet them fourth.* Theſe were ſent by her to *John Bale*, and ſhewed by him to ſeverall learned Men, there named. This ſcarce Tract was afterwards reprinted by *Tho. Bentley*, in his *Monument of Matrons*, *Quarto*, 1582. Which laborious and pious *Collection* he dedicated to the ſaid *Elizabeth*, then Queen of *England*, and, in the *Preface* thereof, ſais 'The *Queen's Meditation*, is 'very exactlie and faithfullie tranſlated, by 'our moſt gracious and learned Ladie 'Queene *Elizabeth*'. But he has omitted the *Epiſtle*, &c. to be found in this firſt Edition.

142. *A New Yeares Gifte*, dedicated to the *Pope's Holineſſe*, and all *Catholikes* addicted to the Sea of *Rome*: Preferred the firſt Day of *Januarie*, in the Yeare of our Lord God, after the Courſe and Computation of the *Romaniſts*, One-thouſand, Five-hundreth, Seventie and Nine. By *B. G.* Citizen of *London*. In Recompence of divers ſingular and ineſtimable *Reliques*, of late ſent by the ſaid *Pope's Holineſſe* into *England*; the true *Figures* and *Repreſentations* whereof, are heereafter in their Places dilated. Printed by *Henry Bynneman*. (In twelve Sheets and three Quarters; with a Sheet of the *Reliques*, in wooden Prints, *black Letter*) *Quarto*, 1579

All this *Title* does but faintly expreſs the Contents of this *Tract*; the chief whereof, are, 1. A *Letter*, written by *Cutbert Tunſtall* Biſhop of *Durham*, and *John Stokeſley* Biſhop of *London*, to *Reginald Pole*, in 1537, upon his trayterous *Denyal* of the King's *Supremacy*, and *Flight* to *Rome*; where he was made a *Cardinal*; adviſing him to *reſtore* the Pope his *red Hat* again, and *return* home to his *Duty*. 2. The *Lives* of Pope *Alexander* the Second, and *Gregory* the Seventh. 3. A Compariſon between *Chriſt* and the *Pope*; with many *Popiſh Charms*, &c. in Verſe and Proſe. 4. A Deſcription of the *Pope's Wares* and *Merchandize*, lately ſent into *England*: With a Print of them (as above). 5. The *Poyſoning* of King *John*; in Verſe and Proſe. 6. Of the *Holy Maid* of *Kent (Elizabeth Barton)* her pretended *Revelations*, *Miracles*, and *Accomplices*; with their Execution. Concluding with ſome *Letters*, *Speeches*, &c. ſhewing the Behaviour of *France*, *Scotland*, &c. to ſome *Popes*, before the *Reformation*.

143. A very true Report of the Apprehenſion and Taking of that Arche-Papiſt *Edmond Campion*, the Pope his Right Hand, with three other lewd *Jeſuite* Prieſts, and divers other Laie People, moſt ſeditious Perſons of like Sort. Containing alſo a *Controulment* of a moſt untrue *former Book*, ſet out by *A. M.* alias *Anthonie Munday*, concerning the ſame; as is to be proved and juſtified by *George Ellyot*, one of the Ordinary Yeomen of her Majeſtie's Chamber; Author of this Booke, and chiefeſt Cauſe of the finding of the ſayd lewde and ſeditious People; great Enemies to *God*, their loving *Prince* and *Countrie*. Imprinted by *T. Dawſon*, &c. (In thirteen Leaves, *black Letter*) *Octavo*, 1581

144. A *Diſcoverie* of *Edmund Campion* and his *Confederates*, their moſt horrible and *traiterous Practiſes*, againſt her *Majeſties* moſt *Royal Perſon*, and the Realm. Wherein may be ſeene how, thorowe the whole Courſe of the Araignment, they were notably convicted of every Cauſe. Whereunto is added, the Execution of *Edmund Campion*, *Ralph Sherwin*, and *Alexander Brian*, executed at *Tiborne* the 1ſt of *December*. Publiſhed by *A. M.* ſometime the Pope's Scholar, allowed in the Seminarie at *Rome* among them. A Diſcourſe needefull to be read of every Man, to beware how they deale with

with ſuch ſecret Seducers. *Seen and allowed.* (In fifty-five Leaves, *black Letter*) *Octavo*, 29 *Jan.* 1582

This Tract is dedicated to Sir *Thomas Bromley*, Lord Chancellor; *William* Lord *Burgley*, Treaſurer; *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*; with the reſt of the Queen's Council; by the Author, *Anthony Munday*. It is a different Work from that which *George Elyot*, above, controuls, under the Title of a *former Book* of *Mundays*; which ſaid *Controulment* ſeems to have been printed ſuch a little While before this *Diſcovery*, that *Munday* had not ſeen it; or he would probably, eſpecially when he mentions *Ellyot*, have ſaid ſomewhat in Vindication or Apology for himſelf, againſt him. The Author may have been better informed in this Treatiſe than he was in the former. There are ſeveral obſervable Circumſtances in it, which he had the Advantage of knowing by having been in ſome of the *Popiſh Seminaries* Abroad, where he heard the famous Father *Parſons* make a *Speech*, which is here recorded, and perhaps no where elſe. The Knowledge he there acquired, might alſo qualify him to write that Book which he mentions in this, called *The Engliſh Roman Life*. As for *Campion*, ſee more relating to him, in the 6th and 7th *Articles* of this *Catalogue*.

145. A *Mirror* of Treue *Honnour* and Chriſtian *Nobilitie*: Expoſing the *Life*, *Death*, and Divine *Vertues* of the moſt Noble and Godly Lorde *Frauncis* Earl of *Bedford*, Baron *Ruſſell*, Lord Chief Juſtice, and Juſtice in *Oier*, of all the Queene's Forreſts, *&c.* by *South-Trent*: Warden of the *Staneries*, in the Weſt Countries: High Steward of the Duchy of *Cornwale*: Knight of the moſt noble Order of the *Garter*: Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of *Dorſet*, *Devon*, and *Cornwale*; and of her Highneſſe moſt Honourable Privy Counſell. Who deceaſed at *Bedford-Houſe* the 28 of *June* 1585, *Ætatis ſuæ* 58. Whereunto is adjoyned, a Report of the Vertues of the Right Valiant and Worthy Knight Sir *Frauncis* Lord *Ruſſell*, Sonne and Heire Apparent of the Honour and good Giftes of the ſayd Right Noble Earle; who, upon a Day of Truce, was ſlaine by a treacherous Stratagme of the *Scots*, the 27 Day of the ſaid Month of *June*. The Report of *George Whetſtone*, Gent. a faithfull Servaunte of the ſayd Right Honourable Earle. (In ſixteen Leaves, *black Letter*) Imprinted by *Richard Jones*. *Quarto*, 1585

This very ſcarce *Life* is written in *Verſe*, in ninety Stanzas of ſeven Lines. The Author, who publiſhed ſeveral other Things, both in Poetry and Proſe, dedicates the ſaid *Biographical* Poem to *Edward* the young Earl of *Bedford*, Son of the aforeſaid Lord *Ruſſell*, and informs him, 'That he has, in 'Monuments extant, already regiſtered the 'Lives of many *worthy Perſonages* deceaſed, 'ſince the Continuance of this prudent and 'peaceable Government.' Some former Poſſeſſor of this Copy, has, with a Pen, eraſed the Word *June*, in both Places, where that Month is mentioned in the Title above, and written inſtead thereof *July*.

146. A *Diſcoverie* of the unnaturall and traiterous *Conſpiracie* of *Scottiſch Papiſtes*; againſt *God*, his *Kirk*, their native *Cuntry*, the *Kingis* Majeſties *Perſone*, and *Eſtate*. Set downe as it was *confeſſed* and *ſubſcrived* bee M. *George Ker*, yet remaining in Priſon, and *David Graham* of *Fentrie*, juſtly executed for his Treaſon in *Edinburgh*, the 15 of *Februarie*, 1592. Whereunto is annexed, certain intercepted *Letters*, written by ſundrie of that Faction, to the ſame Purpoſe. Printed and publiſhed at the ſpeciall Command of the Kingis Majeſtie. At *Edinburgh*, printed by *Robert Waldegrave*, Printer to the Kingis Majeſtie. *Cum Privilego Regali.* (In ſixteen Leaves) *Quarto*,——

That traiterous Correſpondence, between thoſe Malefactors above, and others; but chiefly *William Chrichtoun*, a *Scotch* Jeſuite in *Spain*; who undertook to ſhew the King of *Spain* the beſt Way to invade *England*, and alter the Religion in *Scotland*, is proved all along by Depoſitions; in which it alſo appears, that the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntley*, and *Errol*, were concerned; and *Patrick Gordon*, *Robert Abercrumby*, *Robert Bruce*, &c. Here are alſo their Letters to the Duke of *Parma*, &c. expoſed; with an Interpretation of their fictitious Names; all tending to the Purpoſes aforeſaid.

147. The true lamentable *Diſcourſe* of the *Burning* of *Teverton* in *Devonſhire*, the Third of *April* laſt paſt, about the Hower of One of the Clocke in the Afternoone, being Market Day,

Day, 1598. At which Time there was conſumed to Aſhes about the Number of 400 Houſes, with all the Money and Goods that was therein: And fyftie Perſons burnt alive through the Vehemencie of the ſame Fyer. At *London*, Printed by *Thomas Purfoot*. (In ſix Leaves, *black Letter*) *Quarto*,——

In the ſad Deſtruction of this Town, and chief Market for Cloth in the *Weſtern* Parts, the Fire was ſo outrageous and ſudden, that it conſumed, in the Space of an *Hour* and *Half*, above *Four-hundred Houſes* and other *Buildings*, and left not above *twenty* ſtanding; among which were the *Church* and *Court-Houſe*, belonging to the Earl of *Devonſhire*; to the Damage of *Three or Four-hundred-thouſand Pounds*: And what was moſt dreadful, ſo many Lives loſt by that moſt cruel Death. This Accident began, by a poor Woman's *Frying* of *Pancakes* over a Fire made with Straw. The late Mr. *Thomas Rawlinſon* has written in a blank Leaf before this Copy, that it is *a good Tract*.

148. *Obſervations* in the *Art* of *Engliſh Poeſie*: By *Thomas Campion*. Wherein it is demonſtratively prooved, and by Example confirmed, that the *Engliſh Toong* will receive *Eight* ſeverall *Kinds of Numbers*, proper to itſelf; which are all in this Booke ſet forth, and were never before this Time by any Man attempted. (In forty-three Pages) Printed by *Ric. Field*. *Twelves*, 1602

It is dedicated by the Author to the Lord *Buckhurſt*, *Lord High-Treaſurer* of *England*; 'as to the nobleſt Judge of Poeſie, and the 'moſt honorable Protector of all induſtrious 'Learning.' The Intent of this Work is to introduce a Form of Verſification into our Language, correſpondent to the Poetry of the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*; 'for the 'vulgar and unartificiall Cuſtome of *Riming*, 'hath, I know, deterred many excellent 'Wits from the Exerciſe of *Engliſh Poeſie*.' The Tract is divided into *Ten Chapters*. The 1ſt treats of *Numbers* in general. 2d, Of the Unaptneſs of *Rime* in *Poeſie*. 3d, Of our *Engliſh Numbers* in general. 4th, Of *Iambick* Verſe. 5th, Of the *Iambick Diameter*; or *Engliſh March*. 6th, Of the *Engliſh Trochaick* Verſe. 7th, Of the *Engliſh Elegeick* Verſe. 8th, Of *Ditties* and *Odes*. 9th, Of the *Anacreontick* Verſe. 10th, Of the *Quantity* of *Engliſh Sillables*.

149. An *Apologie* of the *Earle* of *Eſſex*; againſt thoſe which jealouſly and maliciouſly *Tax* him to be the Hinderer of the *Peace* and *Quiet* of his *Country*. Penned by himſelf, in *Anno* 1598. Imprinted at *London*, by *Richard Bradocke*. (In twenty-three Leaves) *Quarto*, 1603

This Apology is addreſſed by its noble Author, to Maſter *Anthony*, Brother to Sir *Francis Bacon*. *A. Wood* calls him Sir *Anth. Bacon*; but he never was Knighted: And adds, 'This Piece had ſuch Esteem among 'Men, that they thought nothing could be 'more honourably uttered, nor more to the 'Writer's Praiſe, ſo far as belongs to a 'noble Orator, than it.' It was then publiſhed, after the Author's Death, upon the Entrance of King *James*; who was now packing up a Peace with *Spain*; to diſſuade the State from conſenting to any, but an honourable and advantageous Peace; according to the Sentiments of that Earl.

150. His *Majeſties Speach* in this laſt Seſſion of Parliament, as neere his very Words as could be gathered at the Inſtant. Together with a *Diſcourſe* of the Manner of the *Diſcovery* of this *late intended Treaſon*, joyned with the *Examination* of ſome of the *Priſoners*. Imprinted at *London*, by *Robert Barker*, Printer to the Kings moſt Excellent Majeſtie. (In forty-ſix Leaves) *Quarto*, 1605

This *Speech* and *Diſcourſe*, upon the *Diſcovery* of the *Gun-Powder-Plot*, were publiſhed by Authority; and have been made Uſe of, to deſcribe the ſame in the Hiſtories of thoſe Times.

151. The *Speech* of Sir *Dudley Carlton*, Lord *Ambaſſadour* for the King of *Great-Britaine*, made in the *Aſſembly* of the *Lords* the *Eſtates Generall* of the *United Provinces* of the *Low-Countries*. Being aſſembled at the *Haghe*. Touching the *Diſcord* and *Troubles* of the *Church* and *Policie*, cauſed by the Sciſmaticall Doctrine of *Arminius*. Exhibited the 6 of *October* 1617. Set forth by Authoritie. (In ſix Leaves) *Quarto*, 1618

152.

*Continued.* NUMBER VII.

152. *Articles* containing his *Majeſties* gracious *Offer* to *compound* with his *Subjects*, for the *Tenure of their Lands* and other *Profits* growing by Reaſon of their Tenures, in certain Caſes, as followeth. Imprinted at *London*, by the Deputies of *Robert Barker*, Printer to the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty. (In one Sheet, *black Letter*) *Quarto*, 1608

153. The dolefull *Even-Song:* Or, a True, Particular, and Impartiall *Narration* of that fearefull and ſudden *Calamity* which befell the Preacher Mr. *Drury*, a *Jeſuite*, and the greater Part of his *Auditory*; by the *Downefall* of the *Floore* at an *Aſſembly* in the *Black Friers*, on *Sunday* the 26 of *October* laſt, in the Afternoon. Together with the *Rehearſall* of Mr. *Drury* his *Text*, and the *Deviſion* thereof: As alſo an exact *Catalogue* of the *Names* of ſuch as *periſhed* by this lamentable Accident; and a brief *Application* thereof. (In twenty-nine Leaves) *Quarto*, 1623

The Author of this Pamphlet, ſigns himſelf, at the End of his Epiſtle, *T. G.* The Perſons who were bruiſed and cruſhed to Death, by that Fall, amount to above an *Hundred*, in that *Catalogue* here mentioned. There was another Pamphlet written, and now alſo printed, upon this deſtructive Downfall at *Black Friers*, entitled, *The Fatall Veſper*; as will be further taken Notice of, when it comes in the Way.

154. *Miracles Unmasked:* A Treatiſe proving that *Miracles* are not infallible *Signes* of the true and orthodox *Faith:* That *Popiſh Miracles* are either counterfeit or divelliſh. Evidently confirmed by *Authorities* of holy *Scripture*, of ancient *Doctors*, of grave and learned *Spaniſh Authors*; by weighty *Reaſons*, manifeſt *Examples*, and moſt true *Hiſtories*; which have happened in *Spaine*, and appear in Bookes there printed. By *Ferdinando Texeda*, Batchelar in Divinity. (In nineteen Leaves) *Quarto*, 1625

This Author, a *Spaniard*, bred at *Salamanca*, had been a Friar of the Order of *Auguſtines*; but coming into *England*, was converted to the Proteſtant Religion, and publiſhed his Pamphlet named *Texeda retextus*, two Years before *This* above, which *A. Wood* never ſaw. He ſtudied at *Oxford*; where he took his Degree aforeſaid, and met with Support in his Expences. This Pamphlet he dedicates to *John Egerton* Lord *Elſmere*, Earl of *Bridgewater*; and acknowledges, that he had received many Benefits, and charitable Favours at his liberal Hands. Here are many Hiſtorical Inſtances related, of the Forgeries of their Miracle-Mongers in *Spain*, of both Sexes; extracted from near Twenty *Spaniſh* Authors, and preſerved from Traditions no where elſe recorded.

155. A *Diſcourſe* of the moſt Illuſtrious Prince *Henry*, late *Prince* of *Wales*. Written *Anno* 1626, by Sir *Charles Cornwallis*, Knight, ſometimes *Treaſurer* of his Highneſſe *Houſe*. Printed for *John Benſon*, &c. (In eighteen Leaves) *Quarto*, 1641

This Diſcourſe, publiſhed after the Author's Death, is dedicated by *J. B.* (perhaps the Bookſeller) to Prince *Charles*, Nephew of that hopeful Prince *Henry*. This is not an Hiſtorical Narrative, expreſly deducing the Actions and Sayings of that Prince in a regular Series; but rather a Character, or ſome detached Obſervations upon certain Parts of his Conduct and Comportment. For though the Author's *Place* gave him continual Occaſion to *attend* the Prince; and the Favour he was in, not only Means to obſerve his *Actions*, but to become particularly acquainted with moſt of his *Thoughts*; as he ſays, p. 5. Yet he is ſo polite, as to make Uſe of thoſe Advantages, rather as a *Courtier*, than a *Biographer*; becauſe, according to that refined Maxim he preſcribes himſelf, p. 13, *To publiſh Particulars, agrees not with the Rules of State.*

156. Sir *Thomas Roe* his *Speech* in *Parliament*. Wherein he ſheweth the *Cauſe* of the *Decay* of *Coyne* and *Trade* in this Land; eſpecially of *Merchant's Trade:* And alſo propoundeth a Way to the Houſe, how they may be *increaſed*. (In ſix Leaves) *Quarto*, 1641

This Speech was made in the Year 1640, and the Expedients propoſed to *encreaſe* the *Trade* and *Coin* of the Nation, are; 1. To know, of the ſeveral *Companies* of the *Merchants*, their *Grievances* in Trade, which cauſe ſuch *Decay* thereof, and *Want* of *Money*; that having the State of their Complaints ſeverally, they may form ſome Judg-

ments of these Relations one to another. 2. To procure the said Companies Offers of *Remedies* for the same. 3. To choose out some disinterested Persons, whose *Experience* in those Premises, particularly in *Monies*, *Exchanges*, &c. may assist their *Judgments*, and enable them to prepare their *Result*, to be, by the House, laid before his Majesty.

157. Certain *Orders* meete to be observed upon any *Foraine Invasion*; for those *Shires* that lye upon the *Sea-Coastes*. With a Direction to the Justices of the Peace. (In seven Leaves) *Quarto*, 1642

It is well known, that, in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, some Officers, of Distinction and Experience, wrote upon this *important Subject*: And we take this Piece, now revived, or first published, to have been written by one of them. Which that it may be better known, to whom it may be justly ascribed, it will not be improper to observe, it begins with these Words:—— 'That, in every *Shire*, be appointed one '*Nobleman* to take the chief Charge for the 'Ordering and Governing of the same, *&c.*' The said first Chapter advises the *Invaded* not to be over-hasty in joining Battle, till they see their Advantage, as having more to lose than the *Invaders*; not only their *Lives*, but their *Country*. The *second* is a *Caveat* for avoiding that *dangerous* Course, in *Running down* to the *Sea Side*, at the *Firing* of the *Beacons*. Third, *Orders* for the *Provision* and *Guard* of the *Beacons*. *Fourth*, Other necessary *Notes* to be *observed*, as Arms, Amunition, *&c.*

158. A *Discourse* touching the *Inconvenience* of *long-continued Parliaments*; and the *Judgment* of the *Law* of the *Land* in that Behalf. By *David Jenkins*, now *Prisoner* in the *Tower* of *London*. (In six Leaves) *Quarto*, 1647

159. An *Impeachment* of *High Treason* against *Oliver Cromwell*, and his Son-in-Law *Henry Ireton*, Esquires; late *Members* of the late forcibly dissolved *House* of *Commons*; presented to the Publick View, by Lieutenant-Colonell *John Lilburne*, close *Prisoner* in the *Tower* of *London*, for his real, true, and zealous *Affections* to the *Liberties* of his *Native Country*. In which following *Discourse*, or *Impeachment*, he *engageth*, upon his *Life*, either upon the Principles of *Law* (by Way of *Indictment*, the only, and alone *legall* Way of all *Trials* in *England*) or upon the Principles of *Parliaments* ancient Proceedings, or upon the Principles of *Reason* (by Pretence of which alone, *they* lately took away the *King's Life*) before a *legall Magistrate*, when there shall be one again in *England* (which now, in the least there is not) *to prove the said Oliver Cromwell guilty of the highest Treason that ever was acted in England*; and more deserving Punishment and Death, than the 44 *Judges*, hanged for Injustice by King *Alfred*, before the Conquest; or than the Lord Chief Justice *Wayland*, and his Associates, tormented by *Edw.* I. or than Judge *Thorpe*, condemned to dye for Bribery, in *Edw.* III his Time; or than the two disthroned Kings, *Edw.* II. and *Rich.* II. or than the Lord Chief Justice *Tresillian* (who had his Throat cut at *Tyburne*, as a Traitor in *Richard* II's Time for subverting the Laws) and all his Associates; or than those two grand traytorly Subverters of the Laws and Liberties of *England*, *Empson* and *Dudley*; who, therefore, as Traitors, lost their Heads upon *Tower-Hill*, in the Beginning of *Henry* VIII's Reign; or than trayterous Cardinal *Wolsey*, who, after he was arrested of Treason, poysoned himself; or than the late trayterous *Ship-money Judges*; who with one Verdict, or Judgment, destroyed all our Property; or than the late trayterous Bishop of *Canterbury*, Earl of *Strafford*, Lord-Keeper *Finch*, Secretary *Windebank*; or than Sir *George Ratcliffe*, or all his Associates; or than the two *Hothams*, who lost their Heads for corresponding with the *Queen*; or than the late King *Charles*; whom themselves have *beheaded* for a *Tyrant* and a *Traytor*. In which are also some Hints of Cautions to the Lord *Fairfax*, for absolutely breaking his *solemn Engagement* with his *Souldiers*, &c. to take Heed and to regain his lost Credit, in acting honestly in Time to come; in helping to settle the Peace and Liberties of the Nation; which, truly, really, and lastingly, can never be done, but by establishing the Principles of the *Agreement* of the *free People*; That being really the People's *Interest*, and all the rest, that went before, but particular and selfish. In which is also the *Author's* late Proposition, sent to Mr. *Holland*, *June* 26, 1649, to justify, and make good, at his utmost Hazard (upon the Principles of *Scripture*, *Law*, *Reason*, and the *Parliaments* and *Armies* ancient *Declarations*) his late *Actions* or *Writings*, in *any*, or *all* of his *Books*. (In thirty-eight Leaves) *Quarto*, 1649.

160. *For-*

160. *Former Ages never heard of*, and *after Ages will admire:* Or a brief *Review* of the moſt materiall *Parliamentary Tranſactions*; beginning *November* 3, 1640. Wherein the *remarkable Paſſages* both of their *Civill* and *Martiall* Affaires are continued to this *preſent Year*. Publiſhed as a *Breviary*, leading all along ſucceſſively, as they fell out in their ſeveral Years: So that if any Man will be informed of any remarkable Paſſage, he may turn to the Year, and ſo ſee in ſome Meaſure, in what Month thereof it was accompliſhed. For Information of ſuch as are altogether ignorant of the Riſe and Progreſs of theſe Times. A Work worthy to be kept in *Record*, and communicated to Poſterity. (In ſixty-one Pages, adorned with little *Copper Cuts*) *Quarto*, 1656

161. A *Narrative* of the *late Parliament* (ſo called) their *Election* and *Appearing*; the *Seclusion* of a great Part of them; the *Sitting* of the reſt. With an Account of the *Places* of *Profit*, *Sallaries* and *Advantages* which they *hold* and *receive*, under the preſent Power. With ſome *Queries* thereupon: And upon the moſt materiall Acts and Proceedings paſſed by them. All humbly propoſed to Conſideration; and publiſhed for Information of the People. By a Friend to the *Common-wealth*, and to its dear-bought Rights and Freedome. (In thirty-two Pages) *Quarto*, 1657

There is, in this Pamphlet, a *Catalogue* of 182 *Members* of that *late Parliament*, who were a-kin, or otherwiſe engaged to the *Protector*; and had *Places*, *Offices*, and *Sallaries*, amounting to *One-million*, *Sixteen-thouſand*, *Three-hundred*, and *Seventeen Pounds*, *Sixteen Shillings*, and *Eight Pence*, *per Annum*. It contains alſo a *Catalogue* of the *Kinglings*; or the Names of thoſe 70 Perſons, moſt of them the *Protector*'s Kinſmen, Sallary-men, *&c.* that voted for his *Kingſhip*. This Pamphlet was ſo ſcarce, it could not be procured to be reprinted, when the *Second Narrative* (here following) was, in the *Phœnix Britannicus*.

162. A *Second Narrative* of the *late Parliament* (ſo called) wherein, after a brief Reciting ſome remarkable Paſſages in the former *Narrative*, is given an Account of their *Second Meeting*, and Things tranſacted by them. As alſo how the *Protector* (ſo called) came ſwearing *By the Living God*, and diſſolved them, after two or three Weeks Sitting. With ſome *Quæries* ſadly propoſed thereupon. Together with an Account of *Three and Forty of their Names*, who were taken out of the *Houſe*, and others, that ſat in the *Other Houſe*, intended for a *Houſe of Lords*; but being ſo unexpectedly diſappointed, could not take Root: With a brief *Character* and *Deſcription of them*. All humbly preſented to publique View. By a Friend to the Good Old Cauſe of *Juſtice*, *Righteouſneſſe*, the *Freedom* and *Liberties of the People*; which hath coſt ſo much *Blood* and *Treaſure*, to be carried on in the late *Wars*, and are not yet ſettled. Printed in the Fifth Year of *England*'s *Slavery* under its *New Monarchy*. (In twenty-four Leaves) *Quarto*, 1658

163. *London's Glory:* Or the *Riot* and *Ruine* of the *Fifth-Monarchy Men*, and all their *Adherents*. Being a true and perfect *Relation* of their deſperate and bloody Attempts and Practiſes in the *City* of *London*, on *Monday*, *Tueſday*, and *Wedneſday* laſt, *January* the Ninth, 1660. Wherein, by the loyal and valourous Behaviour of the Citizens, in Defence of the King's Majeſty, their own Rights and Priviledges; they gave a total *Defeat* to thoſe bloody *Traytors:* Together with a perfect *Liſt* of the *Names* of all thoſe that are taken *Priſoners* and ſecured in *Newgate*, the *Poultry-Counter*, and other Priſons. (In ſixteen Pages) *Octavo*, 1661

164. Experimented *Propoſals*, How the *King* may have *Money* to *pay* and *maintain* his *Fleets*, with *Eaſe* to his *People: London* may be *rebuilt*; and all Proprietors ſatisfied: *Money* be *lent*, at *Six per Cent.* on *Pawnes:* And the *Fiſhing-Trade* ſet up; which *alone* is able and ſure to *enrich* us all: And all this, without altering, ſtraining, or thwarting, any of our *Laws*, or *Cuſtoms* now in Uſe. By Sir *Edward Forde*. (In one Sheet) *Quarto*, 1666

165. *Chatham News:* Or a brief *Relation* of ſome *ſtrange Bones* there lately digged up, in ſome Grounds of Mr. *John Somner*'s of *Canterbury:* Written by his Brother Mr. *William Somner*, late *Auditor* of *Chriſt-Church*, *Canterbury*, and *Regiſter* of the Archbiſhop's *Court* there, before his Death. (In ſeven Leaves, with a Print of two *Teeth*, as big as one's Fiſt) *Quarto*, 1669

166. A *Diſcourſe* ſhewing the great *Advantages* that *new Buildings*, and the *Enlarging* of *Towns* and *Cities* do bring to a Nation. (In twelve Leaves) *Quarto*, 1678

167. A

167. A brief *Enquiry* into *Leagues* and *Confederacies* made betwixt *Princes* and *Nations*; with the *Nature* of their *Obligation*. Compoſed in the Year 1673, when *England* and *France* were Confederates in a common War againſt *Holland*. And *England* made a ſeparate *Peace* with *Holland*, leaving *France* engaged in the *War*. By Sir *P. M.* (In twenty-eight Pages) *Quarto*, 1682

The Author appears, by a Note written in this Copy, to be Sir *Philip Meadows*.

168. A true Relation of a horrid Murder committed on the Perſon of *Thomas Kidderminſter*, of *Tupſley*, in the County of *Hereford*, Gent. at the *White-Horſe* Inn in *Chelmsford*, in the County of *Eſſex*, in the Month of *April* 1654. Together with a true Account of the ſtrange and providential Diſcovery of the ſame, nine Years after: For which *Moſes Drayne*, an Hoſtler in the ſaid Inn, was *executed* at *Brentwood* in the ſame County, in the Year 1667, being *thirteen* Years after the *Commiſſion* of the ſaid *Murder*. Whoſe Arraignment, Conviction and Attainder, appears by the *Records* of the *Circuit* of that Year. (In twelve Leaves) *Quarto*, 1688

169. *Murder will out:* Or the *King's Letter* juſtifying the Marqueſs of *Antrim*; and declaring that *what he did*, in the *Iriſh Rebellion*, was by Direction from his Royal *Father* and *Mother*, and for the *Service* of the *Crown*. (In one Sheet) *Quarto*, 1689

170. *Encouragement* for *Seamen* and *Mariners:* In Two Parts. Being a propoſed Method for the more ſpeedy and effectual *furniſhing* their Majeſties *Royal Navy* with able *Seamen* and *Mariners:* And for ſaving thoſe immenſe Sums of Money yearly expended in attending the *Sea-Preſs*. In order to prevent thoſe many Miſchiefs and Abuſes daily committed by diſorderly *Preſs-maſters*, both at Sea and Land; to the great Prejudice of their Majeſties, and Injury of the Subject. By *George Everett*, Shipwright. (In twenty-four Pages) *Quarto*, 1695

171. The *Rights* and *Liberties* of *Engliſhmen* aſſerted. With a Collection of *Statutes* and *Records* of Parliament againſt *Foreigners*. Shewing that by the Conſtitution of *England*, no *Outlandiſh* Man, whether naturalized, or not, is capable of any Office in *England*, or *Ireland:* That no Man ought to be made a *Biſhop*, but he that is *Engliſh* born: That no *Outlandiſh* Man ought to *work*, or *trade*; but under the Governance of *Engliſh* Men: That no *Outlandiſh Broker* ought to be employed here: With other uſeful Obſervations. Humbly offered to the Conſideration of the Honourable *Houſe* of *Commons*. (In 26 Pages) *Folio*, 1701

172. An exact *Relation* of the late dreadful *Tempeſt:* Or a faithful Account of the moſt remarkable *Diſaſters* which happened on that Occaſion: The *Places* where, and *Perſons* Names who ſuffered by the ſame, in *City* and *Country*; the Number of *Ships*, *Men*, and *Guns*, that were loſt; the miraculous *Eſcapes* of ſeveral Perſons from the Dangers of that Calamity, both by *Sea* and *Land*. Faithfully collected by an ingenious Hand, to preſerve the Memory of ſo terrible a Judgment. (In twenty-four Pages) *Quarto*, 1704

This was the moſt violent *Storm* in the Memory of Man, or that ever was, perhaps, in *England*. It began on *Friday* Night, about Eleven o' Clock (not on *Saturday* Morning, as this Pamphlet ſays) *November* 26, 1703, and continued till Seven o' Clock next Morning. This Tract is as full of Particulars as its Compaſs will admit; but it is probable, the greateſt Part of the Damages were never regiſtered. This Author thinks the *Fire of London* was not ſo conſiderable a Misfortune. Indeed that was limited to a narrow Space, in Compariſon of this; which extended over the *Sea*, as well as all the *Land*. Among the Accidents; it was an odd one that befell Mr. *Hempſon*; who was blown out of an upper Room in the *Bell-ſavage* Inn upon *Ludgate-Hill* aſleep; and knew nothing of the *Storm*, till he found himſelf lying on his *Bed* in the open *Street*. Among the eminent Perſons killed, were the learned Biſhop *Kedder* and his Lady, in Bed at *Wells:* Admiral *Beaumont* with almoſt all his Men drowned: And the ingenious Mr. *Henry Winſtanly*, not leſs lamented than the beſt; in his own uſeful *Lighthouſe*, on the *Eddeſtone*, near *Plymouth*, blown down, and ſwallowed up in the Sea. He was then upon a Project of employing *Two-hundred Thouſand Men in the Fiſhery*; and was ſo famous for his beneficial Inventions, not to mention his *Water-works*, &c. that when taken Priſoner by the *French*, and carried into their Country, the King of *France* offered him 2000 *Louid'ores per Annum* to ſerve him; which he generouſly refuſed.

173.

173. A proper *Dyaloge* betwene a *Gentillman* and an *Husbandman*; eche *complaynenge* to other theyr *myserable Calamyte*, through the *Ambicion* of the *Clergye*. (In twenty-four Leaves, *black Letter*) *Octavo*, *no Date*.

It is no Wonder if it appears not, where, when, or by whom, this shrewd *Dialogue* against the *Pride*, *Ambition*, and *Monopolies* of the *Clergy* was set forth. It is written in *Verse*; and very expressively declares how prosperous the People were, when they knew no *Spiritual Jurisdiction*; and to what Bondage and Impoverishment they were reduced, when they became *Priest-ridden*; and the *Laity*, overcome, by their deluding and superstitious Infusions, suffered them to usurp *Civil*, as well as *Ecclesiastical* Government; to thrust their *Sickle* into every Man's *Corn*; and to *clerk* them out of their Goods and Lands, as well as their Reason and Understanding. Many of the Author's *Arguments* are confirmed by some choice and rare *Examples*, or *Historical* Instances. And it appears, at the End, by those Incidents of the Clergy's *Burning the Translation of the New Testament*, lest it should discover their *Impostures*; and their late *Destroying of some Chronicles*, under Pretence of their reflecting on the King's Ancestors, but indeed for exposing the exorbitant *Revenues* which those Holy Hypocrites had engrossed, to support their own luxurious Lazineſs and abominable Excesses; that it was written about the Middle of King *Henry the Eighth*'s Reign: And as much also may be computed from other Parts of the Tract. Towards the Middle, there is inserted a *Fragment* of an old *MS. Treatise*, in *Prose*; written, as the Author says, *above an Hundred Years since*; and, *about the Time of King Richard the Second*. This he recommends to our

Redynge, forthe to the End, seryously:
For though *old Wrytynges* apere to be *rude*;
Yet notwithstandynge, they do include
The *Pythe* of a Matter most fructuously.

And so in Truth does this old Writing: Laying the *Axe* to the *Root* of those Ecclesiastical *Enormities* and *Usurpations*, as vigorously, then, so long before, as most other Treatises did at, or since the *Reformation*. Shewing more especially, besides their *Tythes*, *Offerings*, and infinite other Mercenary Practices of fleecing the foolish Flock, how unreasonably they were suffered to gripe in large *Manors*, or *Estates* by *Wholesale*; and, through their specious Promises of *Heaven*, persuaded the Laity to *amortize* or *alienate* their Possessions on *Earth*, to the *Church*; and thereby to the Ruin of their Posterity. Urging further, that if *Bishops*, or *Spiritual Pastors*, may not alienate their *Temporalities*, nor restore to their very *Founders* any Thing given them; and must labour even to Death, till they recover what any of their *Predecessors* might have carelessly or lavishly parted with thereof: "How moche more "than shuld not a *Seculer Lorde*, or a "*Laye*, aliene fro *hym* and hys *Issue*, or fro "the State of Secular *Lordes*, the *Seculer* "*Lordshyppes*, the which God hath lymyted to that State; syth he is bounde, by "the Lawe of Kynde, to ordeyne for his "Chyldren, *&c.*

174. Certayne Causes gathered together, wherin is shewed the *Decaye* of *England*, onely by the great *Multytude* of *Shepe*; to the utter *Decay* of *Housholde-keping*, *Mayntenaunce* of *Men*, *Dearth* of *Corne*, and other notable Dyscommodityes; approved by syxe olde *Proverbes*. *A Kynge that sitteth in Judgement, and loketh well about him, dryveth away all Evyll. Prov.* xx. Imprinted at *London*, in *Pouls* Churchyeard at the Sygne of Saynte *Austen*; by *Hewgh Syngleton*. (In twelve Leaves, *black Letter*) *Octavo*, *without Date*.

By the Dates of some other Books printed by this *H. Syngelton*, this appears to have been set forth in the Reign of King *Edward* VI. Those *Proverbs* beforementioned, by which this Author maintains the Title of his Tract, are, 1. The more *Shepe*, the dearer is the *Wol*. 2. The more *Shepe*, the dearer is the *Motton*. 3. The more *Shepe*, the dearer is the *Beffe*. 4. The more *Shepe*, the dearer is the *Corne*. 5. The more *Shepe*, the skanter is the *white Meate*. 6. The more *Shepe*, the fewer *Eggs* for a *Peny*. He likewise lays to the Charge of having in this Kingdom a Superabundance of Sheep, the greater Expence, and thereby, Decay of *House-keeping*, as also of the *Artillery*; and

concludes with reckoning that, for every Town and Village in *England*, being 50000, there is one *Plough* decayed, ſince the firſt Year of King *Henry* VII. every of which *Ploughs* would maintain ſix Perſons: So that *Three hundred Thouſand Perſons*, who were wont to have Meat, Drink, Raiment, and Lodging; and paid *Scot* and *Lot*; now had nothing, but went about begging: And all by the Neglect of *Tillage*; or turning the Land ſo much into *Paſture*. Of which Grievance, the Author begs Redreſs of the King and his Lords; to whom this ſcarce Tract is addreſſed.

175. A notable *Example* of *Gods Vengeance*, upon a *murdering King*: Written in *Latine* by *Martine Cromer*, the Writer of the *Hiſtorie* of *Polonia*; and is to be found in the 37 Page of the ſayde *Hiſtorie*, as it was printed at *Baſile* by *Oporine*, in the Yeare of our Lorde 1555. with *Charles* the *Emperour*'s Priviledge. Truely tranſlated according to the *Latine*. Imprinted at *London*, by *John Day*, over *Alderſgate*. (In ſeven Leaves, *black Letter*) *Octavo*, *no Date*.

This is the noted Story of the wicked young King *Popiel*; who, at the Inſtigation of his Queen, poyſoned his Uncles; to revenge whoſe Deaths, an Army of overgrown Rats are ſaid to have aroſe out of their Carcaſes, and inceſſantly purſued him, through Land, Fire, Water, Guards, *&c.* till, having devoured his Wife and Children, he was himſelf at laſt conſumed by them with the like painful and ſlow Death, in the Caſtle of *Cruſwik*, in the Year 823. Here is added, another Narrative of this ſtrange Story, and more circumſtantially related, out of *Munſter*'s Coſmography.

176. A true and plaine *Report* of the furious *Outrages* of *Fraunce*; and the horrid and ſhamefull *Slaughter* of *Chaſtillion* the *Admirall*; and divers other *noble* and *excellent Men*; and of the wicked and ſtrange Murder of *Godlie Perſons*, committed in many Cities of *Fraunce*; without any Reſpect of Sort, Kind, Age, or Degree. By *Erneſt Varamund*, of *Freſeland*. At *Striveling* in *Scotland*. (In a Hundred and Forty-three Pages, beſides the Preface) *Octavo*, 1573

This curious *Hiſtory* of that bloody *Maſſacre* of all the *Proteſtants* in *France*, was written by an Author, who ſays, "He was "well enabled to have Knowledge thereof; both by his own Calamities, and by "thoſe, who, with their own Eyes, beheld "a great Part of the ſaid Slaughter." He has annexed to the ſaid *Report*, as authentic *Vouchers* of the ſame, the *French* King's *Letters*, *Edicts*, &c. The *Latin* Edition, intitled, *De Furoribus Gallicis*, &c. was publiſhed at *London*, the ſame Year with this *Engliſh* one in *Scotland*. It has been thought that Name above, as the Author of it, is fictitious; and that it was compoſed by *Theodore Beza*, as ſome, or *Hubert Languet* as others have reported.

177. A *Looking-Glaſs* for the *Court*; compoſed in the *Caſtilian* Tongue; by the Lord *Anthony* of *Guevarra*, *Biſhop* of *Mondovent*, and *Chronicler* to the *Emperour Charles*: And out of *Caſtilian*, drawne into *Frenche*, by *Anthony Alaygre*: And out of *French* Tongue into *Engliſhe*, by Sir *Francis Briant*, Knight, one of the *Privy-Chamber* in the Raygne of King *Henry the Eight*: And now newly printed, corrected, and ſet forth, with ſundry apt *Notes* in the Margent, by *T. Tymme*, Miniſter. Imprinted for *Will. Norton*. (In ſeventy-ſix Leaves, beſides Epiſtle, &c. *black Letter*) *Octavo*, 1575

This *Diſpraiſe of a Courtiers Life*, as it is ſtiled in the *Running-Title*, and *Commendation* of a *Rural* one, is dedicated, by the ſaid Editor, to *John* Lord *Ruſſel* Son and Heir of *Francis* Earl of *Bedford*; and the *Dedication* is followed by a *Poem* alſo of the Editor's, in Praiſe of the Author, *Ant. de Guevarra*, and his *Engliſh* Tranſlator, Sir *Francis Briant*, who publiſhed his ſaid Tranſlation of this *Diſpraiſe of the Life of a Courtier*, &c. as he intitled it, in 8*vo*. 1548; and dedicated it to *W.* Marquis of *Northampton*, &c. He was Captain of the Light Horſe, under *Edward* Duke of *Somerſet*, Lieutenant-General of the Army againſt the *Scots*; and made Banneret by the ſaid Protector after the Battle of *Muſſelborough*, about a Year before he publiſhed the ſaid Tranſlation.

178. A ſhort and pithie *Diſcourſe*, concerning the Engendering, Tokens, and Effects of all *Earthquakes* in *Generall*: *Particularly* applyed, and conferred with that moſt ſtrange, and terrible Worke of the Lord, in *ſhaking* the

the *Earth*, not only within the City of *London*, but alſo in moſt Partes of all *England*: Which hapned upon *Wenſday* in *Eaſter* Week, laſt paſt; which was the ſixt Day of *April*, almoſt at Six a Clock in the Evening; in the Yeer of our Lord 1580. Written by *T. T.* the 13 of *April* 1580. At *London*, printed by *Richarde Johnes*. (In eleven Leaves, *black Letter*) *Quarto*, 1580

The ingenious Author of this *Diſcourſe* dedicates it to his very good Lord, *Philip Howard* Earl of *Arundell*. And having made ſome curious Remarks upon the *Phænomena* which have been obſerved in the Earth, Waters, Air, and Heavens, to anticipate ſuch fearful Concuſſions; alſo deſcribes, what appeared, as the Forerunners of this. The *Progreſs* it made, was from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*; being felt in *Kent*, at *Rocheſter* and *Graveſend*, about Five o' Clock; at *London*, near Six; about *Windſor*, Half an Hour after that; and ſo bent *Northerly*, as the impriſoned Exhalations could proceed. The *Motion* was of a Compound-kind, both *rocking* and *heaving* up at one Time; which favourably proved a Check to one another: So that the Shaking of Furniture, Cracking of Walls, Wainſcots, and other ſuch clattering Noiſes were rather *heard*, than much Damage *ſeen* (except ſome Chimnies ſhortened, and ſtubborn Stone Works looſened) by the Overthrow of of Houſes, and other Buildings; or much Hurt *felt*, by People cruſhed thereby; there being, when this Diſcourſe was written, but one Perſon heard of by the Author, who was killed, and another dangerouſly bruiſed, by the Fall of ſome Stones from *Chriſt*'s Hoſpital *Church* in *London*. That there was no more Miſchief done, might be owing to this Earthquake being of no longer *Continuance* than about one *Minute*; ſeeing there was one, here mentioned to have happened at *Conſtantinople*, which laſted a whole *Year*; and drove all the Inhabitants to dwell in the Fields.

179. A true *Report* of the Inditement, Arraignment, Conviction, Condemnation, and Execution of *John Weldon*, *William Hartley*, and *Robert Sutton*: Who ſuffred for High Treaſon in ſeveral Places about the City of *London* on *Saturday* the 5 of *October*, *Anno* 1588. With the *Speeches* which paſſed between a learned Preacher and them. Faithfully collected, even in the ſame Words, as neer as might be remembered. By one of Credit, that was preſent at the ſame. Imprinted by *Rich. Jones*. (In twelve Leaves, *black Letter*) *Quarto*, 1588

There are three little wooden Prints repreſenting the Heads of theſe Traytors at the Top of the Title-Page. The Firſt, a *Yorkſhire* Man, had been Student of *Caius* College *Cambridge*; was ſent over from *Flanders* to Priſon by the Earl of *Leiceſter*, for Intending to murder him. The Second, alſo a Seminary Prieſt, was to have aſſiſted in ſecuring the *Tower*, &c. if the *Spaniſh Invaſion* had ſucceeded; and the Third, a Schoolmaſter, who turning to the *Romiſh* Perſwaſion, denied her Majeſty's Supremacy, *&c.* The two firſt, were hanged at *Mile-End*; and the laſt, at *Clerkenwell*; as *Stow* in his *Annals* has alſo remembered.

180. A *Fig for the Spaniard* or *Spaniſh* Spirits: Wherein are livelie portraited the damnable *Deeds*, miſerable *Murders*, and monſtrous *Maſſacres* of the curſed *Spaniard*. With a true *Reherſal* of the late Troubles and troubleſome Eſtate of *Aragon*, *Catalonia*, *Valencia*, and *Portugall*. Whereunto are annexed Matters of much Marveile, and Cauſes of no leſs Conſequence. (In fourteen Leaves) *Quar.* 1591

181. *Cornucopiæ*, or divers *Secrets*: Wherein is contained the rare Secrets of *Man*, *Beaſts*, *Foules*, *Fiſhes*, *Trees*, *Plantes*, *Stones* and ſuch like; moſt pleaſant and profitable; and not before committed to be printed in *Engliſh*. Newlie drawen out of divers *Latine* Authors, into *Engliſh*; by *Thomas Johnſon*. (In twenty-two Leaves, *black Letter*) *Quarto*, 1595

182. A ſparing *Diſcoverie* of our *Engliſh Jeſuits*; and of Father *Parſons* Proceedings; under Pretence of promoting the *Catholike Faith* in *England*. For a Caveat to all true *Catholikes*, our very loving Brethren and Friends, how they embrace ſuch very *Uncatholike*, though *Jeſuiticall* Deſeignments. Newly imprinted. (In forty-two Leaves) *Quarto*, 1601

The Preface of this curious and ſcarce Tract is ſubſcribed, only with two Letters, *W. W.* by which is to be underſtood, *William Watſon* the Secular Prieſt; who, with the

the other *Seminaries* in *England*, conceived their Credit to be weakened, and themſelves to be the more rigorouſly treated, for the traiterous Practices of the *Jeſuits*; eſpecially the treaſonable *Counſels* of Father *Parſons*, in *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy*; and his libellous *Publications* againſt his own Country. This great Contention between thoſe two *Popiſh* Factions produced many Literary Rencounters; among which, none did more notably diſcloſe the Tyranny and Treachery of the *Engliſh Jeſuits* than this now publiſhed, the Author being in Priſon; and another Treatiſe by the ſame Hand, the Year following, intitled his *Quodlibets concerning Religion* and *State*. The *Jeſuits*, in Reward for theſe Works (the Life and Actions of Father *Parſons* eſpecially, being no where ſet forth in livelier Colours than in the Tract above) *cunningly* and *covertly*, as he confeſſed himſelf, *drew* poor *Watſon* into a *Plot* for Dethroning the new King *James*, the Year after that; as may be ſeen in *J. Stow*. And he with *William Clark*, another Secular Prieſt, were hanged for the ſame, on the 29 of *November* 1603.

183. An *Elegie* upon the *Death* of the high and renowned Princeſs, our late Sovereigne *Elizabeth*. By *J. L.* (In ſix Leaves) *Quarto*, 1603.

There is *John Lane* written upon this Pamphlet, againſt the initial Letters of the Author's Name; who ſeems to be that fine old Queen *Elizabeth*'s Gentleman, reported by *Edward Phillips*, in his *Theatrum Poetarum*, to have been living within his Remembrance. He is for ranking him in the Claſs of Poets next to *Spenſer*; and thinks he would have acquired a Name not inferior to that Degree, had not his Poems remained unpubliſhed: But ſays they were ſtill to be produced in *MSS*. Namely his *Poetical Viſion*, *Twelve Months*, and *Guy of Warwick*; which laſt, in a handſome Volume, is among the *Harleian Manuſcripts*. But the *Alarm to the Poets*, *by J. L.* is printed; one Edition, in *Quarto* 1648. And tis ſaid his *Supplement* to *Chaucer's Squires Tale* has alſo been made publick.

184. A Proteſtation of the *Kings Supremacy*, made in the Name of the afflicted *Miniſters*; and oppoſed to the ſhamefull Calumniation of the *Prelates*. (In twelve Leaves) *Octavo*, 1605

This dutiful Proteſtation to the King, made by thoſe *Nonconformiſts*, ſeems to have been ſeen by few, if any of our *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians* of thoſe Times. They conclude it by atteſting, that they envy not the *Prelacy* their State and Dignity; and can live as Brethren, among thoſe Miniſters who ſhall acknowledge ſpiritual Homage unto their ſpiritual Lordſhips; paying unto them, all temporal Duties, of *Tenths*, &c. Yea and joining with them in the Service and Worſhip of God, ſo far as they may do it without communicating with them in thoſe human *Traditions* and *Rites*, which in their Conſciences they judge unlawful. But craving, as they are moſt malicious *Enemies* to *them*; and thirſt, either after their *Blood*, or the Shipwreck of their *Faith* and *Conſciences*, that they may not be *their Judges in theſe Cauſes*; but both ſtand as Parties at the Bar of the *Civil* Magiſtrate: And that, when they ſhall publickly ſlander *Them*, or their *Cauſe*, it may be lawful, in a publick Manner, to juſtify *Themſelves*. "And then, inſtead of that ſilly Mock-"ſervice of wearing a *Linnen Rag* upon our "Backs, or making a *Chriſts Croſs* upon a "Babies Face; we ſhall be ready to yield "tripple *Homage*, *Service*, and *Tribute* un-"to Him; and ſhall think our Lives and "all that we have too vile to ſpend in the "Service of Him, and the Civil State un-"der him."

185. An *Eſſay* of the *Meanes* how to make our *Travailes*, into *forraine Countries*, the more *Profitable* and *Honourable*. (In One-hundred and thirty-one Pages, beſides Dedication, Preface, and four *Analytical* Tables, doubled in, before the Firſt and Second Part) *Quarto*, 1606

*A. Wood* mentions this Tract, as if it was printed in *Octavo* this Year, which ſeems a Miſtake. It is dedicated to Prince *Henry*, by the Author, *Thomas Palmer*; who thought it his Duty, under the Compaſs of his Obligation and Service to his Highneſs, to make a Preſent thereof. The Subject is gravely and methodically handled, under its various Conſiderations. It was written and publiſhed to reclaim thoſe Malecontents who turned Fugitives, to diſturb their own Country; and the Epiſtle is directed from *Wingham* in *Kent*.

*Continued.* NUMBER IX.

186. The *Great Froſt*. Cold Doings in *London*, except it be at the *Lottery*: With News out of the Country. A Familiar Talk between a *Countryman* and a *Citizen*, touching this terrible *Froſt*, and the great *Lottery*; and the Effect of them. The *Deſcription* of the *Thames* frozen over. Printed for *H. Goſſon* (In fifteen Leaves, *Black Letter*) *Quarto*, 1608

The Lord *Bacon*, in one of his *Letters*, takes Notice of the ſharp *Muſcovite* Weather, which occaſioned the *Great Froſt* in *England* at this Time. In the Front of this Tract is a wooden Print, repreſenting the Citizens at their Sports, *&c.* upon the frozen *Thames*. And in the Narrative, the *Deſcription* thereof, the *Dangers*, and *Damages* it had occaſioned to ſeveral Perſons, *&c.* in *London*, as well as the Miſeries endured in the Country thereby, are well ſet forth. It had now laſted about ſix Weeks, to the End of *January*, and was ſtill freezing. Here is alſo an Account of the *preceding Froſts*, which had happened in *England* from the Time of King *Rufus*: And, after a brief Repreſentation alſo of the *Lotteries* which had been drawn in the late Queen's Reign, he deſcribes, more particularly, *That* which was carrying on by ſome *Foreigners* in *London* at this Time. And deſcribes, in a very lively Manner, how greedily the poor Adventurers ſtrove to make themſelves Beggars in it. The Prizes in that *Lottery* were all of *Plate*; and the Higheſt, worth a hundred and fifty or threeſcore Pounds; and though the Tickets were but one Shilling a-piece; yet, we are afraid it will ſhame *thoſe* Times, or countenance ſuch diſadvantageous Kind of Gaming even in *theſe*, too much to let it appear, that to *one Prize* there were no leſs than *forty Blanks*. The Manner of *Drawing*, ſeems to have been very expeditious, and very tumultuous. The Doors ever crouded, the Room continually filled with People; every *Mouth* bauling out for *Lots*, every *Hand* ſtretched forth to ſnatch them. Both Hands lifted up at once; the one, to deliver the condemned Shillings; the other, to receive the Papers of Life and Death. It was diverting, as ſo many Comedies, to ſee their Entrance into the Place; but grievous to conſider what tragical Ends befall many of the poor Houſe-keepers, Servants and others of the ſimpler Flock, who in the End were ſtripped and plumed in ſuch a Manner, as to have no more Feathers left on their Backs than Geeſe that had been newly pluck'd.

187. A Declaration of the Eſtate of *Clothing* now uſed within this Realme of *England*. 1. The *Royaltie* and *Benefit* of *Wooll* and *Woollen Cloth*. 2. The Condition of the *Makers*; being two Sorts. 3. The Antiquity and Power of the *Alneger*. 4. The Manner of *Search* and *Searchers* now uſed. 5. The ſeveral *Faults* and *Abuſes* practiſed in *Cloth*. 6. The *Inconvenience* and *Hurt* by the *Abuſes*. 7. The *Remedie* to be made by the *Alnegers* Proviſion. With an *Apology* for the *Alnege'r*; ſhewing the neceſſarie *Uſe* of his *Office*. Written by *John May* a *Deputy-Alneger*. (In twenty-nine Leaves) Printed by *Adam Iſlip*. *Quarto*, 1613

This is a Subject of general Concern to this Nation. Many Frauds and Deceits, which have been complained of in late Years, appear to have been no Novelty in thoſe Times; and had the Means here alſo pointed out to redreſs the ſame, been as familiarly known, they might have as readily been put in Practice, and a Remedy the ſooner procured. This Work is the Fruit of ſeven Years Experience; and it is dedicated by the Author to *Lodowick* Duke of *Lenox*, Earl of *Darnely*, *&c.* Lord High Admiral, and Chamberlain of *Scotland*; *Knight* of the *Garter*; of his Majeſty's Privy Council; and his Highneſs's *Alneger General* for the Realm of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*.

188. The *Trades Increaſe*. (In thirty-one Leaves) *Quarto*, 1615

The Author ſubſcribes himſelf at the End of his Epiſtle, *T. R.* His Motives to the Writing of this Treatiſe, he mentions at the Beginning, to have ſprung from his Sight of *T. Gentleman*'s Tract, entitled *Englands Way to win Wealth*, beforementioned, in the 117th *Article* of this *Catalogue*: With whoſe Project our Author was ſo affected, that he preſently reſolved to go a Fiſhing: And as there is no *Fiſhing* to that in the *Sea*: So there is no *Fiſh* in the Sea like to the *Herring*: That the *Sea* hath Room enough for us all; and there are *Herrings* enough to

make us all *rich*. After he has transported us to all the *Coasts* and *Countries*, to which our *Merchants* trade, he shews how, without *Peril*, and *Charge* of such long Voyages *Abroad*, the greatest Part of our People may drive a more *profitable* Trade and Merchandize at *Home*, by the *Fishery*; in which we suffer the *Hollanders* to rob us of a *Million of Gold in a Year*; and give our Gold to them besides, for the worst Part, the Refuse of their Plunder, which we might have, with the best, of Right for nothing; to the Exposure of our Loss, Folly, and shameful Pusillanimity to all the World. We shall not need to attempt a Character of this Pamphlet after that which Sir *Walter Ralegh* gave it at its Publication, in these Words—'For 'the *Newcastle* Trade I refer the Reader to 'the Author of *The Trades Increase*: A Gen-'tleman to me unknown; but, so far as I can 'judge, he has many Things very considera-'ble in that short Treatise of his; yea both 'considerable and Praise-worthy; and, amongst 'the rest, the Advice which he hath given 'for the Maintenance of our *Hoyes* and *Car-'vills* of *Newcastle*; which may serve us, 'besides the Breeding of Mariners, for good 'Ships of War, and of exceeding Advan-'tage.' Sir *Walter Ralegh's Discourse of the first Invention of Shipping*, in his *Essays*, *Octavo*, 1650, p. 39.

189. The *Speech* of Sir *Dudly Carleton*, Lord *Ambassadour* for the King of *Great Britaine*; made in the *Assembly* of the *Lords* the *Estates Generall* of the *United Provinces* of the *Lowe Countries*: Being assembled at the *Haghe*. Touching the *Discord* and *Troubles* of the *Church* and *Policie*, caused by the Schismaticall Doctrine of *Arminius*. Exhibited the Sixth of *October*, 1617. Set forth by Authoritie. (In six Leaves) *Quarto*, 1618.

190. An *Oration* made at the *Hage* before the Prince of *Orange* and the *Assembly* of the High and Mighty Lords, the *States Generall* of the *United Provinces*: By the Reverend Father in God the Lord Bishop of *Landaff*, one of the Commissioners sent by the King's most excellent Majesty to the Synod of *Dort*. (In seven Leaves) *Quarto*, 1619

This Speech was delivered by Dr. *George Carleton*, Bishop of the said See, upon the same Subject with that by Sir *Dudley Carleton* mentioned above in the *Article* foregoing. The further Proceedings of this *Synod*, and the Commissioners upon that Occasion sent out of *England* thither, may be read in the *Ecclesiastical Histories* of those Times.

191. *Pope Joane*: A *Dialogue* btwen a *Protestant* and a *Papist*. Manifestly proving, That a *Woman*, called *Joane*, was *Pope* of *Rome*: Against the Surmises and Objections made to the Contrarie, by *Robert Bellarmine* and *Cæsar Baronius*, Cardinals; *Florimondus Ræmondus*; *N. D.* and other *Popish* Writers, impudently denying the same. By *Alexander Cooke*. Printed by *John Haviland*. (In seventy Leaves) *Quarto*, 1625

That Author of this most learned and elaborate Tract upon the said Subject, that ever had been written, appears, in the 43d Page, to have been composing of it in 1606. The *first* Edition, we have met with, was in *Quarto*, 1610. And *this* Edition here has several Additions, and Improvements made to it. *Langbain* says, 'It was a Piece so 'much cried up, and admired in those 'Times, that it was translated into *French*, 'by *J. De la Montaigne*:' And the same was printed at *Sedan*, in *Octavo*, 1633. The Substance of this *Dialogue* was drawn into a continued *Discourse*; and printed under the Title of *A Present for a Papist*: *Or*, *The Life and Death of* Pope Joan, *&c.* in *Octavo*, 1675: With a Print of her, in Procession, *fallen asunder*, *&c.* And she was brought upon the *Theatre Royal*, by *Elkanah Settle*, in his *Tragedy* entitled *The Female Prelate*, printed in *Quarto*, 1680. The said Author, *Alexander Cooke*, was an *Oxonian* bred; and Vicar of *Leeds*, near *Beeston*, where he was born, in *Yorkshire*; and he died in 1632. This Tract he dedicates to *Tobias* (*Matthew*) Archbishop of *York*. He has, throughout the same, most notably *ferreted* all the *Popish* Opposers of this Story, through all their *Subterfuges*; and so intangled them in their own *Lime-twigs*, that, the more they *struggle*, the faster they *stick*. And this, not from any *Lutheran*, or modern *Protestant* Writers: Not from the Testimonies of *Pantaleon*, *Functius*, *Sleidan*, *Illyricus*, *Constantinus Phrygio*, *John Bale*, and *Robert Barnes*: But from the *Sons* of their own *Mother*; from the Acknowledgments and Concessions of *Adversaries*: Ancient and grave *Historians*, *&c.* established in their own *Principles*. From *Marianus Scotus*, *Sigebert*, *Gotefrid Viter-*

*sis*,

*Vienſis*, and *Johannes de Pariſiis*; from *Martinus Polonus*, *Ranulphus Ceſtrenſis*, *Alphonſus è Carthagena*, and *Theodoricus de Niem*; from *Chalcocondilas*, *Wernerus Rolenuk*, and *Platina*; from *Palmerius*, *Naucerus*, *Sabellicus*, *Trithemius*, *Volateran*, and *Bergomenſis*; from *Hartmannus Schedel*, *Lazardus*, *Fulgoſus*, and *Textor*: Beſides an *Epiſtle* written by the *Univerſities* of *Paris*, *Oxford*, and *Prague*, *to all at Rome*: And half a Score other *Authorities*, which he alſo names. All theſe he has critically examined; compared the Editions; cleared the ſpurious Accounts from their Corruptions; and fortified his *Arguments* all the Way, by numberleſs other *Vouchers*, fairly produced, throughout the Margents of every Page. The Whole fully entitling him to the *Character* of a Perſon, moſt admirably well *read* in the *Controverſies* between the Proteſtants and Papiſts; and moſt effectually *able* to diſcover the Frauds and Fallacies therein.

192. A *Publication* of *Guiana's Plantation*; newly undertaken by the Right Honourable the Earle of *Barkſhire*, Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the *Garter*, and *Company*; for that moſt famous *River* of the *Amazones* in *America*. Wherein is briefly ſhewed the *Lawfulneſs* of *Plantations* in *Forraine Countries*; *Hope* of the *Natives Converſion*; *Nature of the River*; *Qualitie* of the *Land*, *Climate*, and *People* of *Guiana*; with the *Proviſions* for Man's *Suſtenance*; and *Commodities* therein growing for the *Trade* of *Merchandize*; and Manner of the *Adventure*. With an *Anſwer* to ſome *Objections* touching *Fear* of the *Enemie*. (In thirteen Leaves) *Quarto*, 1632

Much might be ſaid of the many Attempts to ſecure the glorious *Diſcoveries* and *Conqueſts* of this rich and ſpacious *Country*, made by Sir *Walter Ralegh*, to the Crown of *England*; for which his own Country, corrupted by an *Eſpaniolized* Miniſtry, moſt ingloriouſly took away his Life. But now, after his Death, it ſeems lawful, here to plant, and take Poſſeſſion; which muſt be in Right of him, who, alive, was not allowed to have Right of his own. Whether this Undertaking afterwards failed of its deſired Succeſs, through any Defect in the *Scheme* of *Contribution* towards the Expence, or other Cauſe, appears not: But it may be Time enough to diſplay the Benefits of ſuch *Plantation*, when a Spirit like His who once diſcovered, and twice drove the *Spaniards* out of *that* Country, ſhall ariſe in *this*, more happily to recover and enjoy it.

193. A true *Deſcription* of his Majeſtie's *Royall Ship*, built this Year 1637, at *Woolwich* in *Kent*: To the great Glory of our *Engliſh* Nation; and not paralell'd in the whole *Chriſtian* World, publiſhed by Authoritie (In 27 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1637

This Pamphlet is dedicated to K. *Charles*, by the Author *Thomas Heywood*; a great *Writer* for the *Stage*, as may be ſeen in *Langbaine*; but he has omitted this, in the Catalogue of his numerous Publications. There is a Copy of Verſes before it to the Author, written by *Shackerley Marmion*, another Poet noted in thoſe Times. The Author was employed in contriving the Emblematical *Devices* or *Deſigns*; and compoſing the *Mottoes*, which were carved upon this *Royal Ship*, for its more elegant Embelliſhment. And after a Kind of Navigation through *Noah*'s Flood, and ſome Naval Curioſities of the Ancients, he proceeds to explain thoſe Decorations; beginning with King *Edgar* that great Monarch of our Ocean, who was one of the ſaid carved Figures; and is, upon that Occaſion, here Hiſtorically commemorated: So concludes with the *Dimenſions*, &c. of the *Great Ship* aforeſaid. No other Colour was to be ſeen about her but Black and Gold. She was juſt ſo many *Tuns* in *Burden* (beſides her Tunnage) as there were Years of the Lord, 1637. In *Length*, by the *Keel*, 128 Feet. In *Breadth*, 48 Feet. In *Length*, from the Fore-end of the *Beak-head*, to the After-end of the *Stern*, 232 Feet; and in *Height*, from the Bottom of her Keel, to the Top of her Lanthorn, 76 Feet. Bore five *Lanthorns*, the biggeſt of which would hold ten Perſons upright; had three *Flush Decks*, a *Forecaſtle*, *Half Deck*, *Quarter-Deck*, and *Round-houſe*. Her Lower *Tyre* had 30 Ports. Middle *Tyre*, 30 Ports. Third *Tyre*, 26 Ports. *Forecaſtle* 12 Ports. *Half Deck* 14 Ports. 13 or 14 Ports more within Board. Beſides 10 Pieces of Chace-Ordnance, forward, and 10 right aft; and many *Loop-Holes* in the *Cabins*, for Muſket Shot. She had 11 *Anchors*; one of 4400 Weight. Capt. *Phineas Pett* was *Overſeer* of the *Work*, and one of the principal Offi-

cers of the Navy; as his Father, Grandfather, and Great Grandfather, for above 200 Years, had before been. The *Maſter Builder* was Maſter *Peter Pett*; who, before he was 25 Years of Age, made the *Model*; and ſince perfected the Work. The Maſter Carvers were *John* and *Matthias Chriſtmas*, Sons of that excellent Workman, Maſter *Gerard Chriſtmas*, ſome two Years ſince that Publication deceaſed.

194. A *Record* of ſome *Worthie Proceedings* in the Honourable, Wiſe, and Faithfull *Houſe of Commons*, in the *Parliament* holden in the Year 1611. (In 24 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1641

This Pamphlet begins with a *memorable Speech*, in that Parliament, of the many *Grievances* in the *Church* and *State*, which called for Redreſs: And is followed with the *Particulars* of the *Great Contract*, in Conſideration of 200,000 Pounds *per Annum* to be paid his Majeſty. A Petition for *Liberty of Debating in Parliament*, delivered by 20 of the *Lower Houſe*, 24 *May* 1610. Their *Petition* in *Spiritual Cauſes*. With the Particulars of their *Grievances* in *Temporal Matters*: By *new Taxes*, or *Impoſitions*; the *Commiſſion* in *Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical*; frequent and unreaſonable *Proclamations*; *Stay* of *Writs of Prohibition*; unwarrantable *Juriſdiction* over four *Shires*, by the *Preſident* and *Council* of *Wales*; unlawful *Patent* of the Duke of *Lenox*, for ſearching and ſealing the *New Drapery*; *Licence of Wines* and *Taxation* of *Alehouſes*, by *Letters* and *Inſtructions*; and the Impoſition of a Tax, upon *Sea-Coal*, only by the *Royal Prerogative*. For every of which Hardſhips, Redreſs is here intreated, by that Parliament, in a very rational and dutiful Manner.

195. Two *Speeches*, ſpoken by Sir *Simonds D'ewes*: The Firſt touching the *Antiquity* of *Cambridge*; lately publiſhed by *John Thomas*, with many ignorant and fooliſh Miſtakes, which are here rectified: The Other, concerning the *Privilege* of *Parliament*, in Cauſes Civil and Criminal. (In one Sheet) *Quarto*, 1642

The firſt of theſe *Speeches*, which only we can have Room here to take Notice of, was occaſioned by a Bill, brought into the Houſe, in which *Cambridge* was mentioned *before Oxford*; which raiſed ſome Debates in *January* 1640, about placing one Word before the other. Whereupon Sir *Simonds D'ewes* undertook to prove, in this Speech, that *Cambridge* was a renowned City, 500 Years before there was an Houſe ſtanding in *Oxford*; and that (without regarding *Twine*'s Allegations, for the Antiquity of *Oxford*; or thoſe of *Caius*, for that of *Cambridge*; moſt Part of which he accounts but *Deliria Senum*) from *Gildas Albanius*'s *Britiſh* Story, who died about the Year 520. And from a *Saxon* anonymous Story in *Latin*, whoſe Author lived in the Reign of *Penda* King of the *Mercians*, about the Year 620. And from *Nennius*'s *Hiſtory* of *Britain*, wrote in the Year 880. Who all call *Cambridge*, *Cair-grant*: Which Word *Cair*, in the old *Celtique* Tongue, ſignifies a City. And *Cair-grant* is not only expounded by *Alfred* of *Beverly* to ſignify *Cambridge*, but by *William de Ramſey*, *Abbot* of *Croyland*, in his Life of *Guthlac*; who ſays further, it was ſo called a *Granta flumine*. And though it ſuffered great Devaſtations by the *Daniſh* Incurſions, it is, in *Domeſdei* Book, deſcribed as a Place of conſiderable Moment; having in it *Decem Cuſtodias*, and a *Caſtle* of great Strength and Extent. Thus much for the Antiquity of the Place; this Author next lays it down, that *Cambridge* was a *Nurſery* for *Learning*, before *Oxford* was known to have a *Grammar School* in it. But to prove it, begins no higher than King *Alfred*'s Time, for the Gathering of Perſons to ſtudy Arts and Sciences there: He further obſerves it was ſo famous a Seminary of Inſtruction in *William* the *Norman*'s Reign, that he ſent his Son *Henry* thither, afterwards the firſt of that Name, King of *England*; who, for the uncommon Knowledge he acquired, was ſirnamed *Beauclerk*. He adds that the moſt ancient and firſt endowed College of *England*, was *Valence College* in *Cambridge*; which after the Foundation, as appears by a *Parliament* Roll in the *Tower* of *London*, *Anno* 38 *Hen.* VI. Num. 31; received the new Appellation of *Pembroke-Hall*. So concludes *Cambridge* to be the *Elder Siſter*; and adviſes, to avoid further Diviſion, that the preſent Bill paſs unaltered, as it was penned; leaving us to infer, It will be of more Moment for the *Univerſities* to exert their Emulation in *Theory* and *Practice*, and exceed one another in *Learning* and *Virtue*, than in the *Antiquity* or *Seniority* of their *Foundation*.

196.

196. *King Charles his Speech*, made upon the *Scaffold*, at *White-hall* Gate, immediately before his *Execution*, on *Tuesday* the 30 of *Jan.* 1648. With a Relation of the *Manner* of his *Going* to *Execution*. Publiſhed by *ſpecial Authority*. Printed by *Peter Cole* (In 7 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1649

197. A true *Relation* of the *Title*, *Government*, and *Cauſe* of the *Death* of the late *Charles Stuart*, King of *England*; written for the Satisfaction of all Thoſe that are not wilfully obſtinate for a *Regal Government*, and Neglecters or Contemners of their own *juſt Liberties*. Publiſhed by *Authority*. (In 8 Pages) *Quarto*, 1649

198. The *Rebels Warning Piece*: Being certain *Rules* and *Inſtructions* left by Alderman *Hoyle*, a Member of Parliament, being a Burgeſs for *Yorkſhire*, who *hanged Himſelf*, *January* 30, within half an Hour after that Day Twelve-month, He, and his *Sectarian* Brethren had murdered their *King*. This ſeaſonable *Caveat*, being written by his own Hand, was found lying by him in the Chamber where he hanged Himſelf. Alſo the ſudden *Madneſs* of Sheriff *Wilſon*, a perjured, relapſed, and apoſtate Alderman of the City of *London*, who was carried mad from *Guild-Hall*, ſo ſoon as he had taken the new *Ingagement*, and now deſperately ſeeketh to end his Life. With a new Epitaph on Alderman *Hoyle*, and a new *Ballad*, on the loathed Life and ſudden *Death* of Sir *Philip* E. of *Pembroke*. (In 8 Pages) *Quarto*, 1650

199. A *Declaration* concerning the *Government* of the three Nations of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, by his *Highneſs* the *Lord Protector Cromwell*; and his *Speech* to the *Lord Commiſſioners* of the Broad ſeal of *England*, and the *Judges* in their Scarlet Gowns and Robes; immediately before he took the *Chair of State*, the *City Sword*, and *Cap* of *Maintenance*: With the *Oath* taken by his *Highneſs*; the Subſcribing of the *Inſtructions* tendered unto him by the ſaid *Judges*; the full Particulars of this great and honourable *Solemnization*; the Manner how he was proclaimed throughout the City of *London*, and the *Proclamation* of the *Council*, to be publiſhed throughout all Counties, Cities, and Market-Towns. Printed by *R. Wood*. (In 8 Pages) *Quarto*, 1653

That *Proclamation* of the *Council* is dated from *Whitehall* the 16 of *December* 1653. Notwithſtanding all this Parade, and Countenance of Men in grave Office, and high Character, it appears in this very Pamphlet, how generally diſſatisfied the People were with this new-fangled and uſurped Authority. "Indeed (ſays this Author) deplorable "is it to many, to behold the bird-witted "*Opiniators* of this Age; who, already, be-"gin to breath forth a Diſowning and Diſ-"like to this great and unparallel'd *Change*. "Alas, how great a Madneſs are theſe "*Antinomies* captivated with; who blindly "endeavour the Ruin of ſo prudent a "*Governor*, ſo excellent a *Protector!*"

200. A Copy of a *Letter* concerning the *Election* of a *Lord Protector*: Written to a Member of Parliament. Printed by *Tho. Newcomb*. (In 38 Pages) *Quarto*, 1654

The Intention of this *Epiſtle* is, now *Oliver* was made *Protector*, to ſhew, by many Arguments, how preferable an *Hereditary*, is to an *Elective Government*; in Order to get it ſettled abſolutely upon *his Poſterity*; againſt the Murmurs of thoſe, who found their *levelling* Endeavours and Expectations deceived; and that another *Sovereignty* was inſenſibly erected out of the *old* one they had demoliſhed, under the Diſguiſe of a *new* Name.

201. *Vindiciæ Academiarum*; containing ſome brief *Animadverſions* upon Mr. *Webſter*'s Book, ſtiled, *The Examination of Academies*. Together with an *Appendix*, concerning what Mr. *Hobbes* and Mr. *Dell* have publiſhed on this Argument. *Oxford*, printed by *Leonard Lichfield*, Printer to the Univerſity. (In 65 Pages) *Quarto*, 1654

There are, at the End of the Epiſtle, before this Tract, the Letters N. S. ſubſcribed; which are the laſt Letters of the Names of *John Wilkins*, afterwards Biſhop of *Cheſter*: And the two other Parts are ſubſcribed H. D. the laſt Letters of the Names of *Seth Ward*, afterwards Biſhop of *Salisbury*; who

are reputed the Authors of the ſaid Pamphlet. The Anſwer, made to Mr. *Hobbes*, is to what he has written upon the *Univerſities* in his *Leviathan*; and the Anſwer to Mr. *Dell*, is of his *Poſtſcript* to his *Trial of Spirits*: As for *John Webſter*'s *Examination*, &c. aforeſaid (reputed to be much beholden to *Bacon*, *Helmont*, and *Gaſſendus*) there has been an *Abſtract* given of it in the *Britiſh Librarian*.

202. A *Model* for the *Maintaining* of *Students* of choice Abilities at the *Univerſity*; and principally in Order to the *Miniſtry*. Together with a *Preface* before it; and after it, a *Recommendation* from the *Univerſity*; and two ſerious *Exhortations* recommended to all the unfeigned Lovers of *Piety* and *Learning*; and more particularly to thoſe *Rich* Men who deſire to honour the Lord with their Subſtance. (In 14 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1658

This Tract was written, as appears at the End of the Preface, by *Matthew Poole*, that learned *Nonconformiſt*, who was afterwards Author of the elaborate *Synopſis Criticorum Bibliorum*, &c. The ſaid Project for the Education of choice and promiſing Youths, was to be ſupported by *Subſcription*; and it was now ſo far begun, that many Perſons had ſubſcribed, from *Forty Shillings*, to *Twenty Pounds* a Year, for *Eight* Years to come. Here is a Teſtimonial in Approbation of this Scheme, ſigned by ſome Heads of Houſes at *Cambridge*, and an Epiſtle of Exhortation to the *Rich*, written by Mr. *Baxter*.

203. *Margery Good-Cow*, that gave a *Gallon* of *Milk*, and kicked down the *Pail*, and bewrai'd the *Milkmaid*; what did ſhe merit? Speak, Gentlemen: Or, a ſhort Diſcourſe, ſhewing, that there is not a Farthing due from this Nation to old *Oliver* for all his pretended Services; and, if any Thing be given his Son, it muſt be in Reſpect of his own *Perſonal Virtues*, and *modeſt Behaviours*, during his being *Protector*, and not out of any Reſpect to his ill-deſerving *Father*. (In one Sheet) *Quarto*, 1659

This Author having declared, How *Oliver*'s *late Ambition*, ſhewed over-plainly, the *Hypocriſy* of his *firſt Actings*: How the Parliament had thruſt him into *Temptations* he was not able to bear; which might render his Memory the more excuſable, and the Interruption of their Authority [illegible] to be pitied: Alſo, how pernicious it may be to reward his Poſterity, upon his Account; then makes a Digreſſion upon the Happineſs of a Commonwealth, in allowing the *Liberty of the Preſs*: And concludes, as he had begun, upon *Oliver*, in theſe Words. "If "the old *Protector* had not been ſo much a "*Fox*, he might, in all Probability, have "lived now a *Man* in great Favour and "Power; and General of the Armies of the "Commonwealth of *England*: Whereas, "*craftily*, but not *wiſely*, catching at a "Shadow, and enamour'd of thoſe *Baubles*, "he ſometimes ſcorned, *viz*, the *Mace*, &c. "he *loſt* his Peace, Tranquility, Health, "Comfort, Applauſe of his own Conſcience, "of God and Angels, and ſincere Men; to "*find* the empty Blandiſhments of ſervile "Paraſites, vain Pageantry, Trouble of "Mind, and untimely Death, in great "Diſquiet of Soul and Spirit".

206. The *Cenſure* of the *Rota* upon Mr. *Milton*'s Book, entitled, *The Ready and Eaſie Way to eſtabliſh a free Commonwealth.—Die Lunæ 26 Martii*, 1660. *Ordered by the* Rota, *that* Mr. Harrington *be deſired to draw up a* Narrative *of this Day's Proceeding upon* Mr. Milton's *Book, called*, The Ready and Eaſie Way, *&c. And to cauſe the ſame to be forthwith Printed and Publiſhed; and a Copy thereof to be ſent to* Mr. Milton. Signed, *Trundle Wheeler, Clerk to the* Rota. (In 16 Pages) *Quarto*, 1660

The Writer of this Pamphlet, Mr. *James Harrington*, the well-known Author of *Oceana*, &c. and one of the Members of that ingenious *Convention*, has borne very hard upon *Milton*; ſharply cenſuring not only the *Subject*, but the *Manner* of his Compoſitions; nay falls a-board of his Inaccuracy and Improprieties in their very *Titles*. Where he tells him, that a Gentleman of his own Acquaintance in that Society, wiſhed, "You had "given your Book no *Name*, like an *Ana-baptiſt*'s Child, until it had come to Years "of Diſcretion: Or elſe, that you had got "ſome Friend to be Goſſip, that has a "luckier Hand at giving Titles to Books "than you have: For it is obſerved you "have

" have always been very unfortunate that " Way; as if it were fatal to you to prefix " Bulls and Nonsense to the very Front of " your learned Works. As when you call " *Salmasius*, *Claudius Anonymus*, in the ve- " ry Title of that admired Piece, which " you writ to confute his Wife and his Maid. " As also in that other learned Labour of " yours, which you stile *Tetrachordon*, that " is to say, *a Fiddle with four Strings*; but as " you render it, *a Four-fold Cord*; with " which you undertake, worse than Captain " *Otter*, and *Cuthbert* the Barber, not to " *bind*, but most ridiculously, to *untie* Ma- " trimony. But in this Book, he said, " you were more insufferable; for you do " not only stile your Declamation, *The* " *ready and easy Way*, as if it were the best, " or only Way; to the Disparagement of " this most ingenious *Assembly*; who are " confident, they have proposed others much " more considerable; but do very indiscreet- " ly profess in the same Place, to compare " the *Excellencies* of a *Commonwealth*, with the " *Inconveniences* and *Dangers* of *Kingship*. " This, he said, was foul Play, and worse " Logick: For, as all Conveniencies in this " World carry their Inconveniencies with " them; to compare the *Best* of one Thing, " with the *Worst* of another, is a very une- " qual Way of Comparison. To this, ano- " ther added, He wondered you did not give " over Writing; since you have always " done it to little or no Purpose; for, though " you have scribled your Eyes out, your " Works have never been printed, but for " the Company of Chandlers and Tobacco- " Men, who are your Stationers, and the " only Men that vend your Labours. He " said, that he himself reprieved the whole " *Defence of the People of England* for a Groat, " that was sentenced to vile *Mundungus*, and " had suffered inevitably, but for him; tho' " it cost you much Oil and Labour, and " the *Rump*, *Three-hundred Pounds a Year*; " to whose Service it was more properly in- " tended; although, in the Close, you pro- " nounce them to be as very Rascals, as " *Salmasius*, and all the Christian World " calls them, if ever they suffered any of " their Fellow-Members to invade the Go- " vernment; as *Oliver Cromwell*, and others " have since done; and confess yourself " fooled and mistaken, and all you have " written to be false; howsoever you give " yourself the second Lye, in Writing for " Them again". &c. Thus far, *Page* 4, 5. A little further he says:—" You have " done your feeble Endeavour to rob the " Church of the little, which the Rapine of " the most sacrilegious Persons hath left, " in your learned Work against *Tithes*. You " have slandered the *Dead*, worse than *Envy* " itself; and thrown your dirty Outrage on " the Memory of a murthered Prince, as if " the Hangman were but your Usher. These " have been the Attempts of your *stiff*, *for-* " *mal Eloquence*; which you arm according- " ly, with any Thing that lies in the Way, " right, or wrong". &c. So *Page* 8, 9. Again —— " A worthy Knight of this " Assembly stood up, and said, that, if we " meant to examine all the particular Falla- " cies and Flawes in your Writing, we " should never have done; he would there- " fore, with Leave, deliver his Judgment, " upon the Whole; which in Brief was thus: " That it is all windy Foppery, from the " Beginning to the End; written to the " Elevation of the Rabble, and meant to " cheat the Ignorant. That you fight al- " ways with the Flat of your Hand, like " a *Rhetorician*, and never contract the *Lo-* " *gical* Fist. That you trade altogether in " *Universals*, the Region of Deceits and Fal- " lacy; but never come so near *Particulars*, " as to let us know, which among divers " Things of the same Kind you would be " at. For you admire Commonwealths in " general, and cry down Kingship as much " at large, without any Regard to the par- " ticular Constitutions which only make " either the one or the other good or bad; " vainly supposing all *Slavery* to be in the " Government of a *single* Person, and No- " thing but *Liberty* in that of *Many*; which " is so false, that some *Kingdoms* have had " the most perfect Form of *Commonwealths*, " as ours had; and some *Republicks* have " proved the greatest *Tyrannies*, as all have " done at one Time or other: For many, " if they combine, have more Latitude to " abuse Power than a single Person, and less " Sense of Shame, Conscience, or Honour

" to

"to reſtrain them; for what is wickedly "done by many, is owned by none, where "no Man knows, upon whom in particular "to fix it." So gives an Inſtance in *Milton*'s own Patriots, &c. Page 13. Laſtly, the Author gives his own Judgment of this Work; eſpecially that Part, where *Milton* would have no *Change* of *Miniſtry*, in theſe Words: "That which I diſliked moſt in "your Treatiſe was; that there is not one "Word of the *Balance* of *Property*, nor "the *Agrarian*, nor *Rotation* in it, from the "Beginning to the End; without which, "together with a Lord *Archon*, I thought I "had ſufficiently demonſtrated, not only in "my Writings, but publick Exerciſes in "the Coffee-houſe, that there is no poſſible "Foundation of a *Free-Commonwealth*. To "the firſt and ſecond of theſe, that is, the "*Ballance*, and *Agrarian*, you made no "Objection; and therefore I ſhould not "need to make an Anſwer: But for the "Third, I mean *Rotation*, which you im-"plicitly reject, in your Deſign to perpe-"tuate the preſent Members, I ſhall only "add this, to what I have already ſaid and "written on that Subject: That a *Common-"wealth* is like a great *Top*, that muſt be "kept up by being whipped round, and held "in perpetual *Circulation*; for, if you diſ-"continue the *Rotation*, and ſuffer the Se-"nate to ſettle, and ſtand ſtill, down it falls "immediately. And, if you had ſtudied this "Point, as carefully as I have done, you "could not but know, there is no ſuch Way "under Heaven of diſpoſing the Viciſſitudes "of Command and Obedience, and of diſ-"tributing *equal* Right and Liberty among "all Men, as this of *Wheeling*; by which, "as *Chaucer* writes, a ſingle Fart hath been "divided among a whole Covent of Friars, "and every one hath had his juſt Share of "the Savour." &c. *Page* 14, 15.

207. *Bradſhaw's ultimum Vale:* Being the *laſt Words* that are ever intended to be ſpoke of Him: As they were delivered in a *Sermon*, preached at his *Interrment*. By *J. O. D. D.* Time-ſerver General of *England*. (In 16 Pages) *Oxon* *Quarto*, 1660

This is a Comical *Mock-Sermon*. By thoſe initial Letters, it is thought Dr. *John Owen* the *Independant*, ſometime Vice-Chancellor of *Oxford*, was intended to be expoſed, as the Author. In the firſt Page there is a wooden Print of the Dial, and Motto about it, at *Pancridge* Church: *Spend well thy Time; fly ſwift from Sin.* The ridiculous Vein, affected in this Sermon, is intended to deride ſuch Stuff, as *Bradſhaw* uſed to hear from his Chaplain *Foxley*. In the Author's Enumeration of the various Kinds of Death, he ſhews that *Bradſhaw* was ſhaken out of the World by an *Ague*; and he makes this drole Apology for *Bradſhaw*'s Sentencing King *Charles* to Death.— "Now if this be true, that a Man may be "killed for ſix, or ſeven *Duckets*, or for "ſuch a ſlight Thing as an *Apple*; then "certainly might our *Preſident* judge a Man "to Death, for my Lord *Cottington's* "Eſtate. Our *Preſident* was like *Neceſſi-"ty*, for he had no *Law*; if then he had "*no Law*, could yee blame him for not "doing that which was agreeable to *Law?* "Thus, my Beloved, you ſee it proved, out "of the Labours of the moſt authentick "Divines, that he was not ſo bad as the "World took him to be." &c. This *John Bradſhaw* died *October* 31, 1659; was buried the Twenty-ſecond of *November* at *Weſtminſter*, with great Pomp; and his Carcaſe, with *Cromwell*'s and *Ireton*'s, taken up, and hanged, on the Thirtieth of *January*, 1660, at *Tyburn*.

208. Sir *Arthur Haſelrig*'s Laſt *Will* and *Teſtament* with a brief *Survey* of his *Life* and *Death*. (In 6 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1661

This is rather a Kind of *Penitential Farewell* to the World, fathered upon him, at his Death in the *Tower*, on the Eighth of *January* 1660; having been there impriſoned, and deprived of his ill-gotten Poſſeſſions, upon the *Reſtoration*. At the End, are ſome Verſes, both in *Latin* and *Engliſh*, upon the Taking up of the Carcaſes of *Cromwell*, *Bradſhaw*, and *Ireton*, and Hanging them upon a high Gallows at *Tyburn*, by *Dunn* the Executioner; where, as it is here ſaid, the Wench or Miſtreſs of *Jack Cutts*, was ſtruck to the Heart, or poiſoned, by the peſtilent Stench of them.

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*Continued.* NUMBER XI.

209. *Petition* of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council-Men of the City of *London*, in Common-Council aſſembled, to the Parliament; for the Reducing of all *Foreign Trade* under Government: As alſo the *Petition*, together with the *Propoſals* of ſeveral *Merchants* of *London*, on the Behalf of *Themſelves* and the *Merchants* of *England*. Humbly tendered to the Grand *Committee* of Parliament for *Trade*: Containing the deſired *Manner* and *Method* for ſuch *Regulation*. (In ten Pages) *Quarto*, 1662

210. *Digitus Dei*: Or an horrid *Murther* ſtrangely *detected*. Declaring the Suſpicion, Apprehenſion, Arraignment, Tryal, Confeſſion, and Execution of *Richard Rogers*, late of *Havitre*, in the County of *Devon*, for Murthering one *Ruth Auton*, his *Sweetheart*; having firſt begotten her with Child of two Children. Publiſhed for Satisfaction of ſome, and Admonition of others, by *Abraham Jenings*, Phyſician, and Foreman of the Inqueſt, upon View of the Body, before the Coroner. (In ſixteen Leaves, with the Dedication to Sir *John Archer*, one of the Juſtices in the *Common-Pleas*) *Quarto*, 1664

211. The *Miraculous Conformiſt*: Or an *Account* of ſeveral marvailous *Cures* performed by the *Stroaking* of the *Hands* of Mr. *Valentine Greatarick*: With a Phyſical *Diſcourſe* thereupon. In a *Letter* to the Honourable *Robert Boyle*, Eſq; With a *Letter*, relating ſome other of his miraculous Cures; atteſted by *E. Foxcroft*, M. A. and Fellow of *King's Colledge* in *Cambridge*. By *Henry Stubbe*, Phyſician at *Stratford* upon *Avon*, in the County of *Warwick*. *Oxford*, Printed by *H. Hall*, Printer to the *Univerſity*, for *Ric. Davis*. (In forty-four Pages, beſides the Dedication to Dr. *T. Willis*) *Quarto*, 1666

This *Stroaker* had been an *Iriſh* Officer, Clerk of the Peace, *&c.* but after the *Reſtoration*, being removed, he grew diſcontented; and, about the Year 1662, felt, or pretended to feel, that *Impulſe*, and we know not what *inward Voice (audible* to none elſe) which, however his Wife condemned as *Reſveries*, informed him firſt of this ſupernatural *Gift*; by the Token that, *his Right-Hand ſhould be dead*, and that *the Stroaking of his Left Arm ſhould recover it*; which it did, three Nights together: As this Author aſſerts. And that his Fame in *Ireland*, moved the Lord *Conway* to ſend for him, by the Means of Dr. *Ruſt*, into *England*. That he was mightily run after, and cried up, at firſt, for Curing the King's Evil only, afterwards, Cancers in Womens Breaſts; and, as Believers increaſed, the Lame, Deaf, Blind, and who not? But not with conſtant Succeſs; it being owned, he could never relieve the Lady *Conway*'s Head-ach. Here are ſeveral Caſes produced, to teſtify however, the extraordinary Effects of this *Healing Hand*; ſeveral Arguments offered to bribe our Belief; and the Fame of it now rung over *England*, as loud as the Story of the *Sileſian* Boy with his *golden Tooth*, did, about ſeventy Years before, in *Germany*. This *Stroaker* might have better continued to ſhelter this efficacious Property behind the impenetrable Shield of *God's Grace*, as he firſt ſet out to do, than by ſeeking to ſtrengthen the Credit of it through a further Pretenſion to *corporal Singularities*; as the fragrant Odour of his Hands and Body ſometimes, and the Smelling even of his Urine like Violets; which, being ſubject to Art, only ſtrengthened the Suſpicion of his Impoſtures, and, with many other Circumſtances, produced, in the End, a Detection of them; as may in great Meaſure appear, in the *Anſwer* made to this *Pamphlet*, before ſpecified, in the 129th *Article* of this *Catalogue*. Which *Anſwer*, and other like Diſcourſes, to the ſame Purpoſe, can never be too frequently or publickly diſperſed; as *Antidotes* againſt the *Poiſon* of *falſe Miracles*; wherewith the *Wily* will ever delude the *Minds*, and drain the *Means* of the *Weak*. Though they have been often admoniſhed, That *the Miracles of God* are univerſal, indiſputable, and laſting as his Works; viſible to all, and obliging all to an harmonious Veneration: And as the Support of them is miraculous, *His Miracles never ceaſe*. *The Miracles of Men* are particular, controvertible, and tranſient; beholden to Opportunity, Occaſion, Advantage; of Times, Perſons, Places; founded upon Pride and Fraud, ſupported by Covetouſneſs and Controverſy. Yet here, among Men too, it may be ſaid in ſome Senſe, *Their Miracles never ceaſe*; ſo long as there

is the *Ground* of *Intereſt* and *Vain-glory* for them to *root* in, and they can meet with any *Body of Credulity* to *climb* and *cling* by.

212. The *Cloud opened:* Or the *Engliſh Heroe.* By a loyal and impartial Pen. (In forty-eight Pages) *Quarto*, 1670

By this *Engliſh Heroe*, is meant General *Monk*, Duke of *Albemarle*, who died the foregoing Year. And had the *Cloud* been *opened*, as is here promiſed, by which ſome might think to be intended the Myſtery of the *Reſtoration*; wherein that General appeared the leading Figure, we might have had a very ſatisfactory Sight: But that Expreſſion is more confined to the *Perſon* himſelf; who was of a cloſe and *cloudy* Diſpoſition, much inclined to *Secrecy*, and wrapped in *Reſervation*. And, indeed, in the Manner of Setting him forth, the *Author* is much correſpondent to his *Subject*; is ſo much involved in Alluſions and Digreſſions, that the greateſt Part of the Work is a dark, detached Rhapſody of Reflections. Yet are there ſome curious *Anecdotes*, in *Characters* of *Perſons*, and *Remarks* on the *late Times*, ſprinkled up and down, eſpecially concerning General *Monk*, no where elſe to be met with; and in which the Author does maintain his Title of *a Loyal and Impartial Pen.* As where he mentions that Tradition of the *General*'s Promiſe, *Never to bear Arms in England againſt his Prince.* 'This, ſays our Author, not a 'few will have moſt exactly to be perform-'ed; and hence by no Action of his Loy-'alty to be impeached. What he acted in 'the firſt *Dutch* Engagement, and what 'was performed in the *Caledonian* War, 'muſt, by a milder Gloſs, be interpreted a 'Zeal for his Country, and no Diſaffection 'to his King; but the more rigid Cenſors 'will not allow him, who wounds in 'Hands and *Feet*, no Enemy, though not 'equally mortal with him who tranſpierces 'the *Heart.*' He ſays further: The *Low Country* Religion obliged him to a *Party*; by whom he was diſobliged: That he honourably deſerted his Deſerters; and intimates, that the *Junćto*, who made him a Cypher in Commiſſion, contributed thereby to vote to their own Ruin; and when he broke down the *City* Gates, he ſaid, he then thought himſelf even with them. His dreadleſs Regard of *Plague* and *War*, is [illegible] a *Predeſtinarian* Principle. He [illegible] proſecuted the *Dutch* War, in [illegible] exceeded his Commiſſion; brought the Nation many Millions in Debt, and, had he been a *Dutchman*, might have loſt him his Head: Whereas, 'by the Method he ſeem-'ed to *reſtore*, he might have *ſecured* his 'Country: Here, a *Fabius*, he might have 'effected by *Delays*, what he could not by '*Fighting*; and have ſeemed a double *Re-'ſtorer* of his Nation, whoſe Raſhneſs might 'have intitled him the *Demoliſher.*' The Reports he gives us of the *General*'s *Frugality*, or, in Truth, *Sordidneſs*; his introducing Board-wages at Court; ſaving Half, in his own daily Allowance; cauſing Fowls, that were uncarved at his Table one Day, to be new roaſted, and re-viſit it the next; and his menacing an only Child with Diſinheriting, for expending five Shillings at a Supper, might ſeem incredible, in a Man who had taken ſuch liberal Views of Life, and had ſuch high Honours, profitable Poſts, and vaſt Treaſures accumulated upon him, if other Authors, who knew him, had not written to the like Purpoſe. But, upon the Account of his *Credulity* in the Cures of of *Greatrakes* the *Stroaker*, and Patronage of him, the Ignorance of that illiterate Quack and Impoſtor, as he is now plainly called, and ſeems diſcovered to be, is more expatiated upon, than any other Circumſtance in the whole Tract. As our Author, before, had not contradicted the Aſſertion, That his Heroe's *Head-piece* was the worſt Part of his *Armour*: So now, his ſtrong Faith in this gracious Babe of the *Presbyterian* Reformation, is repreſented as a great Weakneſs; eſpecially in that Inſtance, of his ſending this *Stroaker* to a ſuperannuated Woman of *Ninety*, who had loſt her *Hearing* twelve Years, in Expectation, by his Hand, to recover it. This Patronage of that Pretender was ſo notorious, that Dr. *Thomas Gumble*, in his *Life of General Monk*, printed the next Year, thought fit, not to paſs it over in Silence, without endeavouring to make ſome *Apology* for it; as if the *General* did not credit him upon the Score of his Abilities, ſo much as from the Teſtimonies and Certificates of ſo many other People. There are, beſides, ſome pretty Remarks of other Perſons diſperſed up and down this Pamphlet;

[illegible] as upon *Strafford*, *Cromwell*, *Fairfax*, [illegible]; Colonel *Okey*, Dr. *Owen*, &c. [illegible]er, that by Pagan Worship translated the Brazen Image of a Tyrant into Gold, was *Pagan Fisher*, *Oliver*'s Poet and Panegyrist, who wrote the *Oliva Pacis* in his Praise; and had an hundred golden *Carolus's* bestowed upon him for his Pains: And, by the doubly blind Bard, whose Pen is reckoned among those which were pedantically florid, is meant *Milton*. There are some other Characters enveloped in Obscurity, after the like Manner, which it might take up too much Time to unveil.

213. A modest Representation of the *Benefits* and *Advantages* of Making the River *Avon* navigable, from *Christ-church* to the City of *New Sarum*. Humbly submitted to the Consideration of the City aforesaid, and the Countries bordering upon the said River; and to all other Persons that are, or may be concerned therein, for their Incouragement, *joyntly* to carry on so noble a Work. By *J. H.* a real Well-wisher both to City and Country. (In twenty-four Pages) *Quarto*, 1672

The Author of this Pamphlet was *James Hely*, as he signs himself, in his Dedication to the Mayor and Inhabitants of that City. He very expressively sets forth the Advantages of Making the River *Avon* navigable, from the said City of *New Sarum* in *Wiltshire*, to the Town of *Christ-church* in the County of *Southampton*, and, what great Benefit it would be to all the Borderers on that River, within ten or twelve Miles on either Side, besides many other Towns here mentioned. Which, though the Sanction of Parliament had often been sought to authorize, an Act was not till now passed for that Purpose. And yet the Execution thereof moved so slowly, that this Author thought it might proceed from the Want of of a true *Sense* of the *Emoluments* which would accrue therefrom, and full *Answers* to all *Objections* that might be made against it; both which he has offered in this Tract; with his Approbation of its being undertaken by the *Mayor* and *Corporation*; and his Acknowledgments to the Bishops of *London* and *Salisbury*; the Lords *Ashley* and *Cornbury*; Sir *John Nicholas*, Sir *Stephen Fox*, and others, who cordially appeared for the Promoting and Carrying on the said Act.

214. A sad Relation of a dreadful Fire at *Cottenham*, four Miles distant from *Cambridge*. It begun on *Saturday* the 29th of *April*, 1676, and in the Space of five Hours consumed above a *hundred Dwelling-houses*, besides Barns, Stables, Out-houses, Stacks of Corn, Hay, Faggots, Tuffs, *&c.* to the Value of *many thousand Pounds*. With an Account of a Gentleman's Servant, who was burned in a miserable Manner, by venturing to save some Houshold-stuff, *&c.* Written by an *Eye-witness*, &c. (In one Sheet) *Quarto*, 1676

This Town, which chiefly consisted of one fair Street above a Mile long; formerly called *Fenning-street*, but latterly *Church-street*, was inhabited mostly by Yeomen, and substantial Farmers; and was burnt down for near three Quarters of a Mile, as far as the Church, by the Inadvertency of a Farmer's Wife; who, having newly baked, carried some Embers to the Back side in a Scuttle, and emptied them near a Stack of coarse *Sedges*, which they use to heat Ovens, and for other Purposes, calling it *Stuff-reek*; where the Embers, revived by the Air, first catching some scattered Straw, crept to this *Reek*; which, being loose and dry, was blown up into that fierce and unconquerable Flame, which did all this Mischief.

215. *Christianissimus Christianandus*: Or *Reasons* for the *Reduction* of *France* to a more *Christian State* in *Europe*. *Odimus Accipitrem, quia semper vivit in Armis.* Printed by *H. Hills*. (In eighty Pages) *Quarto*, 1678

This is an *Historical* Detail of the infamous Behaviour of *France*, towards its neighbouring Nations, especially *England*, for two hundred Years past, down to the Time above; exposing their insolent *Ambition* after *Universal Monarchy*, in their unjustifiable *Wars*; and their detestable *Treachery* in their Treaties, and Breach of all Faith and Covenant with their Allies, under the more horrid Visor of *Peace*. Shewing moreover, how, under the Pretence of Commerce, they usurp our Trade, and return us nought but Trifles; the Disguises of their tawdry Fashions to deform our Bodies, and the worst Disguises of their Dissimulation, to corrupt our *Minds*. So recommends, as the only Bridle that can keep their Vanity and Arrogance within the Bounds of Moderation, a *Confederate War*. This Pamphlet has lately been reprinted, and seasonably enough; seeing the Conduct of the *French* has of late been

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as ſcandalous as ever towards ſome Princes, and their Arms as miſchievous to others; but to none more than their Friends, and themſelves, by ſo much wicked Slaughter and Deſtruction, as their bloody Councils have brought upon them. The Author's Name is not printed to this Work, but we find it aſcribed to *Marchamont Nedham*, the noted Writer of *Weekly News* in the late *Civil Wars*, and of many other Pieces, which are in Print. In the ſame Year that this above ſprung from the *Preſs*, the Author deſcended to his *Grave*.

216. An Accuont of the *French Uſurpation* upon the *Trade* of *England*; and what great *Damage* the *Engliſh* do yearly ſuſtain by their *Commerce*; and how the ſame may be retrenched, and *England* improved in Riches and Intereſt. (In thirteen Leaves) *Quarto*, 1679

In this excellent Tract, written by Way of Letter to a Friend, and ſubſcribed at the End *J. B.* it is particularized by what Toys, Trifles, and unneceſſary Wares tranſported from *France* into *England*, they receive of us the *yearly* Value of above *Six and twenty-hundred-thouſand Pounds*; and that, by the Commodities exported from *England* to *France*, we receive not above *Ten hundred thouſand Pounds a Year* of them: So that our Trade with *France* is at leaſt *Sixteen-hundred thouſand Pounds per Annum* clear Loſs to this Kingdom. The Author propoſes many Ways whereby we may recover this Loſs, and retrieve ourſelves, if our infatuating Indolence will give us Leave. Otherwiſe *France* will continue to flouriſh by our Sloth, to grow wiſe by our Folly, proud by our Exceſs, and powerful by our Treaſure, till they become our Deſtruction. For as the middle Region of the Air is wont to frame its Thunder, Hail, and other Meteors againſt the Earth, out of the Exhalations it draws from the Earth: So *France*, out of the Riches it gathers from *England*, and other neighbouring Dominions, raiſes formidable Armies and potent Fleets to invade them.

217. A *Memento* for *Engliſh Proteſtants*; containing the following Particulars, *viz.* An Epitome of the *Maſſacre* in *Piedmont*. An Epitome of the *French Maſſacre*. An Epitome of the *Iriſh Maſſacre*. A Speech of Pope *Sixtus Quintus*. A Collection of the moſt remarkable Paſſages of Queen *Mary*'s Reign. Together with a *Preface*, by Way of *Anſwer* to that Part of the *Compendium*, which reflects upon the Biſhop of *Lincoln*'s late Book. (In Leaves) 1680

That Biſhop of *Lincoln* was Dr. *Thomas Barlow*; and his late Book was entitled, *Popery*: Or, *The Principles and Poſitions, approved by the Church of Rome, are very dangerous to all; and to Proteſtant Kings, and ſupream Powers, more eſpecially pernicious*, &c. *Quarto*, 1678. *Octavo*, 1679. That Book pointed at, to *reflect* on the Biſhops, was called the *Compendium*: Or, *a ſhort View of the late Tryals, in Relation to the preſent Plot againſt his Majeſty and Government*. *Quarto*, 1679. See Page 76, 77 of that Book. It was written by *Roger Palmer*, Earl of *Caſtlemain*; whoſe ſaid *Reflexions* on the Biſhop, are anſwered in the *Preface* above.

218. An *Hiſtorical Relation* of ſeveral *great* and learned *Romaniſts* who did embrace the *Proteſtant Religion*. With their *Reaſons* for their *Change*, delivered in their own *Words*. *Collected* chiefly from the moſt *eminent Hiſtorians* of the *Roman Perſwaſion*. To which is added, a *Catalogue* of ſundry *great Perſons* of the *Roman Catholick Religion*, who have all along oppoſed the *Tenets* of the *Church* of *Rome*. (In eighteen Leaves) *Quarto*, 1688

219. The *Intereſt* of *England* in the *Preſervation* of *Ireland*: Humbly preſented to the *Parliament* of *England*. By *G. P.* Eſq; Printed for *Richard Chiſwell* (In eighteen Leaves) *Quarto*, 1689

The Author of this Tract, whoſe Name was *George Philips*, as he ſigns himſelf, at the End of his Epiſtle Dedicatory to the Parliament, a Gentleman of *Ireland*; has here made many good Remarks upon the Excellencies of that Country, which ſhould engage our Care and Eſteem of it; under theſe Heads or Conſiderations: 1. The *Advantage* to the *Kingdom* of *England* in general; by the Revenue; the Fertility; the Number; the Religion; the Conſanguinity; the Employments, Eccleſiaſtical, Civil, and Military. 2. The *Advantage* to the *Trade* of *England*, by the Situation, Exportation, Importation, Ingenuity of the Inhabitants, and Benefit to the King. 3. The *Danger* of *Falling* into the *Hands* of the *French*; by in ingroſſing all Trade; intercepting the Trade of *England*, and interrupting the Peace of *England*.

220. *A*

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